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ROMAN LIFE AND MANNERS UNDER THE EARLY EMPIRE

By
LUDWIG FRIEDLÄNDER

Authorized Translation of the Seventh Enlarged
and Revised Edition of the *Sittengeschichte Roms*

by
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Author's Preface to the Seventh Edition

THE text of this edition of my ROMAN LIFE AND MANNERS is essentially the same as that of the sixth edition ; but, at the request of my publisher, the footnotes and *excursus* have been omitted, and many passages have been supplemented, shortened, corrected or amplified ; the sections on Christianity and the belief in immortality have been in part revised. • I have to acknowledge the help afforded me by several scholars whose criticisms have suggested to me many of these alterations, viz. Messrs. A. Conrady, O. Crutz, O. Cuntz, O. Hirschfeld, Chr. Hülsen, Br. Keil, J. Kromayer, Ad. Michaelis, K. J. Neumann, W. Oechsli, E. Schürer, W. Spiegelberg.

Strassburg.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT DATES, HISTORICAL AND LITERARY, DURING THE EMPIRE

A.U.C. 723 —31 B.C.	Battle of Actium, September 2.	The Epodes of Horace (born 65 B.C.)
A.U.C. 724 —30 B.C.	Death of Marcus Antonius in the beginning of August. Egypt a province.	C. Cornelius Gallus (elegiac poet, born 69 B.C.), in the autumn Governor of Egypt. Virgil (born 70 B.C.) completes and pub- lishes the <i>Georgics</i> .
A.U.C. 725 —29 B.C.	Octavian returns to Rome and triumphs, August 6-8.	Propertius (born about 49 B.C.) writes elegies.
A.U.C. 727 —27 B.C.	Octavian receives the title of Augustus (January 16); prob- ably at the beginning of the summer goes to Gaul, and to- wards the end of the year to Spain.	Marcus Terentius Varro dies (born 116 B.C.). Livy (born 59 B.C.) writes the first book of his history from 27-25 B.C.
A.U.C. 728 —B.C. 26	War against the Cantabrians and Asturians, 26-25 B.C.	Cornelius Gallus dies.
A.U.C. 729 —25 B.C.	Aulus Terentius Varro conquers the Salassi in the Graian and Pennine Alps. Marcus Vini- cius conquers Germanic tribes in Gaul. Agrippa builds the Pantheon. Augustus returns to Rome through Gaul (end of 25 B.C.).	
A.U.C. 730 —24 B.C.	Revolts among the Asturians and Cantabrians, and their re- moval to the plain, 20 or 19 B.C.	
A.U.C. 731 —23 B.C.	Augustus ill, cured by Antonius Musa. Agrippa leaves Rome. Marcus Marcellus dies.	
A.U.C. 732 —22 B.C.	Towards the end of the year Augustus leaves Rome for Sicily.	Virgil reads Augustus the 2nd, 4th and 6th Books of the <i>Aeneid</i> .
A.U.C. 733 —21 B.C.	Augustus goes in the middle of the year to Greece, and winters at Samos. Agrippa marries Julia.	
A.U.C. 734 —20 B.C.	Augustus goes in the spring to Asia and again winters at Samos.	

A.U.C. 735 —19 B.C.	Augustus returns on October 12 to Rome.	Virgil, September 22, dies at Brundisium. Tibullus (born c. 54 B.C.) dies at end of year. Horace writes the <i>Carmen Saeculare</i> .
A.U.C. 737 —17 B.C.	Secular games.	
A.U.C. 738 —16 B.C.	Augustus, on hearing of Lollius' defeat goes to Gaul and stays there until 13 B.C.	Propertius dies.
A.U.C. 739 —15 B.C.	Tiberius and Drusus defeat the Vindelici Rhaeti and Norici.	Vitruvius about 14 B.C. finishes his <i>Architectura</i> .
A.U.C. 740 —14 B.C.		Agrippa's Commentaries about this time.
A.U.C. 741 —13 B.C.	Augustus on July 4 returns to Rome.	
A.U.C. 742 —12 B.C.	Agrippa dies in his fifty-first year. 12-10 B.C. Tiberius' campaigns against Pannonia, and Drusus' against Germany.	
A.U.C. 743 —11 B.C.	Octavia dies. Consecration of the Marcellus Theatre.	
A.U.C. 744 —10 B.C.	Augustus with Tiberius and Drusus in Gaul.	
A.U.C. 745 —9 B.C.	Drusus dies. Tiberius' fourth campaign against Pannonia and Dalmatia, and extension of the frontier to the Danube.	Livy's last book (142) ends with the narrative of this year's events.
A.U.C. 746 —8 B.C.	Augustus goes with Tiberius to Gaul: Tiberius undertakes his first campaign against the Germans. Maecenas dies.	
A.U.C. 747 —7 B.C.	Tiberius' triumph over the Germans. Second campaign against Germany.	Horace dies November 27. Dionysius of Halicarnassus finishes his <i>History of Rome</i> .
A.U.C. 748 —6 B.C.	Tiberius goes to Rhodes and stays there until 2 A.D.	
A.U.C. 750 —4 B.C.	Death of Herod, King of Judaea.	
A.U.C. 751 —3 B.C.	Birth of Christ (according to Julius Africanus, between 3 and 2 B.C., according to Cassiodorus and Clemens of Alexandria).	
A.U.C. 752 —2 B.C.	Julia banished to Pandataria. The birth of Christ, according to Eusebius, Photius, Epiphanius, Zonaras, Orosius.	Ovid (born 43 B.C.) publishes the <i>Ars Amatoria</i> 2 or 1 B.C.
A.U.C. 753 —1 B.C.	Gaius Caesar goes to the East.	
A.U.C. 754 —1 A.D.	Renewal of war with Germany.	

A.U.C. 755 —2 A.D.	Tiberius back at Rome. Lucius Caesar dies at Marseilles.	
A.U.C. 757 —4 A.D.	Gaius Caesar dies. Tiberius adopted on June 27, opens the third campaign against Germany, returns in December to Rome.	Asinius Pollio dies at the age of 80.
A.U.C. 758 —5 A.D.	Tiberius forces his way to the Elbe. Famine at Rome up to 8 A.D.	
A.U.C. 759 —6 A.D.	Tiberius prepares to combat the Suevi under Maroboduus, but is forced by an insurrection to Pannonia. Judaea a Roman Province.	Ovid ends, before his banishment, the <i>Metamorphoses</i> and the first six books of the <i>Fasti</i> .
A.U.C. 760 —7 A.D.	War in Dalmatia and Pannonia under Tiberius and Germanicus.	
A.U.C. 761 —8 A.D.	Pannonia mostly subdued.	Ovid in his fifty-first year banished to Tomi; begins the first book of his <i>Tristia</i> .
A.U.C. 762 —9 A.D.	Conclusion of the Dalmatian War. Defeat of Publius Quintilius Varus in the Teutoburger Wald at the end of the summer.	Manilius begins a didactic poem on astronomy after 9 A.D.
A.U.C. 763 —10 A.D.	Tiberius on the Rhine.	
A.U.C. 764 —11 A.D.	Tiberius and Germanicus over the Rhine.	Marcus Valerius Messalla Corvinus dies at the age of 72.
A.U.C. 765 —12 A.D.	Tiberius goes again to Germany.	Completion of the <i>Res gestae divi Augusti</i> (<i>Marmor Ancyranum</i>).
A.U.C. 766 —13 A.D.	Germanicus in the spring on the Rhine. His campaigns there, 13-16 A.D. Augustus dies on August 19 in his seventy-sixth year (born September 23).	The philosophic school of the Sextians under Augustus and Tiberius.
A.D. 14-37 14	Tiberius (born 712-42 B.C.). The appointment of officials transferred to the Senate.	
15	Insurrection of the legions in Pannonia and Germany.	
17	Triumph of Germanicus, May 26.	Livy dies, 17 A.D. Ovid dies 18 A.D.
19	Germanicus dies at Antioch on October 10.	Strabo (born about 63 B.C.) finishes his work not before 19 A.D. Dies 24 A.D.

Chronological Table

A.D.			
23	Sejanus, Praefect of the Praetorian Guards, removes them to Rome.		
26	Tiberius leaves Rome.	Under Tiberius:	
27	Goes to Capri.	Celsus, author of <i>De Medicina</i> . The fabulist	
28	Christ's teaching begins.	Phaedrus.	
29	Livia dies at the age of 86. The Crucifixion (according to majority of ancient authorities).		
30		Velleius Paterculus' <i>Roman History</i> .	
31	Fall and death of Sejanus October 18.	Valerius Maximus writes soon after Sejanus' fall (ix. ii. 4.).	
33	Agrippina dies.	First writings of L. Seneca (born shortly before 1 A.D.) under Tiberius and Caligula.	
37	Tiberius dies on March 16.		
37-41	Gaius Caesar Caligula (born 12 A.D.).	The elder Seneca (born 54 B.C.) dies about 39 A.D.	
39		Apio in Alexandria. The cynic Demetrius in Rome.	
40		Philo as ambassador of the Alexandrian Jews in Rome.	
41	Gaius murdered January 24.		
41-54	Claudius (born 10 B.C.).	Under Claudius, the geographer Pomponius Mela. Seneca banished to Corsica, 41-49. Recipe-book of the physician Scribonius Largus about 47 A.D.	
42	Paetus and Arria die.		
43	Subjection of Britain.		
47	Secular games.		
48	Messalina died.		
49	Claudius marries Agrippina.	Under Claudius or Nero the Panegyric on Calpurnius Piso.	
50	Adopts Nero. Cologne founded.		
53	Nero marries Octavia.		
54	Claudius dies on October 13.	Calpurnius, author of eclogues during the early years of Nero's reign.	
54-68	Nero (born 37).	The satiric poet Persius 34-62. Lucan 39-65 (after 64 in disgrace).	
54	Narcissus dies. Seneca and Burrus at the helm of state.		

Chronological Table

xi

A.D.		
35	Pallas degraded. Britannicus dies.	Seneca writes his letters after his degrading from Court, 62, and dies in 65.
37	Pomponia Graecina arraigned.	
59	Agrippina dies.	
60	Corbulo victorious in Armenia.	
62	Burrus dies. Nero marries Poppaea. Pallas dies.	St. Paul in Rome 62-64 ? Josephus (born 38) in Rome 64.
64	Nero at Naples. Fire of Rome, July 19-25.	The Stoic Musonius Rufus, Epictetus' teacher, banished in 65.
65	Discovery of Piso's conspiracy.	Demetrius, the cynic, in Rome at the death of Thræsea Paetus, 66.
66	The King of Parthia, Tiridates in Rome. Nero's journey to Greece. Outbreak of the Jewish War.	The Stoic, Lucius Annaeus Cornutus, banished. Under Nero Columella (<i>De Re Rustica</i>) before 65.
67	Nero gives Greece liberty. Returns at end of year.	Lucilius (<i>Aetna</i>), Petronius (<i>Saturae</i>).
68	Revolt of Vindex and (April 6) Galba. Nero murdered July 9.	
68-69	Galba, Otho, Vitellius. January 2 the German legions call Vitellius to the Empire. Galba dies on January 15, 73 years old. Otho dies, April 16 or 20, after battle of Bedriacum 37 years old. Vitellius, before July 18, enters Rome. Vespasian proclaimed Emperor, July 3 at Caesarea. Battle in Rome and Capitol burned. Vitellius dies December 22, in his fifty-fifth year.	Quintilian comes with Galba to Rome.
69-79	Vespasian (born 9 A.D.).	
70	September 8 Jerusalem captured. October 1-15 Vespasian comes to Rome.	Quintilian, first teacher of oratory.
71	Triumph for Judaea in June. Titus co-Emperor.	70-75 about, <i>Periplus Maris Erythraei</i> .
73-74	Vespasian and Titus Censors.	Banishment of philosophers from Rome 71-75 (except Musonius Rufus).
75	Temple of Peace built, and the Colossus of the Sun.	Josephus writes his <i>Jewish War</i> about 75.

A.D. 77		The Elder Pliny (born 23) hands Titus his <i>Natural History</i> .
78	Agricola in Britain.	Plutarch (born about 46), under Vespasian, begins his shorter writings.
79	Vespasian dies June 23.	
79-81	Titus (born December 30, 39). Eruption of Vesuvius and burial of Herculaneum and Pompeii August 24.	The elder Pliny dies.
80	Epidemic and fire in Rome. Games 100 days at Rome at the consecration of the Flavian amphitheatre (Colosseum).	
81	Titus dies September 13.	
81-96	Domitian (born 51).	
81-82	The Capitol rebuilt.	Statius writes the <i>Thebais</i> (80-92); publishes the <i>Silvae</i> (91-96).
82-83	Campaign against the Chatti.	Martial (born 38-41) publishes the first eleven books of his <i>Epigrams</i> 85/86-98; leaves Rome 98; died, at the latest, 104.
85	Agricola recalled from Britain.	
86	Foundation of the <i>Agon Capitolinus</i> .	
85-86	Dacian War.	
88	Secular games (September).	Tacitus (born 54) Praetor. Plutarch (88-89) gives lectures on philosophy.
89	Dacian Triumph (prob. end of year).	
92	Sarmatian War.	Quintilian's <i>Institutio Oratoria</i> 93-95. Banishment of philosophers from Rome 93.
93	Agricola dies. Domitian again in Rome.	Josephus finishes <i>Antiquities of the Jews</i> . Silius Italicus, <i>Punica</i> .
94		
95	Execution of the Consul Flavius Clemens.	
96	Domitian dies September 18. Wall built to protect Decumate Lands, by Flavian Emperors, principally Domitian.	
96-98	Nerva.	Dio of Prusa returns after Domitian's death from long journeyings: in Trajan's favour. Tacitus writes the <i>Agricola</i> and <i>Germania</i> (in begin-
97	Revolt of the Praetorian Guards. In autumn Trajan adopted.	
98	Nerva dies January 25, 72 years old.	

A.D.		
98-117	Trajan (born 53).	ning 98). The younger
99	Trajan returns to Rome from Cologne.	Pliny (born 62) publishes his letters (97-108).
101	First Dacian War. Trajan leaves Rome end of March.	Panegyric of the Younger Pliny September, 100.
102	Peace with Decebalus and Triumph.	Juvenal (born about A.D. 60) between 112 and 116 begins the publishing of Satires; dies about 140.
104-5	Stone bridge over Danube.	Epictetus teaches under Trajan in Nicopolis, Arrian his pupil. Tacitus about 106-7 busied with his <i>Historiae</i> . The Younger Pliny governor in Bithynia and Pontus. Correspondence with Trajan (111-113) and persecution of the Christians; died soon after 113.
105-107	Second Dacian War.	
106	Conquest of Arabia Petraea.	
113	Column of Trajan erected in Forum of Trajan. Trajan goes to the East in October.	
114	Campaign in Armenia.	
115	Campaign in Mesopotamia. Earthquake at Antioch, December 13.	Plutarch's <i>Lives of Great Men</i> written under Trajan.
116	Trajan marches to Ctesiphon and to the Persian Gulf (late summer).	
117	Insurrection of the Jews. Trajan dies August 7 or 8.	
117-138	Hadrian (born 76).	
117	Hadrian abandons Armenia, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Trajan's conquests.	
118	Hadrian (beginning of August) in Rome.	Suetonius (born 77) <i>Lives of the Emperors</i> (120).
121	Leaves for the Provinces.	Flavius Arrianus, publisher of Epictetus' lectures, Consul between 121 and 124.
122	Hadrian in Britain. Wall begun.	
123/6	Hadrian's first stay in Athens.	
126/7	Hadrian in Rome.	
128/9	Hadrian in Africa.	

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A.D. 129/30 130	Hadrian's second stay in Athens. Hadrian in Egypt. Death of Antinous.	
131/2	Insurrection of the Jews. Hadrian in Judaea until 134.	Salvius Julianus' <i>Edictum Perpetuum</i> 132.
134	Hadrian returns to Rome before May 5. Rome and Tibur decorated.	
135	Aelius Verus adopted.	The orator Marcus Cornelius Fronto and the Sophist Herodes Atticus (101-177) Consuls 143.
138	Verus dies on January 1. Antoninus adopted February 25. Hadrian dies July 10.	
138-161 142	Antoninus Pius (born 86). Scottish Wall begun.	Appian's <i>History of the Civil Wars</i> . Claudius Ptolemaeus at the observatory in Alexandria. The Sophist Aristides (born 129), ill about 152, until 172.
147	Celebration of A.U.C. 900 with magnificent shows.	Apuleius (born about 124) writes at Rome the <i>Metamorphoses</i> (151-155) in Africa, the <i>Apologia</i> (158 circa).
161 161-180	Antoninus Pius dies March 1. Marcus Aurelius (born 121). L. Verus co-Emperor to 169.	The Neoplatonist Maximus of Tyre. Gaius, the jurist (110-180), <i>Institutions</i> before 161.
162	Vologases III attacks Armenia. Lucius Verus in Antioch (end of year).	
162/3	War in Armenia.	
165	War with Parthia.	Lucian (born about 115-120) writing 155-180.
166	Peace with Parthia. Mesopotamia Roman. Roman legates or commercial travellers in China. Marcomanni, Quadi, Iazyges invade Roman territory.	
167/8	The Oriental plague in Rome (introduced by Lucius Verus' army).	Second visit of Galen (born about 129) to Rome, 169 onwards. Lucian's <i>Peregrinus Proteus</i> , and <i>On the Writing of History</i> 165.
169	Lucius Verus dies at Aquileia.	Justin Martyr dies 165/6.
174	Marcus Aurelius in Rome. The Miracle of Rain of the Legio Fulminata.	
175	Revolt of Avidius Cassius.	

A .D.		
176	Marcus Aurelius in the East. Return and triumph on December 23.	Artemidorus' <i>Book of Dreams</i> .
177/8	Persecution of the Christians in Gaul.	Pausanias' fifth book 174/5; the tenth, 179/80. Marcus Aurelius' <i>Meditations</i> , 172-174. Aristides (129-189 <i>circa</i>), <i>Sacred Speeches</i> . Gellius, <i>Attic Nights</i> . Celsus <i>ἀληθῆς λόγος</i> , 177-180. Oldest Latin Bible (Italia) perhaps in Africa in second half of second century.
178	Marcus Aurelius and Commodus go to the war in Germany. Earthquake at Smyrna.	
178/9	Invasion of the Costoboci in Greece.	
179	Victory over the Marcomanni.	
180	Marcus Aurelius dies at Sirmium March 17.	
180-192	Commodus (born 161).	
185	Perennis dies.	
189	Fall of Cleander.	
191	Fire at Rome.	
192	Commodus dies December 31.	
193	Pertinax (dies March 28, 67 years old). Didius Iulianus (dies June 1, at the age of 61).	
193-211	Septimius Severus (born 146). Caracalla co-Emperor after 198	
193	Severus in Rome. Dissolution and re-organization of the Guards.	
194-6	Siege of Byzantium.	
194	Pescennius Niger dies.	
195	Campaign in Mesopotamia, Arabia, Adiabene.	Tertullian (145-220).
196	Caracalla Caesar.	
197	Clodius Albinus dies at Lyons. Severus departs for Parthian campaign.	
198	Caracalla Augustus, Geta Caesar.	Titus Flavius Clemens of Alexandria's <i>Stromata</i> under Severus. Galen dies 201.
199	Massacre at Ctesiphon. Severus Parthicus Maximus.	
202	Severus returns by Syria and Egypt to Rome. Abgar IX (179-214/16) of Osroene, possibly at Rome, later converted to Christianity.	
203	Severus' Arch and the Septizonium.	Cassius Dio, 201-222, engaged on his <i>History of Rome</i>

A.D.			
204	Secular games.	Ammonius Saccas, founder of the Neo-Platonic School, teaching at Alexandria.	
205	Plautianus dies, January 22.		
208	Severus departs for war in Britain.		
209	Invasion of Caledonia.		
210	Restoration of the Wall of Antoninus Pius. Lowering of the currency under Severus; silver alloyed 50 to 60 per cent.	Papinian, the jurist, as Praefect of Praetorians after Plautianus; dies 212.	
211	Severus dies February 4, at York.	Origen (born 185) teaches at Alexandria (203).	
211-217	Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus (Caracalla) born 188.		
212	Geta and Papinian die. The Roman suffrage granted to all peregrini by the Constitutio Antoniniana.	Oppian's <i>Cynagetica</i> .	
213	Caracalla in Gaul.		
214	Caracalla on the Main defeats the Alemanni and winters in Nicomedia.		
215	Caracalla in Antioch and Alexandria (massacre).		
216-217	Parthian War. Caracalla in Edessa.		
217	Dedication of Thermae of Caracalla.		
	Caracalla dies (April 8) near Edessa.		
217-218	Opellius Macrinus.		
217	Julia Domna dies. Romans defeated at Nisibis.	Philostratus publishes <i>Life of Apollonius of Tyana</i> (after 217).	
218	Macrinus dies about June 11. Peace with the Parthians at a ransom of 50,000,000 denarii. Foundation of Catacombs of Callistus, bishop of Rome, 217-222.		
218-222	Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Elagabalus (born 201).	Domitius Ulpian, Praefect of the Praetorians, dies 228. Paulus, Praefect of the Praetorians, 229. Cassius Dio Consul still engaged on his <i>History</i> , 230-234.	
219	Elagabalus comes to Rome.	Claudius Aelianus (writer of <i>De Natura Animalium</i> , etc.), flourishes under Elagabalus.	
221	Alexander Severus Caesar.		
222	Elagabalus dies in March.		

A.D.

222-235

M. Aurelius Severus Alexander
(born 205).

227

Artaxerxes (Ardashir) Lord of
Persia from 224, overthrows
the Parthian Empire, and
founds the Sassanid Empire.

230-233

War with Persia.

234

War in Germany.

235

Alexander dies in March.

235-238

Maximin. Gordian raised to
throne March 16; dies April 6.
Maximin attacks Italy, March-
April. Election of Maximus
and Balbinus (April 16). Maxi-
min dies June 17. Maximus
and Balbinus die July 23.

238-244

Gordian III (born 223).

242

War with Persia.

244

Carrhae and Nisibis won back in
spring or summer. Gordian
dies.

244-249

Philippus Arabs.

248

Thousandth anniversary of
foundation of Rome.

249

Philip dies at Verona in the
autumn.

249-251

Decius Traianus. Great perse-
cution of the Christians.

250

Persistent epidemics.

251

Decius dies on campaign against
the Goths.

251-253

Gallus and Volusianus Caesar.

253-260

Valerian and Gallienus.

256

The Franks invade Spain.

Dacia lost, but for fortresses.

257

Aurelian's victory over the
Goths.

258

Postumus rival Emperor in Gaul.

259/60

Valerian captured by Sapor.

260-8

Gallienus.

264

Odenathus of Palmyra, Governor
in the East, recaptures Nisibis
and Carrhae.

266/7

Odenathus and Postumus die.

268

Tetricus rival Emperor in Gaul.

Gallienus dies in March.
Claudius.

Marius Maximus writes
*Lives of Emperors from
Nerva to Elagabalus.
The Refutation of the
Heresies of Hippolytus*
about 235. Censorinus
De Die Natali, 238.

Herodian's *History* (180-
238). Plotinus, the
Neo-Platonist (born 205)
marches with the Roman
Army to Persia (in
Rome 244; dies 270).

Origen writes *Against* . . .
Celsus 248; dies 253.

Cyprian (200-257) Bishop
of Carthage, 248.

Diogenes Laertius' *Lives
of the Philosophers*.

Porphyrus (born 233) at-
tends Plotinus' lectures
in Rome (263-8).

A.D.			
268-270	Conquers the Goths.	Herennius Dexippus, au-	
270	Egypt reconquered by Probus	thor of a history up to	
	towards end of year. Aurelian.	271.	
270-275	Rome surrounded with walls.		
272	War with Zenobia of Palmyra		
	after December, 271. (Cap-		
	ture of town spring, 272 ; its		
	destruction after the revolt in		
	spring, 273).		
273	Zenobia captured.		
274	Tetricus conquered. Triumph	Longinus dies 273.	
	of Aurelian. The Dacian		
	fortresses abandoned.		
275	Aurelian dies.		
275-276	Tacitus.		
276	Florianus.		
276-282	Probus.		
282-284	Carus, Carinus and Numerianus		
283	War with Persia. Carus dies		
	December 21.		
284-305	Diocletian.		
285	Battle of Margus in the spring.		
	Carinus dies. Maximian made		
	Caesar, May 1.		
285-286	Augustus, April 1. War with		
	Bagaudae in Gaul.		
287	Carausius' Revolt in Britain.		
290	Peace with Carausius. Court-		
	ceremony amplified. Hier-		
	archy of officials.		
292	Galerius and Constantius Chlo-		
	rus nominated as Caesars.		
	Empire divided into four parts.		
293	Carausius dies.		
296	Britain reconquered by Con-	Arnobius, <i>Adv. Nationes</i> ;	
	stantius.	<i>Itinerarium Antonini</i> ,	
		end of third century.	
296/7	Persian war under Galerius.		
302	Edictum de pretiis rerum ven-		
	alium. Triumph of Diocle-		
	tian.		
303	Persecution of Christians. Cele-	Porphyry's <i>Life of Plotinus</i>	
	bration of Vicennalia in Rome.	301.	
304	Diocletian in Ravenna Janu-		
	ary 1.		
305	Diocletian's Baths built. Dio-		
	cletian's abdication in Nico-		
	media. Maximian's abdic-		
	ation at Milan May 1. Dio-		
	cletian at Salona (Spalato).		
	His palace there.		

Chronological Table

xix

A.D. 306	Constantius Chlorus dies; succeeded by his son Constantine. Maxentius' usurpation.	
307	Licinius raised to purple at Carnuntum.	Lactantius' <i>Institutiones Divinae</i> 307-310.
310	Maximian dies. Galerius' Edict of Tolerance.	
311	Galerius dies.	Collection of the <i>Lives of the Emperors</i> in this epoch.
312	Constantine's victory at the Milvian bridge. Maxentius dies.	
313	Religious Edict of Milan. Diocletian, Maximian dies. Licinius Lord in the East.	
324	Licinius dies.	
324-337	Constantine sole Emperor.	
326	Crispus dies.	
327	Fausta dies.	
330	Consecration of Constantinople May 11.	
337	Constantine dies.	<i>Itinerarium Burdigalense (Hierosolymitanum)</i> 333

A.D. 337-361	Constantine II. Constantius. Constans.	Iamblichus (pupil of Porphyry) dies about 330.	Firmicus Maternus, 336/7, <i>De Mathesi</i> ; after conversion, 346/7, <i>De errore profanarum religionum</i> .
357	Julian conquers Alemanni at Strasburg.	Eusebius (Bishop of Caesarea 315) continues his <i>Chronicle</i> to 325, then the <i>Ecclesiastical History</i> and <i>Life of Constantine</i> ; dies 340	Aelius Donatus, the grammarian and rhetor in Rome about 350.
361-363	Julian (born 331) dies June 27.	Original of <i>Expositio totius mundi et gentium</i> 350-353.	Palladius on Agriculture? District gazetteers of Rome: <i>Notitia</i> , 334-357; <i>Curiosum</i> after 357.
363-4	Jovian.	Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil of Caesarea study at Athens 355. The Sophist Themistius Senator at Constantinople 355; teacher of Arcadius 387.	S. Aurelius Victor's <i>Caesars to Death of Constantine</i> . Eutropius' <i>History</i> down to 364, dedicated to Valens. Julius Obsequens' <i>List of Prodigies</i> ?

A.D.			
	DIVISION OF EMPIRE.	Libanius (born 314) in Antioch after 352, dies 392/3.	
364-375	Valentinian I in the West.		Hilarius, Bishop of Poitiers, dies 368.
364-378	Valens in the East.	Himerius (316-368) Julian's Secretary 362.	Lucifer, Bishop of Cagliari dies 371.
375-383	Gratian.	Julian's <i>Caesares</i> , and anti-Christian writ- ings 362.	Rufus Festus Avienus, geographical poems.
383-392	Valentinian II. Theodosius I (ruler of East after 379).	Basil dies 380 Gregory dies 390.	D. Ausonius Magnus (310 - 390, Consul 379), <i>Mosella</i> 370.
392-395	Sole Ruler.		Damasus (305-384) a Christian poet.
395-408	Arcadius in the East.	Chrysostomus dies, 407.	<i>Notitia Dignitatum</i> (a Byzantine manual of State) end of fourth century. Quintus Aurelius Symma- chus (about 340- 402), <i>Præf. urbi</i> 384/5
395-423	Honorius in the West (at first under regency of Stilicho).	Nonnus, poet at begin- ning of fifth cen- tury.	<i>Speeches and Letters</i> (two-thirds of latter 395-402).
406	Visigoths in Gaul.	Eunapius (born 346) continues Dexippus' history down to 404, and writes <i>Lives of the Philosophers</i> .	Ammianus Marcellinus (330-400), <i>Roman History from 96-378</i> .
410	Rome sacked by Alaric.	Olympiodorus' <i>History of 407-425</i> .	Flavius Vegetius Rena- tus dedicates work on the <i>Art of War</i> to Theodosius I be- tween 384 and 395.
415	Establishment of Empire of the Visi- goths.	The philosopher Hy- patia murdered at Alexandria 415.	Ambrosius (340-397) Bishop of Milan 374.
430	Vandals rule in Africa.	Plutarch, head of the Neo-Platonic School at Athens, dies be- tween 431 and 435.	St. Jerome (340-420) translates the Bible into Latin 390-405 (whence the present Vulgate), and trans- lates and comple- ments the <i>History of the World</i> of Euse- bius down to 378.
		Syrianus succeeds him.	Rufinus (345 - 410) translates Origen and Eusebius.
		Proclus succeeds him (412-485).	Aurelius Prudentius, a Christian poet, 348- 410.
408-450	In the East Theodosius II.		

Chronological Table

xxi

A.D.			
425-455	In the West Valentinian III.	Socrates' <i>Ecclesiastical History</i> of 306-439.	Paulinus (353 - 431) Bishop of Nola 409.
451	Attila defeated by Aetius at Châlons.	Priscus ambassador to Attila 448, writes the Byzantine History up to 474.	Claudianus, a poet at the end of fourth and beginning of fifth century.
452	The Huns in Italy.	Zosimus, <i>History from Augustus to 410.</i>	St. Augustine (354-430) Bishop of Hippo 395. <i>De Civitate Dei</i> (after 410).
453	Attila dies.		Sulpicius Severus (365- 425) finishes his <i>Chronicle of the World</i> 403.
455	Rome taken by the Van- dals.		Macrobius writes the <i>Saturnalia</i> at end of fourth or beginning of fifth century.
456	Avitus.		Marcianus Capella, <i>Artium Liberalium ix Libri</i> , about 400.
457-461	Maorianus.		Rutilius Namatianus' poetical descriptions of travel, 416.
461-465	Libius Severus.		Orosius' <i>History of the World</i> to 417.
465-467	Ricimer.		<i>Law of Citations</i> , 426.
467-472	Anthemius.		Salvianus, about 450, <i>De Gubernatione Dei</i> .
473	Glycerius.		Apollinaris Sidonius, Bishop of Clermont 469/70; poems and letters.
474-475	Iulius Nepos.		Boethius, Consul 510, dies 525; <i>De Conso- latione</i> .
475-476	Romulus Au- gustulus.		Priscianus, grammari- an at Constantinople about 500.
476	End of Western Empire.		Cassiodorus (480-575), Secretary to Theo- doric, writes a chronicle up to 519.
492-525	Theodoric King of Italy.	Johannes Lydus au- thor after 522.	Tribonian (dies 545) edits the <i>Pandects</i> 530-33, and the <i>Co- dex Justinianus</i> .
527-565	Justinian Em- peror of the East.		Isidore Bishop of Seville 570-640, writes <i>Ori- gines</i> , xx books.

CONTENTS

CHAP.	PAGE
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE	vii-xxi
I THE CITY OF ROME	1-29
Rome up to Sulla's death—up to Augustus. Comparison with modern capitals. The Fire under Nero. High houses. Narrow streets. The vast city. Public resorts. The fourth century description. Architecture, gardens, parks. Waterworks. Shops. <i>Fumi</i> . Foreign visitors. Disadvantages—high prices — frauds — noise — insecurity — collapses—insanitation—epidemics.	
II The COURT.	30-97
1 Its Influence on Forms and Manners	30-33
II The Officials, Freedmen and Slaves of the Imperial House	33-70
§ 1. The most important Court appointments—given to freedmen at first and Knights afterwards. The <i>Cubicularius</i> . <i>Praefectus sacri cubiculi</i> . Slaves were Greeks and Orientals. Character ascribed to Syrians. Modern parallels. Freedmen under various emperors, 43. Wealth of Narcissus, Pallas, etc. Their ostentation	
§ 2. The Reorganization of Hadrian. Knights appointed to Court offices. Etruscus. Offices <i>A rationibus</i> , <i>A libellis</i> , <i>Ab Epis-</i>	33-50
xxiii	

CHAP.		PAGE
	<i>tolis, Literary Counsellor.</i> Abas-	
	cantus. Capito	50-56
§ 3	<i>The Imperial Chamberlains</i> Helicon, Parthenius, Sigerus, Saoterus, Cleander, Castor. Court artists	56-61
§ 4	<i>Freedwomen</i> Acme, Acte, Caenis, Panthea Marcia	61-65
§ 5	<i>The Palace slaves</i>	65-67
§ 6	<i>Free Courtiers : Physicians, astro-</i> <i>logers, tutors</i>	67-70
III	<i>The Friends and Companions of the Em-</i> <i>peror</i>	70-82
	Members of the Privy Council. Their power. The two classes of friends. The titles. The morning reception. The invitations to dinner. Travels. Their position at Court.	
IV	<i>The Emperor's Table Companions</i>	82-85
V	<i>The Ceremonials</i>	86-97
	§ 1. <i>The Morning Receptions</i>	86-93
	The morning reception of sena- tors and others. The Empresses' receptions. On New Year's Day and Accession Day. Dress, manners, etc.	
	§ 2. <i>The Public Meals.</i> Who were in- vited. The Conventions at these banquets.	93-97
III	<i>THE THREE ESTATES</i>	98-206
I	<i>Rank and birthrights</i>	98-106
	Survival of old ranks. Freedmen. Provincials. Municipals. The three orders.	
II	<i>The Senators</i>	106-133
	Relations of Senate to Emperor. Few old families. <i>Novi homines</i> . The old families. Senators of second rank. Senatorial census. Public <i>λειτουργίαι</i> . Restricted rights of earning. Oratory and Advocacy. New hierarchy of office. Grant of honours by	

Contents

XXV

CHAP.

PAGE

	Emperor or senate. Insignia of Senate. Expulsion from order.	
III	Knights	134-144
	Outside Rome the first rank. Senatorial knights. Grades of knighthood. Wealth of the order. Offices held.	
IV	The Third Estate	144-206
	§ 1. Riches and Poverty	144-146
	§ 2. Industry : Crafts and Trade. Great sub-division of labour-guilds	146-154
	§ 3. Miscellaneous Crafts, Arts, and Pursuits.	154-188
	i General	154-156
	ii Teachers, Rhetoricians and Advocates	156-165
	iii <i>Jurisconsulti</i>	165-167
	iv Medicine	167-185
	Doctors ! mostly foreign. Specialists. Female doctors and wet nurses. Source of medicaments. Use of drugs. The Schools of Doctors.	
	v <i>Astrology</i>	185-188
	§ 4. i Agriculture	188-189
	ii The Marine	189-190
	iii Subordinate Offices	190
	iv The Army	191-195
	§ 5. Clients	195-202
	History of Clients. Day of Clients. Treatment of Clients.	
	§ 6. The Freedmen	202-206
	Effect on population of Rome. The <i>nouveaux-riches</i> .	
IV	ROMAN SOCIETY	207-227
	I The morning reception—Other social engagements	207
	II The <i>Ardeliones</i> . Inheritance - hunting. Publicity. Dice. No freedom of expression on politics. Secret police. Conversation, trivial or educational	212

CHAP.		PAGE
V	THE POSITION OF WOMEN	228-267
	Childhood. Games. Instruction. Marriage after the twelfth year. Betrothal. From Nursery into independence. <i>Procuratores</i> . Formal marriages. <i>Conventus matronarum</i> . Divorce. Slavery and its moral effects. The games. Banquets. Social relations. Public-minded women. Oriental cults. Judaism. Christianity. Astrology. Magic. The heroic women. Some inscriptions.	
VI	MEANS OF COMMUNICATION	268-322
I	Communications by roads	268-280
	i Security and extent of Roman roads	268-278
	The main directions.	
	ii The State Post	278-280
II	The speed of travel by land and sea	280-287
III	Land Journeys	287-299
	Inns. Tolls. Robbers. Luxurious and simple equipages. Billetings. Innkeepers in ill repute. Brigands. Felix Bulla. Modern times compared.	
IV	The Nature of the traffic	299-322
	§ 1. The traffic of the Roman Empire. Official messengers. Garrisons. Colonization and mixing of populations.	299-303
	§ 2. Commercial Interchange	304-316
	(i) The journeys	304-314
	Great spread of commerce. Unity of coinage. Rome honoured beyond frontier. Commercial voyages frequent. To India and China. For amber to the North.	
	(ii) The distribution of the goods	314-316
	§ 3. Travel in general	316-322
	Science. Journeys of students,	

CHAP.

PAGE

professors, doctors, actors, etc.
To festivals. To Egypt, Sta-
biae, Anticyra.

VII	TOURING UNDER THE EMPIRE	323-428
I	The infrequency and limitedness of discoveries. The geographical horizon. The extent and aim of tours	323-329
II	Italy. Villeggiature on the Coast and in the Hills	329-336
	Baiae	336-338
III	Sicily	339
IV	Greece	340-343
V	The Greek Islands and Little Asia	344-349
VI	Egypt	349-367
	A great attraction to Rome. Alexandrian shipping. Size of ships. Egypt only country un-Romanized. Alexandria exotic. Memphis, Thebes, etc.	
VII	What interested Roman tourists—The Seven Wonders	367-394
	§ 1. The historical interest.	368-378
	The temples as museums. Heroic remains. <i>τροφαία</i>	
	§ 2. Art as a motive	378-380
	§ 3. Nature as an incentive to travel	380-394
	Ancient feeling for Nature different. Grottoes. Groves. Ancient trees. Corycian Cave. Tempe Averni. Roman love for country life in Virgil, Horace, etc. Pliny's Tuscan villa. Villas, where situated. No love of mountain scenery.	
VIII	The development of the modern feeling for the Romantic in Nature	395-428
	§ 1. Mountains disliked up to eighteenth century, e.g. Cynewulf, Dante, Petrarch, etc. Italian landscape. Pilgrims, Scheuchzer, etc., down to Mme. de Sévigné, Gray. 1729, Haller's <i>Alps</i>	395-406

	PAGE
§ 2. Konrad Gesner. Birth of Romance	407-408
§ 3. Rousseau. Coxe. Saussure	408-413
§ 4. Ruskin. Chateaubriand. Delbrück	414-418
§ 5. Southern scenery influences judgment	418-421
Ancient Persia, Mexico, etc.	
§ 6. Ancient landscape-painting. No atmosphere effects in antiquity.	
Italian landscape and gardens	421-428

CHAPTER I

THE CITY OF ROME

EVEN at the close of the regal period, Rome, as marked by the Servian wall, although considerably enlarged, was little more than a modern country town. Agriculture and cattle-breeding were still carried on inside. The homesteads were mostly of wood and clay, and thatched with straw. The unpaved streets raised clouds of dust in the summer, and, in the winter, were a sea of mire.

The faults in the construction of later Rome were attributed in antiquity to the haste with which the town had been rebuilt after its destruction by the Gauls 390 B.C. The city was irregularly divided, its streets were narrow and tortuous, and the houses crowded. Tiled roofs came in very gradually; shingled roofs were general up to the war with Pyrrhus (284 B.C.)—a proof of the wooded wealth of Italy at that time, which Rome afterwards rapidly consumed in the building of her leasehold houses, lofty, joisted and liable to fires. Rome was slowly ceasing to look like a village even before 310 B.C. The wooden booths of the butchers in the Forum had yielded place to money-changers' offices, but the improvements were so tardy and isolated that, even at the Court of Philip of Macedon, the anti-Roman party was still able to scoff at the ugliness of Italy's capital: neither its private houses nor its public buildings were beautiful. These then for the first time began to be architecturally adorned. Basilicas were erected in place of the booths. A row of stone markets of similar architecture arose round the principal lines of the Forum. In 185 B.C. Marcus Porcius Cato began a reform, followed by Fulvius Nobilior and Sempronius Gracchus in 180 and 170. In the censor's year, 179—a year memorable in architecture—Cato gave Rome a large central market for articles of food, with a domed slaughterhouse in the middle and sale-rooms radiating from it. Quintus Metellus Macedonicus (Consul in 143), built the first 'marble temple,' but probably out of stolen columns and pieces.

R.L.M.

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At a much earlier date—possibly soon after the second Punic War—the dismantling of the fortifications of Rome had disposed of one of the chief obstacles to the extension of the town, and, even under Sulla, it became necessary to push outwards the sacred boundary (the Pomerium). After the time of Sulla, Rome became statelier, inasmuch as the Tabularium (of which fragments exist in the Senators' palace) and other fine edifices were built, but the lie of the streets and frontages remained the same. In 63 B.C. Rome was poorly paved, had zig-zagging hilly streets, tall houses, narrow alleys, and could not compare with Capua, *altera Roma*, the city of the plain, which even in Domitian's time did not stand far behind the capital. Augustus' Rome was a city grown up anyhow. During the five-and-thirty years between Sulla's death and Caesar's murder (78–44 B.C.) Rome had bedecked herself with many magnificent buildings, public and private, in which generals, officers, civil servants and business-men exhibited their riches, and loot from East and West, gained in that epoch of conquest. In the year 44 B.C. there were over one hundred palaces in Rome. Cicero, a quarter of a century afterwards, thought he might call Rome a beautiful and richly adorned city, even though, in Plutarch's opinion, the Roman edifices before the Empire were not comparable with those of Pericles at Athens; and Suetonius is doubtless right in saying that Augustus found the city of Rome unworthy of her imperial dignity.

Under Augustus Roman architecture received a tremendous impetus. The feeling of security, which returned with universal peace, increasing prosperity and population; the great influx of capital, and the lowering of interest from 12 per cent., in 29 B.C., to 4 per cent., not to speak of the Emperor's personal endeavour to endow Rome with the splendour commensurate with the world's sovereign city, were the main causes. He first had the matchless Carrara marble used in huge quantities in building. Most of the improvement of Rome was on a generous scale, in public places and monuments; but many regulations and widenings of the chaotic streets (largely consequent on the ornamentations) were also made. Further, the firm resolve of the monarch reacted also on grandees, capitalists and contractors, so that very soon many gorgeous private houses and palaces sprang into being, and overshadowed the older buildings. At the

solidity of a Piso's palace Augustus was rejoiced ; he was building, he said, for Rome's eternity.

Augustus' wish and example for the architectural reorganization of Rome had no less swift and impressive results than the incentive of some modern rulers in modern towns. At Naples the reign of the Spanish viceroy Pietro de Toledo (1532-1553) heralded a new era of architecture. Sixtus V (1585-1590) impressed his mark on Rome. Gustavus Vasa's rule (1523-1560) secured Stockholm more stone houses than any other northern European city, even London ; his policy was followed out by John III (1568-1592) : in 1582, 429 out of the 658 houses were stone. To the precedent set by Louis XIV after 1661 Paris owed two new cities round St. Sulpice and the Palais Royal, both superior to the old town. In Moscow, where, towards the end of the seventeenth century, roughly carpentered wooden houses were on sale in the markets to replace the hundreds or thousands burnt down, the example of Count Golitsyn's new palace had a great effect ; whilst he was at the head of affairs (1682-1689) no less than 3,000 stone houses were built. Augustus the Strong found Dresden a little city of wood, and converted it into one of stone, the prettiest, according to Lady Montagu (1716) in all Germany. Warsaw redeemed herself from her poverty-stricken condition under Stanislaus Augustus, when he chose the city for his capital, and, together with his magnates, enriched it with numerous palaces and public buildings. Berlin was improved under Frederick William I and Frederick II at great public cost, and private building was also enforced : later, at the close of the Seven Years' War, there was a very brisk epoch of building. Similarly, too, Rome received from her first monarch a new architectural garb, and 'from a city of brick became a city of marble'. Thirty years after the battle of Actium Ovid speaks of 'the Golden Rome, that holds the treasures of the conquered world'. Yet the streets of Rome were altered or improved only to a very slight extent under Augustus. For under Tiberius the complaint was raised that the great height of the houses and narrowness of the streets allowed of no protection against fire, or possibility of escaping to the other side of the road in case of collapse. Nero's fire (in 64 A.D.) owed its enormous extent mainly to 'the narrow tortuous streets and over-heavy houses of old Rome.'

A new Rome arose from the ashes of Nero's Rome, which was burnt down on the anniversary of the Gallic fire, when three out of the fourteen quarters were laid low in six days, and only smouldering remains were left of seven. The houses were now fire-proof up to a certain height, and made of Gabinian and Albanian stone, intervals were left, and less height allowed, the districts were made regular, the streets straighter and arcaded. At Nero's death (68 A.D.) these operations were naturally not completed. Vespasian found the city marred by the ruins of fires and fallen houses and an inscription of 71 A.D. boasts of his having repaired the neglected streets of former ages, at his own cost.

Yet even the new town (which was more than two-thirds of the whole) did not wholly remedy the old evils. Authorities agree that even after the great fire houses were very lofty. Juvenal says there were windows, whence objects in the streets were but dimly seen. If one were to add to the extent and compass of Rome the height of the houses, says Pliny, no city in the world were as great. In compass Alexandria was larger (in the year 74 Rome was calculated to be 13,200 paces, and Alexandria 16,360); but in this town the houses were not as tall. Aristides says in his Laudation of Rome (145 A.D.) that even as a strong man lifts others up over him and carries them, so Rome bears cities on cities, raised above herself. Were they outspread on the plain, the whole breadth of Italy from sea to sea were one continuous city. As a fact, the motives for piling up storeys were as strong as ever: the site for Caesar's Forum had cost over £875,000 compensation to tenants and ground landlords. Rome had loftier houses than modern capitals. Whilst at Berlin the Building Ordinances of 1860 allow only 36 feet, in a street of the same width, as the maximum height, and only corresponding increases, and at Vienna only 45 feet (at the most four storeys) and at Paris at the most 63·6 feet to a street of similar width, Augustus at Rome fixed the maximum height of the frontages at 70 Roman feet, which gave room for six to seven storeys; Trajan reduced this to 60 Roman feet, that is about five or six storeys. Neither regulation was much regarded; neither extended to courtyards and the backs of the houses; which, no doubt, were built much taller: Martial tells of a 'poor devil whose attic is two hundred

steps up'. These heights were independent of the breadth of the street, an aspect in which Rome lagged behind modern capitals. Whilst in Berlin the average breadth of streets is 70 feet, in Rome the larger streets were only 16 to 19 feet, that is, less than the least on the Paris scale of 24 feet, where the houses may be only 36 feet high. The fashionable street, the Vicus Tuscus, at Rome, had a pavement of only 13 feet 6 in., the Vicus Jugarius only 16 feet 6 in. If Tyre (according to Strabo) had really taller houses than Rome, it was the consequence of its insular position.

Long and straight streets were to be found in the Campus Martius, such as the Via Lata corresponding to the southern part of the Corso, and that answering to the Via de' Coronari, which leads from the Ponte de Sant' Angelo to the Piazza Colonna ; some also in the other parts, like the Vicus Patricius (Via Urbana) and the Alta Semita (Via del Venti Settembre) ; but the constant rise and fall of hill and valley made them few, especially as the valleys were mostly occupied by the Fora and other public places. Such magnificent vistas, as Antioch and Alexandria could show with their great parades, miles long and in rectangular blocks, Rome never had. In consequence of the lie of the town, the ancient lines have been preserved in mediaeval Rome, down to the days of Sixtus V, and even to the present date. The torn fragments of the plan of the Capitoline city, referable to the beginning of the third century, show an almost equal number of remains of straight, right-angled, and irregular districts, and indicate (no mere chance) the greatest diversity in the breadth in the streets.

Further, the architectural effect of the streets of Rome would be spoiled in modern eyes by some peculiarities of ancient style : frontages, that often swerved from the straight line, windows of irregular shape or isolated in the upper storeys, unequal heights of different parts of the same houses, and the frequency of buildings adjunct or jutting, a cause of the narrowing of the liveliest streets. The ground floors had no spaces opening on to the street, and the street walls never had windows. Where there were arcaded fronts, traffic might pass along them ; but this could only be in the broader streets. In the narrower roads, taverns, booths, shops, workshops and drinking establishments were built into the

street, as even in the business-streets of Pompeii every house has booths with shop tables fixed against the street wall. In the turmoil of the Roman streets the inconvenience of their obstructions by these projections made itself so sensible occasionally, that some relief had to be found. All Rome, says Martial in 92 A.D., had become one big tavern, all the streets were taken possession of by dealers and tradesmen, butchers, publicans and barbers ; the thresholds of the houses vanished. There hung chained upon the publican's stakes, flasks of wine, or in the midst of the thickest traffic the barber might be working ; sooty, smoking cooked-meat shops took up the whole breadth of a street ; and Praetors had to make their way in the muddy carriage-road. Domitian restricted the tavern-room, and streets now widened from mere paths into roads fit for traffic. Yet the wooden projections from the houses remained numerous, as is expressly indicated by Herodian in a description of a street-fight between the mob and the Praetorians in the year 237 or 238 ; any fire originating in them, was by them quickly spread over the whole town. In the year 368 the City Praefect Praetextatus forbade balconies and bow-windows altogether, because of their danger of fires, especially as they had curtains.

But, despite her deficiencies in streets and site, Rome was peerless. Claudian could still aver that Heaven could show nothing fairer ; that no eye could see her immensity, no heart feel all her beauty, no tongue sing all her praise : and, one hundred years later, Fulgentius, the African, cried out, as he saw her : ' How beauteous must the New Jerusalem be, if this earthly Rome be so gorgeous ! ' A panegyrist of Rome (Callinicus of Petra in Arabia) in the third century compares the deprivation of those who have not seen her to that of the blind, who do not know the sun ; he only who knows Rome dare aver he has lived ; his lot is more apart from all others, than that of the consecrate and the polluted. The marvellous thing was the enormous, unresting turmoil of a cosmopolitan population, the confusion and enchantment of a really universal intercourse, the magnificence and number of the public places, and the tremendous size of the city. From what aspect, asks Aristides, could a complete view be had of so many heights covered with buildings, or so many valleys converted into towns, or so much land made into one

city? Wherever one is, is the centre. And, actually, any one looking down from the height of the Capitol, lost count in this whirr of palaces, public buildings and monuments, stretching forth beneath him over hill and dale, endlessly. The ruined desert of to-day towards the Albanian Hills, the home of malaria, was then a healthy plain, all built over with streets that teemed with life. On no side was the town bounded in any sense; no landmark was there to signify where Rome ended and a new realm began. The outskirts continued into the Campagna, and gradually ate up the numerous villages and places of the neighbourhood, and the suburbs were lost in new sites of beautiful country-houses, temples and monuments. The marble peaks, gables and cupolas shone up from the dark green of the parks and gardens.

The public places on the Campus Martius were the most spacious, and as magnificent as any. Strabo has given us a picture of the impressiveness of Augustus' marble city. The broad plain enclosed by the sinuous stream, on its immense surface room for vehicles and riders and gymnasts, its sward ever green, public buildings and monuments all about, rounded off with parks and avenues: all this was a view, an essential of life, the centre, to which the remainder of the town was a mere addition. But, enter the city itself, and see the *Fora* outspread in succession, cased in with temples and colonnades, the Capitol and its erections, the Palatine and the Colonnade of Livia—and what had been seen without might well be forgotten. Such a town, Strabo concludes his description, is Rome. Any losses in the fires under Nero and Titus were replaced or restored, and the original foundations enlarged. The whole of the Campus Martius could be traversed under the cover of colonnades; the entire length of the ten principal porticos of the ninth *Regio* (Circus Flaminius) has been estimated at 4,500 metres, and the area protected from sun and rain at 27,500; the whole comprised about 100,000 square metres, and about 2,000 columns. Pliny says that in every single one of her wonders Rome was sovereign, but her entirety and the collection of them in a single spot created a second world in size. In the latter days of the Republic, the colossal wall of King Servius, fifty feet broad, the huge buildings beneath the Capitol and the system of cloacae had been an object of admiration;

the cloacae had (as Pliny says) seven main subterranean arms meeting at one point, and the strong fall swept all objects down ; its vaults resisted the most enormous pressure from above, collapses and earthquakes. In Pliny's time, the most magnificent buildings were Julius Caesar's Great Circus, the Forum of Augustus, the Basilica of Paulus, restored by him with columns of Phrygian marble, and the Diribitorium of Agrippa in the Campus Martius with a roof of a size up till then unseen, and finally Vespasian's Temple of Peace.

During the fifty years from Vespasian to Hadrian Rome attained her greatest splendour, although the Antonines, and later Severus and Caracalla, did much to beautify her. Caracalla near his Thermae laid the Via Nova, which was pronounced Rome's handsomest street. Yet in the last third of the first, and the first of the second century, edifices followed each hard on the other, works admired by the latest generations, no less than by contemporaries. Ammianus describes the impression Rome made on the Emperor Constantius, who visited it in the year 357 for the first time, and names, in this passage, only buildings of his own day. As the Emperor came to the Forum, the famous centre of the ancient sovereignty, he was dumb with amazement. The Temple of Jupiter on the Tarpeian Rock gleamed as with a present deity. The baths seem as huge as whole provinces. The Flavian Amphitheatre, a mighty building of Tiburtine stone, bulks to heights almost invisible to the eye. That splendid round temple of the Pantheon, with its lofty vaulting, the huge commemorative columns, to the tops of which there are steps that lead from the inside, and surmounted with the statues of former monarchs, the Temple of the Goddess Rome, the Forum of Peace, Pompey's Theatre, the Odeum, the Stadium, all these monuments emulate one another in beauty, glory and magnificence. But when he was led to the Forum of Trajan, and saw this building, probably unparalleled on earth, and admired even by the Gods, he stood still, and let his mind wander through the gigantic space, undescrivable in words, unrealizable again by man.

The considerable remains give us, on the whole, an insight into the plan of imperial Rome. A basilica of huge dimensions, and behind it the hundred foot column commemorative of the Emperor's deeds, formed the background and ideal centre for an open square ; this area was, to one entering from the

Forum of Augustus, bounded on the right and the left by pillared halls, and behind them symmetrical semi-circular buildings mounted up on the one side to the declivity of the Capitol, and on the other to that of the Quirinal, the latter only decorated with an equestrian statue of the Emperor. The Basilica was a market-building on columns; its central room was probably two-storied, surrounded by a double hall, and, in the direction of the Capitol and the Quirinal, bounded off by semi-circular alcoves,¹ had the same breadth (25 metres) as the later basilicas of St. Peter and San Paolo fuori; its wooden ceiling was tiled in bronze, and granite, home and foreign marbles were squandered on it. On both sides (East and West) of the column the buildings of a Greek and Latin library probably stood; behind the column (to the North) a temple to Trajan, built by Hadrian, completed the view. In the course of time Trajan's forum became filled with statues of veteran civil servants, especially in gilded bronze, the pedestals of which (from the time of the Antonines down to the sixth century) have survived. 'Besides this, all the eaves of the surrounding halls and basilicas were covered with golden horses and trophies, statues of barbarians, prisoners or mourners (some of which have survived on the Triumphal Arch), and other works in gold and porphyry; the extant frescoes were in a luxuriant and bold style; thus, a clear picture of the truly royal splendour may be formed, presented by this vigorously symmetrical public square.'

Our first comprehensive descriptions of the city of Rome and her fourteen Regions date back to the middle of the fourth century; two almost identical redactions of an official survey made between 312 and 315 and apparently based on a plan of the city. These documents have two supplements, the first of which catalogues the public monuments under several heads (6 obelisks, 8 bridges, 11 thermae, 19 water channels, etc.), and the second totals up the monuments to be found in the fourteen regions: these are, 2 circuses, 2 amphitheatres, 3 theatres, 4 gladiatorial schools, 5 *ναυμαχίαι*,² 36 marble arches, 37 gates, 290 storehouses and warehouses, 254 public bakehouses, 1,790 palaces, 46,602 lodging-houses, etc. In the Calendar of Polemius Silvius (448 A.D.) seven

¹ *Exedrae*: on their use see Tyrrell and Purser, *Correspondence of Cicero*, II, p. 272.

² 'Mock sea-fights'; hence, places where such were exhibited.

principal 'marvels' of Rome are set out, evidently to counterpoise the seven wonders of the world. The seven marvels (no doubt very variously given) are : the cloacae, the aqueducts, the Flavian Amphitheatre or Colosseum, Domitian's Odeum, the Thermae and the view from the top of the Janiculum (by the Acqua Paola), whence, then as now, the guides made visitors gape at the Seven Hills and Rome outstretched.

But it was not only this incomparable splendour of her architecture that made Rome a city of marvels. The wanderer through her endless realm saw on every hand objects to enthrall his attention. Everywhere was his gaze held fast by the work of the elder and the newer art, which decorated the whole town with a labyrinthine completeness. The walls of the atria and temples glistened with the varied hues of the mural paintings and pictures, and their rooms, as those of the baths, like the streets and the squares, were filled, even as late as the fourth century, with bronzes and marbles. Then there were still 3,785 bronze statues of emperors and generals, which would have brought up the whole number of the public statues to more than 10,000. Add to these the private collections, and some conception may be formed how, two hundred years later, after no few ravages, Cassiodorus could say, that Rome's walls were denizenized with a second population of stone and bronze. And everywhere the buildings were intercepted and defined by green gardens and parks, and at all seasons were these flourishing and fresh. The Esquiline was covered by the gardens of Maecenas, Pallas, Epaphroditus, Torquatus, as though by a huge park : the gardens of the Acillii, of Lucullus and Sallust, occupied the whole surface of Monte Pincio and the neighbouring valleys. And the spacious environs of the palaces enclosed gardens, with splendid ancient trees, wherein birds twittered : especially lotus-trees were favourites in town gardens, on account of the shade they afforded. The six lotus-trees in the garden of Crassus the orator, which in 92 B.C. were valued at as high a price (3,000,000 sesterces) as the palace itself, were destroyed only 150 years later in Nero's conflagration. Even from the roofs and balconies flowers and bushes made the air odorous. Especially on the right shore of the Tiber, and the surrounding hills, gardens partly imperial, were spread out. Many were open to the

public ; further, in the Campus Martius, avenues of laurels and planes, densely shaded, invited pleasant walks ; in the gorgeous Colonnade of Livia (situated on the level between the north-west side of Trajan's Thermae and the church of Santa Lucia in Selci), the foliage of one huge vine, trellised up in the open, provided shadow for passers by. Gordian III had designed below the Monte Pincio on the Campus Martius a large garden with plantations of laurels, myrtles and box-trees, one thousand feet long and five hundred feet wide, intersected lengthwise by a walk, to be paved with mosaics and fenced with rows of cylindrical pedestals surmounted by statuettes. On the two sides lengthwise, columned halls were to finish the design, and along its breadth, on the one side there was to be a Basilica and summer baths, on the other side winter baths. This plan was not, however, executed, and under Constantine the space was filled up with private gardens and buildings.

But perhaps ancient Rome's proudest decoration was the multitude and beauty of her water-works, which were also invaluable for the health of the inhabitants and compensated many disadvantages of site and building. The mountain-springs were conducted into the city in underground pipes or on mighty arches (under Nerva comprising a length of 300 miles), and poured down in waterfalls out of artistic grottoes, or spread out like ponds in broad and richly decorated reservoirs, babbling up in gorgeous fountains, whose cool fragrance freshened and purified the summer air. A consideration of the mass of the water diverted to public use for baths, ponds, canals, palaces, gardens, suburban country-houses, of the distances traversed, of the mason work of the arches, the hills bored through and the levelled valleys, would, says Pliny, convince any man that nothing more wonderful had been made on earth. Galen also reckoned among Rome's principal advantages her many and beautiful springs, the water 'of which in none is evil-smelling, harmful, filthy or hard'. The entirety of the sources provided, after Frontinus almost doubled their yield, never less than 675,000 cubic metres. This water supply was constantly increasing down to the third century, and made recreation in the great public resorts not only enjoyable and healthy, but also induced a ceaseless addition to the numbers of the public baths and

wells, the baths being universally accessible at the low rate of $\frac{1}{3}$ d. a visitor. The Gazetteer of the fourth century says there were 856 baths, eleven *thermae* besides, and of swimming-baths with well-supplies (in Nerva's day 591) 1,352. Many of these swimming-baths were decked with works of art (such as Agrippa's, with a watersnake), and named after them; e.g., the spring of Orpheus, Ganymede, Prometheus etc.; a conical structure flooded with water from above, popularly called 'The sweating pillar'. The ruin of this last bath, and the magnificent ruin of a monumental spring, called the Trofei di Mario, are the sole relics of this 'evidently luxurious splendour'. Further, the second supplement of the Gazetteer speaks of fifteen *Nymphaea*, or well-houses, in which water flowed or rose, no doubt richly ornamented; these the so-called grotto of Egeria may help us to realize, as *Acqua Paola*, *Fontana di Trevi* and *di Termini* may the swimming-baths and their decorations of pictures. The *Septizonium* of Severus (first wholly destroyed by Sixtus V) a three-storied, architectural glory, by the south-west corner of the Palatine, resting on pillars, consisting of three almost semicircular parts, enclosed on both sides by projecting wings, seemed to have been a 'three-fold *Fontana Trevi*'. 'He who, in the hot season, has seen the people rest from their labours at these artificial cascades, and, in the evening, breathe the freshening mountain air among these stone erections which have sucked in and give out anew the midday-glow, may well understand the pride with which people in Nerva's day might boast they had effaced the causes of Rome's former leaden and pernicious atmosphere.' 'The crowning feature, however, of the whole system was the provision of private houses with running water.' After the Water-board in 11 B.C. became imperial, contracting-out of enterprises for the water-supply of private individuals wholly came to an end, and every man could obtain leave, without any regard to the nature of the consumption, of having his house supplied and, in Strabo's lifetime already, 'almost every house in Rome had reservoirs, supply through pipes and abundant fountains'.

Every enjoyment and luxury then known was made accessible through the world-wide commerce of Rome, which filled her markets, shops and warehouses with the most splendid and laborious works of industry and art from among all

peoples. Pliny calls the Tiber 'the gentle buyer of all that is produced on earth'. 'In Rome the merchandise of the whole world could be had all together': Spanish work and Chinese silk, brightly-tinted glass and fine linen from Alexandria, wine and oysters from the isles of Greece, cheese from the Alps and sea-fish from the Black Sea. In warehouses and shops healing herbs from Sicily and Africa lay in stock, and Arabian spices and scents, pearls from the Bahrein islands and emeralds from the Urals, fine-grained boards of costly timber from the Atlas, and blocks of coloured marble quarried in the farthest provinces; the colossal extent of this last importation may be gathered from the discovery of a warehouse of marble on the Aventine. 'To you', says Aristides in his Laudation of Rome, 'there comes from all lands and seas what the seasons bring forth and the climates produce, what rivers and lakes and the handicraft of Hellene or barbarian make. Whoever, therefore, wish to view all this, must either journey through the whole world or stay in this city. For the work and toil of other folks is ever here at hand and in excess. So many merchantmen come here from all lands during the entire summer and winter, that the city seems a general workshop of the entire world. So many freights from India and Arabia Felix are here to be seen, that it would almost appear as though henceforward the trees of those countries are stripped, and those races must come here to Rome to demand what they need of their own products. Costumes from Babylon and jewels from the depths of barbarian Asia arrive here more in number and with greater ease than they would be shipped from an island in the Archipelago to Athens. In short, all that trade and ships may bring reaches Rome, all that agriculture earns and mines bring to the upper light, and all the products of every art, all that is born and grows on earth.'

In fact, everything at Rome conduced to the feeling of being the centre, a world-state whence, as from some lofty tower, the whole earth could be surveyed. From the farthest boundaries, a ceaseless flow of news, 'borne as it were by birds', reaches the seat of universal empire, so that the Emperor who sat there on his throne, could rule the whole by letter. From the principal places the Emperors

received (anyhow at times) continuous reports from day to day ; Caligula used to read those from Alexandria in preference to all others. Whether in Upper Egypt the rain had fallen, or in Little Asia there had been an earthquake, whether the legions on the Rhine were mutinous, or the Parthian Court had changed its tone towards Rome ; soon afterwards such topics were discussed on the Forum and the Campus Martius, at feasts and social parties. Any rare and unheard-of freak of Nature was instantly sent to Rome and there exhibited. Artists came from all countries to show their skill and their prowess, or to vie in the great competitions for the wreath ; poets and orators, philosophers and men of learning, to be openly heard. The most capable and enthusiastic of the youth of all lands flocked from their provincial obscurity to the gleam and splendour of the City of the Universe 'on which the looks of gods and men were turned', which offered ambition its largest scope, and erudition and study, recreation and enjoyment the most glorious opportunities.

In the halls and rooms of numerous libraries (put by the *Gazetteer* at 28) the devotee of knowledge and literature could gloat at his will on costly parchment and papyrus-rolls ; in the circles of the learned, assembled there and in other public resorts such as the Temple of Peace and Trajan's *Thermae*, he might light upon incitement and help of every kind, and a mass of material for his researches, such as would elsewhere be unobtainable : in the lecture theatres he could listen to the discourses of the masters of every craft. Great projects in literature, which could nowhere else be carried out under such favouring circumstances, and in some cases nowhere else at all, doubtlessly attracted men of learning from abroad to long stays at Rome, such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Diodorus, even in Augustus' days. Splendid institutions were at the disposal of the humblest in the imperial *thermae* for his recreation and delectation ; and in them, in all seasons, baths of every kind, from swimming-baths to steam-baths, and apartments of more than royal magnificence set aside for his physical exercise, intercourse and pleasure. The older *thermae* (of which those of Nero seem to have been the most luxurious, as they are frequently taken as types of regal splendour) were, in size at least, surpassed by those of Caracalla and Diocletian.

The statement that Nero's *thermae* had 1,600 marble bath-seats, whilst those of Caracalla and Diocletian had almost double that number, emanates from the same official source as our *Gazetteer* and its supplements. Every marvel, however, of this city of marvels, was eclipsed by her spectacles on the stage, in the circus, in the arena ; there what fantasy's wildest stretch might imagine, was actualized into an overwhelming reality.

Yet the greatest of Rome's spectacles was her population, which, as Seneca says in the early years of Claudius, overflowed the houses of the boundless city ; there would the gleanings of the world be trampled down, and the streets had to provide space for a stream of men and women, proceeding to three separate theatres, and men were crushed under foot if any obstacle hindered the rushing cataract of mortality for one instant. The last incident of this sort recorded is perhaps due to a recollection of an earthquake in the year 51, in the course of which the panic flight caused a crush in which the weaker succumbed. The narrow and tortuous streets of *prae-Neronic* Rome would have made such accidents doubly dangerous, yet only two catastrophes on extraordinary occasions are reported. When Caligula was strewing money in front of the *Basilica Iulia*, in the fight thirty-two men, forty-seven women and a eunuch came by their death ; during the night a crowd thronged into the circus and disturbed his slumbers ; he had them cudgelled, and twenty knights, twenty women and an enormous number besides were killed. Further, we have it from an inscription that a woman and a boy of thirteen were caught in a crowd on the Capitol and so died.

This throng in the streets and squares of Rome was very much mixed. The more Rome became the centre of the world, the stronger became its centripetal attraction to all nations. Even Cicero called Rome a community formed of the fusion of the peoples. But the real immigration in mass from the provinces began after the overthrow of the Republic, and in varying force, scarcely diminishing, however, until Constantine, overflowed Rome, and blended her blood with that of every race of the ancient world. Lucan calls Rome a city whose life is alien born, fused with the dregs of all nations ; and Herodian in the third century calls her

population variegated and commingled, and the Emperor Constantius also stared at the sight of the Roman people: 'how swiftly every type of man on earth congregates at Rome'. And, as she went on, she became more and more of a 'common city', the 'hub of the globe', the 'inn of the world'; and one of her Greek adorers, Polemo, the sophist (in the first half of the second century), called her, in a happy phrase, a '*multum in parvo* of the world'.

And this medley derived additional colour from the many strangers that went and came. Roman courtesans received (according to Martial) visits from Parthians, Germans, Cilicians, Cappadocians, Egyptians, Nubians, Jews, Dacians, and Alaní. At especial functions, such as the great spectacles, the number of foreigners reached extraordinary heights. Even at Augustus' spectacle of a naval battle (2 B.C.), Ovid says the whole world was in Rome; at the consecration of the Flavian amphitheatre (according to Martial) spectators foregathered from the farthest regions, Sarmatians and Sigambrians, Arabians, Sabaeans and Aethiopians. But, ordinarily, strangers thronged in Rome, the irresistible lodestar to all men's passions, the 'generous pay-mistress of virtue and vice', and the most promising field for adventurers and scamps of every kind. The righteous man and reliable, says Martial, could find no security there; no hope of making his fortune was there for any one who were not a pimp, or a toper, an informer, who would not seduce his friend's wife, or earn the love-fee of ancient beldames, or sell idle tales near the royal palace, or let himself out to musical geniuses as their *claque*.

In this wise at Rome the gabble of a hundred speeches might be heard, the shapes and garbs of every race rubbed shoulders. Moorish slaves led elephants from out the Emperor's stables. There a troop of blond Germans of the Emperor's Life Guards was exercising in gleaming armour. Here Egyptians, with shaven heads, in sweeping linen robes were carrying the goddess Isis in procession. Behind a Greek professor a young Nubian was carrying his scrolls of books. Oriental princes in tall mitres and broad motley garments with their suite pacing silent, solemn through the crowd; tattooed savages from Britain staring their eyes out at the marvels of the new world all about them.

Sometimes an unusually foreign procession in the streets would arouse general attention ; these would be ambassadors from some far-off barbarian land, its name scarce known, come to offer the Emperor their subjection or voluntary alliance. Such might be legates from the Cimbri and Charydes of Jutland, of the Semnones to the East of the Elbe, from the tribes of the South Russian steppes up to the other side of the Don, ambassadors from Media and Parthia, from the Cherkessan and Georgian chieftains, from headmen in Britain, and princelets of Fezzan, and embassies from India ; one of those last, the tale ran in Rome, had been four years on the way.

The population of Rome can only be approximately estimated. The variations were great ; but, in general (except at times of plagues or civil wars) from Augustus to Trajan it steadily increased, and scarcely declined until the great epidemics under Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. It may be taken at not less than a million, and during the two first centuries, considerably more.

Thus enjoying this luxury of privileges, excitements and sights, it was the highest and the lowest classes in the world-city that prospered the most. The vast majority of the male free population were wholly or partly kept at the expense of the State : the aristocracy had a realm and opportunities for a princely existence never since or elsewhere realized. The seamy sides of Roman life were felt most by the middle class. The prices of all articles of food were very high in comparison with the cheapness in the *municipia* of Italy and the provinces. Above all the housing problem in Rome was more urgent than in modern capitals, because there the possibility of extending the environs of the municipal area was diminished by the lack of sufficient means of communication with the centre by public conveyances ; even carriages inside the city were forbidden to private individuals, except in the evening. A disproportionately large part of the area available for building was monopolized by the few in consequence of the waste of space in the plethoric architecture of the day, and a very considerable portion was swallowed up by the public places, such as the imperial *fora*, which took up six hectares, as well as by the traffic regulations and extensions of the streets. The transformation and decoration

of Rome by the Caesars enhanced the scarcity of housing, as did Napoleon III's improvements at Paris. A further adjutory cause of the increase in price of dwellings was the habit of speculation in house property (which Crassus had practised in great style) and the monopoly of the proprietors, in consequence of which houses, like English lodging-houses in the big towns, were let and then sub-let, and the large middlemen's rents had to be paid by the occupiers. In the Pandects, for example, the lessee's profit is reckoned at more than 30 per cent., and the sublessee's at 20 per cent.; in reality, no doubt, the profit was greater. In Caesar's time lodging-house rents in Rome, on the average, seem to have been four times as heavy as in the other towns of Italy. The lower class families seem at Rome to have paid 2,000 sesterii, in Italy 500 (*c.* £21 15s. and £5 10s.), annually for their homes. Yet in Rome prices under the pressure of events, as stated, and with the growing claims of society, must have risen even higher, even though Juvenal's assertion may be exaggerated, that a house and garden in Sora Fabrateria or Frusino could be bought for no more than the annual rent of a dark room at Rome.

But the prices of other necessities of life were also very high, and such as those of wood and food scarcely to be had by the poor; 'nothing in Rome was for nothing'; and, further, every man who did not belong to the lowest class, of all, was ever forced by circumstance to keep up a needlessly high standard of life. Custom demanded of the less wealthy a certain extravagance of outward appearance, beyond their means, especially of business-men. To eat off earthenware was ungentlemanly; or to go out without one's toga, and, for many, without a retinue of clients and slaves. Pretentious poverty, wasteful starving were the general lot; frauds and bankruptcies the order of the day. Martial says (86 A.D.): 'You see that man there sauntering gracefully along, in a fashionable cloak of violet purple, and with his train of clients and pages and his new sedan-chair. He has just pledged a ring at Cladus the usurer's for eight sesterii to pay for his supper'. Juvenal, some forty years later, remarks that to go bankrupt, for most people, costs them no more than to move from one quarter to another. Shame is unknown. If the money they are squandering before their

creditors' eyes be running out, they are off to Baiae to glut themselves on oysters, and are only sorry they must absent themselves one year from the Circus. The specious glamour of Roman life was in as great contrast with the provincial simplicity and unostentatiousness of the *municipia*, as the sterner moral tone of the towns of Upper Italy was with the corruption and unrestrainedness with which Rome, so far from hushing up her orgies, celebrated them in offensive publicity.

Rome was one continual city of noise and bustle. Horace had complained of the turmoil going on night and day, the scurry and crowding of the streets from whose 'torrents and tempests' he hastened to escape into the chaste solitude of the Sabine hills. But during the first century population and activity increased apace, reaching its zenith, perhaps, in the days of Martial and Juvenal. Before daybreak the bakers would be hawking their loaves, and the shepherds, coming into the town from the surrounding districts, their milk: then the infant schools would begin intoning the alphabet, and with hammer and saw the rasping workshops were set going. Creaking waggons would haul huge blocks of stone and trunks of trees, with the weight of which the ground would quake, heavily laden beasts of burden jostled the foot-passenger; on all sides jolting and knocks and trampling, a fine confusion in which pickpockets reap their advantage. Here, says Martial (100 A.D.), the money-changer clatters Nero's bad coin down on his dirty table, and there a workman is hammering Spanish gold on an anvil. A procession of raving priests of Bellona is shrieking uninterruptedly; a shipwrecked sailor, with a fragment of the wreck wrapped up in his hand, is begging alms; a Jewish lad, sent out by his mother to beg; the call of a bleary-eyed pedlar from the other side of the Tiber, offering sulphur-matches for broken glass. Jugglers, some with trained animals (Juvenal speaks of a monkey riding a goat and swinging a spear), Marsian snake-eaters and snake-charmers are calling for spectators for their craft. Pedlars, peddling old clothes, linen and what-not, carriers of pea-flour and smoking sausages, butchers with a reeking quarter of beef, and the foot, the guts, and the blood-red lung,—each, to his own screeching tune, proclaiming his own wares.

And, of nights, no less noise. In the spacious palaces, their sleeping apartments far removed from the street, sleep and quiet might be had ; so much the worse in the lodgings. The rattling of the travelling-coaches, which might not enter the city for the greater part of the day, awoke the soundest sleeper, as they turned the sharp corners of the narrow streets. And then the roaring of troops of vagabond ruffians, and moonlighters of either sex (and amongst these sometimes women of high rank, such as Julia the daughter of Augustus), or lovers' serenades, striving to obtain admission to their lady by entreaty or force.

And when every door was bolted to, every tavern closed and silent, then the empty unlit streets were both strange and dangerous to the solitary walker. Funeral processions might be met by night bearing the dead of the poor to the pyre.

Although Rome after the year 6 A.D. had a police force of seven cohorts of one thousand men each (which also served as fire-brigade), and patrols with their torches no doubt marched through their districts all night long, yet thefts and burglaries were common. Pliny says that the windows at which people of small means had otherwise put out flowers and leaves, were shuttered off even by day, because of the 'evil robberies of countless multitudes'; probably, after the Civil War, in the year 69 A.D., insecurity was greatly augmented. Juvenal describes house-owners as using their slaves as night-watches; Cassius Dio mentions that they carried bells and so signalled to one another. Robbers used not seldom to make assaults, from which, according to Tibullus, the grace of Venus shielded lovers. Many were threatened with the daggers of a bribed bandit; such thronged to Rome, when their lurking-places in the Pontine marshes and the pine wood south of the Volturnus were occupied by soldiers. And further risks attended the poor man who lighted himself home with his candle-stump, or let a single slave light him on, should he encounter a young nobleman who was returning from some late feast with a great following and many torches. To do mischief at night in the streets was a standing pleasure of the gilded youth. The wretched men who crossed their path were held up, tossed on outspread mantles (a soldiers' joke), or otherwise maltreated. From the roofs tiles would

fall ; from upper windows basins of water be poured down, or broken crockery thrown down, to crash and shatter on the pavement.

More serious still were the dangers to which lodgers were exposed. Most of the lodging-houses were jerry-built by speculators, an attractive but risky game ; it might be very profitable, but for the frequent fires that consumed the capital. The contractors, therefore, no doubt aimed at building in such a style as to make a few years' rental exceed or at least repay the capital expenditure. They exploited the ground, not only by building as many storeys as possible, but also by cutting down the size of single rooms, and reducing repairs to the least possible ; a manner of building, which also, on its part, considerably increased the danger of fire. 'The thin partitions and walls of these piled-up lodging-houses provided no sufficient protection against heat or cold, and were made of wood or panels ; lattice-work was in especial favour ; it looked seductive from the outside, and thus answered the speculator's purpose all the better ; but it materially warped the solid fabric, as the walls would tend very easily to burst or split.' 'Part of our dread', says Seneca, 'arises from our roofs ; even in the pictured rooms of the great palaces, panic ensues, if a crackling be heard'. A great many of the lodging-houses were crumbling ; the most urgent repairs were neglected or scamped ; the agent propped up a tottering wall, or painted a huge rift over, and assured the occupants they could sleep at their ease, all the time that their home was crumbling over their heads. Even in the latter days of the Republic collapses, as well as fires, were the daily fare of Rome. Catullus jeeringly says beggars were fortunate in not having to fear either. Strabo says both of these dangers were ceaselessly imminent ; the dread of them drove nervous folks from Rome in Trajan's time, and later centuries presumably did not alter these conditions. Symmachus, in a letter, adds, as a piece of news, the fact that a collapse in the Via Traiana has cost the occupants their lives.

The fires, in the modern Rome of stone and brick almost an impossibility, were in ancient Rome, not only frequent, but infinitely more dangerous on account of the style of building, the height of the houses, and the narrowness of

the streets, the many wooden fore-houses and rear-buildings which fed the flames, and spread them with terrific rapidity. Throughout the domestic history of Rome, besides the numberless little fires, there is a succession of general conflagrations, and the hills were continually having their levels raised by the old wreckages. In the year 6 A.D., a series of extensive and ruinous fires forced Augustus to institute his Fire Brigade of 7,000 men ; but the reform effected (the means of extinguishing were so very imperfect) was very slight. Under Tiberius two great fires occurred : in the year 27 Mount Caelius was set on fire, in 37 A.D. the Aventine, and the contiguous portion of the Circus ; Tiberius, on both occasions, as far as he could, made good the damage, which in the second instance amounted to 100,000,000 sesterces (£1,087,500). And Caligula, also, in the beginning of his reign, compensated many for the damage wrought by fire. In the conflagration of Nero, ' besides a countless number of lodging-houses, many palaces of the generals of old were lost, with their treasure of foreign booty, and many temples consecrated by the Kings, and in the Gallic and Punic Wars, and many important relics of antiquity '. ' The riches won by so many victories, the masterpieces of the arts of Greece, the ancient and uncorrupted works of great writers '—these were irreparable, however beautiful the resurrected city might be. After this devastation, under Titus, there followed a fire which raged for three days and nights in the Campus Martius. Pliny considered these fires a retribution on luxury, though luxury, nevertheless, continued hoarding its priceless food for the flames. Martial says (90 A.D.), glorifying Domitian's new erections in place of those destroyed in this last fire, that Rome renewed her youth in the flames like the Phoenix, and prays Vulcan henceforth to spare the city, which appertained to Venus as well as to Mars. Under Antoninus Pius a fire ravaged 340 homes. Gellius states how, whilst once (at this same epoch) as a young man accompanying the orator Julianus home with his pupils, they saw a lodging-house of many stories on fire, near the Mons Cispinus, and the destruction soon spread over the whole neighbourhood, at which one man remarked, that, house-rents being so high, he would long since have invested, if some preventive against Rome's continual fires could have been devised. In the year 191 A.D., under Com-

modus, the second most terrible fire (after Nero's) broke out near the Temple of Peace, and annihilated the warehouses of Egyptian and Arabian goods, and then crossed over to the Palatine. All efforts to restrict it were futile; it only sank for mere lack of further nourishment after levelling to the ground a large portion of the city, and devouring numberless treasures; the great libraries on the Palatine were burnt, and a store in the Via Sacra, containing some of Galen's books. The Capitoline plan of the city (about 203-211) shows the new erections of Severus and Caracalla in replacement or restoration of those destroyed. The fire, above-mentioned, which broke out in the street fight of 237 or 238, also laid low a great area of the city. Under Carinus an extensive fire in the Forum forced Diocletian to rebuild it and the houses round it.

Besides fire and the danger of collapse, Nature also, at varying intervals, threatened to overwhelm Rome. Earthquakes, often accompanied with inundations, recurred; as in the years 5, 15, 51, 59 and 68 A.D. The Tiber, too, often overflowed its banks, and nowhere so far inland as at Rome, an experience, too, of modern Rome. 'Both above and below Rome', says Moltke, 'the valley of the Tiber is about 1½ miles broad. Between the Aventine and the southern foot of the Janiculum, where the wall to-day begins to decline, the hills are nearly one thousand paces high. Here there must naturally be a congestion, when after heavy rains in the hills, the Tiber, the Nera, the Velino, the Anio and the Paglia and other tributaries are flowing in torrents'. The Emperors did not neglect anything in the management of the stream and its bed. Augustus set up a department for this purpose, and had it continuously administered by consulars. In the year 15, a futile discussion was held in the Senate on the sources of the rivers and lakes which fed the Tiber. An inscription at Ostia records that, in the year 46 A.D., when the harbour was building there, Claudius had delivered Rome from the danger of floods, by digging channels from the Tiber to the sea. Trajan, also, in the first half of his reign, laid a draining canal, possibly the one still in use; but, in spite of this, in the year 108 or 109, the river overflowed the flat country far and wide, and when the Anio also was flooded, the devastation spread further still. And so in spring or autumn

the waters of the Tiber, despite all efforts and precautions, inundated the low-lying parts of Rome, and reached higher levels, thrust backwards as they were by storms, and swollen by rain, until they destroyed the old wooden bridge, and carried away in their impetuous surges men and animals. For days whole districts were knee-deep in water; only the higher storeys emerged, and were accessible by boats, which carried food to the secluded occupants. And when the stream sank anew into his wonted channel, the undermined houses collapsed, and plagues and famine followed: famine, because the inundations had rotted the full stores of corn at the wharves (as Plutarch expressly says happened in the year 69). And Gregory of Tours also tells of a flooding of Rome in which incidentally the stocked corn belonging to the Church was destroyed.

Ancient Rome suffered more from the disadvantages of a riverine position than modern Rome, as the low levels have since been raised by the accretions (in the Campus Martius by two metres, and the Forum by six to twelve), whilst the height of the river has not risen in the same proportion. This circumstance naturally contributed no little to the frequency of inundations in antiquity. Historians have doubtless only recorded the severest of them, and these imperfectly, as five under Augustus (27, 23, 22, 13 B.C., and 5 A.D.). In 27 B.C. access to the new theatre of Cornelius Balbus could only be had in boats; in 5 A.D. for seven or eight days traffic was by water, and the number of deaths and collapses something considerable. Under Tiberius there are two floods mentioned, 15 and 36 A.D. One of the greatest was in March 69, when the waters were forced back by the mass of the ruins and covered loftier places, generally secure even when the floods were highest, and swept away many in the streets, and overtook others in booths and bedrooms. Otho, whose march was delayed by this irruption, found the road at a distance of twenty Roman miles (18½ English miles) encumbered with fallen buildings. From Nerva to Marcus Aurelius, too, no reign went by unmarked by at least one great inundation.

Nor was the river the only cause of famine at Rome. The utmost forethought on the part of the Emperors could not allay deficient supply and consequent appreciation in prices,

for the over-populated city was entirely dependent on imported grain. And then disturbances arose. One reason that private commerce could not absolve this need, was that the contributions in kind, which were imposed on the corn-lands, left but little over for export. Egypt paid her double-tithe, in the form of a four months' supply of the needs of Rome ; the province of Africa (under Vespasian) for the remaining eight months. Further, private commerce could not compete with the fisc, which sometimes used to sell below cost price the corn it received partly as tribute, and partly as purchase by its agents : consequently private corn-market speculations, however much encouraged by the Emperors by the granting of honours and privileges, failed of practical effect. The Emperors made most liberal provision for a sufficiency of corn. A special service of vessels for Egyptian corn was instituted in the Early Empire, and under Commodus, one for African corn. Claudius extended Ostia, Rome's principal harbour, at enormous expense, as it had been impossible to land there in the winter, and appointed there a cohort of the Roman fire-brigade to protect the warehouses. Trajan added another harbour, and Portus, this new town, flourished and rivalled Ostia, on account of its better position. The magazines at Rome were ever growing larger in the course of time, and Tiberius, in a message to the Senate in the year 32 A.D., reminds the Senate of the great excess in the importation of corn as against that in the time of Augustus, and specifies the contributing provinces. Under Trajan the stock was so great that, when the Egyptian harvests failed, Rome exported to Egypt. And under Marcus Aurelius, corn was distributed by Rome amongst the Italian cities. Severus left a seven years' supply at his death. But still during the first two centuries, were the government good or bad, appreciations in price recurred again and again, partly because the stocked supplies rotted, or were destroyed by fire or water (in the year 62 Nero threw the mouldy grain into the Tiber, in order to satisfy the populace as to the sufficiency of the supply : yet the price did not go up, though 200 grain-ships were sunk by storms at the harbour's mouth, and 100 burnt in the river) ; partly, also, because of embezzlements or frauds on the part of the employers. An instance of such malversations is afforded by Dio ; in the year 189 prices, already high,

were raised by the Praefect of Corn, Papirius Dionysius, in order to render the Imperial Chamberlain, Cleander, whose defalcations had been the principal cause, even more hated of the people. During the years 5-8 a famine occurred, partly through the flooding of the Tiber, partly through bad harvests, and the price of grain went up to five or six times the ordinary sum: an adult's monthly ration (5 modii or $43\frac{1}{2}$ litres), ordinarily selling at 5 denarii, was sold at $27\frac{1}{2}$ denarii, an unprecedented event. All slave-families and bands of gladiators, all strangers except physicians and teachers, even some slaves privately owned, were expelled from the city; Augustus and others dismissed most of their domestics. Yet only through extraordinary exertions was a rising averted. In the year 19 prices again went up. Tiberius, yielding to popular clamour, fixed a maximum price for corn, and paid the corndealers two sesterces more per modius. In the year 32, again, high prices almost caused disturbances. The Emperor was away at Capri and the mob vented its complaints in unusually riotous fashion. The diversion of many transports to the building of Caligula's bridge from Baiae to Puteoli (39 A.D.) injured shipping to the extent of again raising prices in 41 A.D.; and Claudius was thereby forced to extend the harbour at Ostia. Bad harvests had the same consequence once more in his reign, in the year 52. Only fifteen days' provision was in hand; a tumult broke out, and Claudius himself scarcely escaped the rage of the populace. Fortunately the winter was mild, and the incitement given to shipping and the corn-trade by the Emperor's large subsidies had a favourable effect. In the year 68 just before Nero's death there was famine, and the ill-will of the people was increased by the news of the arrival of a ship from Alexandria with Nile-sand destined for the Emperor's wrestling-school. In the year 69 there was a terrible flood and famine, furthered by lack of industry and general insecurity as already described. From between Hadrian to Commodus (under Hadrian the famine apparently spread over the whole or the greater part of the Empire) Rome was visited at least once by scarcity and dearness of food. And, as time went on, matters did not amend. Ammianus, for example, never omits, when speaking of Rome, to note the success of the Praefects in the corn administration, or

their failure ; mostly the latter. On such occasions, even in the Early Empire (as under Augustus), it became customary to expel foreigners *en masse*, and a favourite resource, so as to lessen the numbers of mouths to feed.

And the seeds of ravaging epidemics were of old fostered in this soil. The unhealthiness of the situation of Rome is well known. The network of canals in the limestone hills, lessening the moistness of the soil and therewith malaria in a great degree, seems in antiquity to have benefited the Campagna more than the city, where the isolation of the fever germs scattered in the soil by the pavements and foundations of houses of any sort can only have been imperfect. There, says Ammianus Marcellinus, as though to signalize the world's capital, disease wreaks greater harm, and all the leechcraft possible falters at the task of relief. Fever had been adored as a goddess very early, the fever ever endemic to Rome ; according to Galen, it was the two and a half days' attack which was most prevalent. And, where the inhabitants were so closely packed together, infection must have been easy and limitless. Medicine found plenty to study. One form of distortion of the shoulder Hippocrates observed four times at Rome, and nowhere else ; true, one street in Rome was more populous than many of the cities Hippocrates had visited. The inhabitants of the town were uniformly pale. Martial, writing to one Domitius, says that after his journey in Upper Italy, his pale-faced friends will scarcely recognize him, and will envy him his rosy cheeks ; but, however sunburnt he return, Rome will soon whitewash his fresh tourist's complexion. A heavy atmosphere hung over the city, from the smells of the many smoking kitchens, the vapours of which were blent with clouds of dust ; the first step outside the city seemed a positive relief. Frontinus' reforms of the drainage and water-supply may have allayed the mischief of the bad air ; it was impossible to get rid of it.

Both in republican and imperial Rome great epidemics followed one another, often at terribly short intervals, and claimed innumerable victims. Under Augustus throughout Rome and Italy desolating plagues prevailed in the years 23 and 22 B. C. At the great plague in the autumn of 65 A. D., neither sex, nor rank, nor age were spared ; the houses teemed with

dead, and the streets with hearses. Thirty thousand burials are recorded in this single autumn in the books of the Temple of Libitina, the goddess of death, where the undertakers had their meeting-place and storehouse; yet this can only be a fraction of the whole. For, not only was the provision at this temple insufficient for great epidemics, but slaves and the poverty-stricken would scarcely have been buried there, at any rate when the mortality-rate was so high. And, on the eruption of Vesuvius (79 A.D.) a devastating disease broke out at Rome 'greater than any had been'. On many days some ten thousand deaths were registered on the daily lists (*ephemerides*)—out of which, later at least, statistics of the ages of the deceased were drawn up. This number is not incredible, as in Palermo (which then had 168,000 inhabitants) from July 3 to July 13, 1837, more than one thousand died daily, and on the 10th, 1,803.

But the most frightful of these epidemics was that which broke out in Babylonia, and in 162 A.D. was already ravaging Ionia. It was brought back from the East to the West in the train of the army of Lucius Verus; it raged longer than any other, and spread the farthest, not only in Rome, but throughout the ancient world, through a very large portion of the Roman Empire up to Gaul and the Rhine. It unpeopled the camps of the legionaries, and stripped the whole of Italy of her population to such an extent that villages, cities and fields became masses of ruins or wooded deserts after their cultivators and inmates had perished. In the year 167 or 168 the plague reached Rome, and seized upon many thousands, no few from the highest ranks. The corpses were carted out of the city in heaps: Marcus Aurelius had the dead of the poor buried at the public expense. Galen says the plague was very similar to that described by Thucydides; in both the bodies of the diseased were covered with black pustules; they had a severe cough, were hoarse and their breath stank. The plague (Petechial typhus or small-pox?) continued for many years, now more, now less virulent; at the death of Marcus Aurelius (180 A.D.)—who himself perhaps died of it; on his deathbed his thoughts were preoccupied with its ravages—it was still active, and the disease which raged at Rome under Commodus (about 187–189) may well have been its dying spasm. According to Dio, 2,000 men

and women died of it at Rome on one day. And then even the rumour that springs up so easily when a plague is laying mankind low, was industriously circulated, that men had been instigated to spread it by means of poisoned needles.

These many evils, various and horrible, served ever anew to remind even 'Rome golden, holy, eternal' of Varro's truth, 'God made the country and man made the town.'

CHAPTER II

THE COURT

I. ITS INFLUENCE ON FORMS AND MANNERS

JUST as the imperial dignity at Rome arose from out of the private orders, so too the imperial court fashioned itself at the outset, in establishment and forms, as also in its membership, after the noble households. At first there was little to distinguish it from the great Roman families; later it gradually approximated to the type of ancient royalties. The repeated efforts of several emperors, sometimes genuine, to restore it to its former civic simplicity only delayed the process of evolution, which was consummated in the third century, largely under the influence of the East, then become irresistible.

But, on the other hand, the Court reacted in many ways, first on the manners and formalities of the upper ranks, and even on their domestic arrangements, and then increased the range of influence. Next the opinions and principles of the monarch, when decisively expressed, his tastes and amours, or those of his family or favourites, set the tone for Rome as is only possible in an unlimited despotism. And not for Rome only. There was a certain truth in the well-known proverb that the world apes its ruler. With individual emperors, institutions, customs and ceremonies also changed. Only such a philosophic view as that of Marcus Aurelius could see an eternal similarity through this kaleidoscope of incongruous epochs. For, to his eye, all had already been, and to-morrow might again be, the Court of Hadrian and Antoninus, Philip, Alexander, Croesus; the stage was all the same, only the actors shifted. Ever and anon the same frantic, the same transitory aims, under a Vespasian or a

Trajan—the same spring-time of exertion, the same autumn of failure ; time and oblivion swallowed all, and would soon swallow up the present. Yet he who would not steadfastly look away from the phenomena of life and reality, ever learned anew, how swift and sweeping were the changes, or rather revolutions, induced by each change in the highest circle. Often enough was this uttered by contemporaries. ‘ We are like putty ’, said Pliny the Younger in the Senate in Trajan’s presence, ‘ moulded to every shape at the Emperor’s will, and following his every lead : our ambition is to endear ourselves to him, and win his approval, a prize denied to those dissimilar from him ; our continuous pliability has brought the whole world to the pass of living the manners of one man. The Emperor’s life is a censorship, of life-long duration ; in his wake we guide our steps, and after him we walk ; only an example, no command even, is requisite’. And Herodian says ‘ that the subjects hasten to adapt their life to the monarch’s’.

Such transformations were most striking when a stern and severe Court followed on one or more extravagant reigns. Thus banquets, which were at their height of luxury in the period from the battle of Actium to Nero’s death, became more moderate later ; a result, as also the greater purity of morals, attributed by Tacitus to Vespasian’s old-world simplicity of life. Subservience to the Emperor and the desire of emulating him was more potent than the fear of law or punishment. No less sharp is the contrast between the courts of Commodus and Pertinax ; no less prompt its effect ; the general imitation of Pertinax’ economies, says his biographer, produced a general cheapening of prices in Rome. And Alexander Severus’ reign was also, because of his manner of life, a censorship : the grandees of Rome imitated him, the nobles’ ladies his wife.

A similar spirit of emulation was provoked by the Emperor’s intellectual tendencies and interests. Nero, twice before his accession, and in the first year of his reign, gave exhibitions of oratory : a tremendous enthusiasm for rhetoric followed, and Rome teemed with teachers of the art, which had never before flourished to such an extent ; and many, through their skill, raised themselves to senatorial rank and the highest honours from the lowliest beginnings. And it may confidently

be assumed, though nowhere recorded, that Nero's passion for music had a like effect: musical rulers, says Plutarch, produce many musicians, just as emperors, who favour literature or gymnastics, add to the number of authors and athletes. And, under Marcus Aurelius, the enthroned philosopher, lovers of wisdom and science increased and multiplied, especially that specious kind, which under this mask hoped to win position and riches. Lucian loves portraying—almost to the point of becoming tedious—the manners of these mock-philosophers, swarms of whom then pervaded Greece: there, as he tells us, in every street and square, shaggy beards, scrolls, big 'staves and shabby cloaks were to be seen in throngs. Rude and uneducated men bought libraries in the hope of attracting the Emperor's attention and gaining great advantages. One such man is the butt of a special satire of Lucian's. His descriptions can hardly be exaggerated; and a fact narrated by Galen speaks even more eloquently than all else for the influence of the imperial example, and cannot be suspect in any wise. Marcus Aurelius used to take a dose of theriac daily, an antidote esteemed as a panacea as well. During his reign, this drug was manufactured for the rich in so huge quantities that the ingredients in it almost vanished; for, says Galen, it is wonderful how the rich ape every doing of the Emperor, or anyhow wish to appear so to do. After Marcus Aurelius' death, the demand for theriac at Rome instantly ceased. Naturally, too, the Emperor's favourite dishes found a ready sale, such as, under Tiberius, an edible root, imported by him every year from Germany, and African grapes preserved in smoke, which he preferred to those from Velletri, formerly in vogue; and mullet became popular, because Julia, his mother, ate it. Nero 'made garlic respectable', as he took it on certain days of the month with oil, and no other dish, to improve his voice. Probably, too, Marcus Aurelius' short hair, and Lucius Verus' long hair, determined the custom, not only at their courts (as Galen testifies), but also in wider circles; just as the short hair of Charles V (a preventive of headache), and, later on, the curls of Don Juan of Austria, which fell behind his ears and temples, created in their day the prevalent fashion.

Thus the conditions in the higher sections of society more

or less faithfully mirrored the manners of the Court of the day; though such shifting phases are all the more superficial.

II. THE OFFICIALS, FREEDMEN AND SLAVES OF THE IMPERIAL HOUSE

§ 1

The Court, more narrowly defined, consisted of the domestics and officials attached to the Emperor and his family, who were already very comprehensive and carefully gradated. In a wider sense, it included the so-called friends of the Emperor.

For the greater part of the first century, the Emperors, like private individuals, used their slaves and freedmen as assistants and representatives in the administration of their revenues and institutions, and generally in the conduct of business, as well as for personal service. Though the object was to preserve to the imperial court the character of a citizen's house, yet here and there an opposite motive entered in, not incompatible with this would-be ordinary life. Very soon these officials of the imperial house, however lowly their origin, however subordinate and despised in their proper rank, attained an actual power, raising them above the noblest born. The nature of Caesarism, in evolution even, exacted a certain deliberate system of disregard and levelling of distinctions of rank, not only in order to break the resistance of the aristocracy, but also to make manifest that the imperial will was all-powerful, alone sufficient to raise the meekest; to show that from that height all subjects were equal. In unambiguous language Tacitus remarks, that amongst the Germans freedmen are seldom influential in the home, and never in the State, except amongst peoples governed by kings: but there they surmount the free and the noble; whereas, elsewhere, their subordination is the proof of freedom. This ruthless contumacy of the new royalty in face of tradition and law, even the first Caesar exhibited. He made slaves supervisors of the mint, handed into their hands the receipt of public tribute, and appointed the son of a freedman, Rufinus, his former page, to the commandership of the legion he left in Alexandria.

Yet, as the development of the imperial system advanced

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and forms and institutions were shaping themselves to absolute monarchy, the House and Court offices, partially at least, began to be invested with the sway and importance of State offices, only open to those born free and noble. The preservation of the feint of private life was henceforth impossible and undesirable; the service of autocracy by the raising of the humble no longer necessary. And so the imperial freedmen were thrust forth from some of the principal Court posts, and the knights replaced them. Freedmen were only employed in public business in subordinate positions, and restricted to personal service. After this alteration they were still sometimes very powerful, but in another capacity. In the first century the nature of their power consisted partly in the importance of their office; in the second and third in their personal influence at Court, real or imaginary. The freedmen who ruled in Claudius' name were the principals of the Imperial Finance Committee, of the Secretariate and the Petition and Grievance Department; at Commodus' Court, the all-powerful freedmen were the chamberlains.

The growing consequence and importance of the Court service and House-offices provides, therefore, an infallible index for the advance of the autocracy, which started out with the outward forms of the Republic, and concluded in a stereotyped and Oriental absolutism. The State departments, in the first century bearing the external shape of inconspicuous House-services, although their holders ever since Claudius had been the most mighty State officials, were already in the second century distant ambitions for the bureaucracy of the knights, only attained after long administration of important posts, and stages on the way to the highest places accessible to them.

Up to the reign of Vitellius freedmen were the absolute possessors of the Court-offices, and, in this capacity, after Caligula, the holders to an extent of supreme authority. Vitellius was the first to grant these positions to the knights. Yet the nominations wavered for some time, partly because the decisive fact was the Emperor's whim, and his predilection for submissive and obedient servants rather than men of rank, and also because from amongst the freedmen there rose to light especially capable and tested individuals. Under Domitian two of the three important offices above were

occupied by freedmen—the Secretariate and the Department for Petitions and Grievances. But in his reign and those of Nerva and Trajan, a knight was set over the Secretariate; under Trajan, a freedman as well.

Hadrian was the first to draw a hard and fast line between the administration of the empire and of the Royal house, formally withdrawing from the latter its private character, and replacing the freedmen by an imperial bureaucracy with magisterial powers; the establishment of this order was the sole hope of dealing with the vast problems that had grown up. In all of the upper administrative posts knights replaced freedmen, especially in the three chief departments, which were formally converted into departments of State. Henceforth the holders of them climb up, mediately or immediately, to the highest positions in the universal empire, such as the vice-royalty of Egypt and the praefecture of the Praetorium at Rome. The same proposition holds true of the Imperial Finance Department; subject to the anomaly of this post, even when it was so lofty a step on the rungs of the imperial service, being held by freedmen. But, apart from such anomalies being incidental to the essence of absolutism, considerations of business ability and trustworthiness outweighed others in the selections of these officials, and the possibility of promptly coercing any signs of disloyalty was of especial importance. It is this point that Maecenas emphasizes (according to Dio) in his address to Augustus, as a reason why it was so advisable to appoint freedmen in financial administration.

After freedmen had been wholly or almost wholly deprived of these posts, the office of Lord High Chamberlain (*a cubiculo, cubicularius*) was their means of gaining authority. The evolution of this office characterizes the later Empire, just as the growth of the other departments that of the Early Empire. Influential as the chamberlains had been at all times, their outward dignity was at first very low. It was the permeation of Eastern customs that first lent a high rank to the Prefect of the Holy Chamber (*praepositus sacri cubiculi*, his new title). In the last century eunuchs usually held the post, a significant symptom of the perfect easternizing of the Roman Court. Men like Eusebius and Eutropius did not merely enjoy a more undisputed sway in Byzantium

and Ravenna than Pallas or Narcissus at Rome ; lawfully they ranked with the highest officers of State.

But before considering these offices more narrowly, the position occupied by the imperial freedmen, as such, apart from the service, must be examined, and the sequence of alterations followed, which they constantly underwent during the first two centuries.

Throughout this period the East, as the countries of ancient civilizations, Greece, Little Asia, Syria and Egypt, almost entirely supplied and completed the domestic service of the Emperor, as well as of the great Roman palaces. The North and West provided most of the Emperor's personal life-guards ; Greece and the East was their favourite hunting-ground for their service, personal and financial ; and thus these peoples, the scum of mankind in the view of the proud Roman, attained the highest positions. The Orientals were, as one of them (Herodian) remarks, shrewder and more astute.

How the Romans despised the Greeks is well known. Caesar calls them deceitful, shifty, and rendered servile to the point of adulation. Their unveracity met harshest blame, and, no doubt, made men unjust to their lively artistic imagination. Further, their representatives at Rome were often unworthy of ancient Greece. Juvenal, in a well-known passage, characterizes them as quick-witted, over-eloquent, everywhere at home, willing at demand to come forward as professors, artistes, drilling-masters, soothsayers, rope-dancers, physicians or conjurers, past masters in the arts of flattery and hypocrisy, born actors, astoundingly impudent, and in their choice of means unscrupulous, and shameless. In this sketch of a loathing pen, the excellencies, which still adorned the sunken nation, are forgotten, such as their instinctive nicety (for which Philostratus praises the Ionians especially), their higher and fuller civilization, their charm, inventiveness and business ability, which had made them as indispensable at the Courts of Persepolis and Susa as then at Rome.

The Syrians were deemed clever, dowered with tastes and gifts for drollery and satire, unstable and ready, but also crafty and faithless. The Egyptian appeared to the Greeks and Romans a curious mixture of contradictory qualities,

mostly unpleasant and sly ; 'aegyptizing' to the Greeks meant underhand dealing. The Alexandrians were especially noted for their intellect and perspicacity ; their wit was said to be instant and bitter, full of obscenity and gibes ; their speeches were considered unmatched for impertinence and shamelessness. The Egyptians in general were stigmatized as vain, conceited, insolent and boastful, fitted alike for deeds heroic, or slavish thralldom. They were luxurious and lustful, but endured the rack with wonderful steadfastness. Hot-tempered and tetchy, eager to pick quarrels, ever greedy for novelty (as their carmagnoles showed) and therefore tumultuous and revolutionary. They were also envious, reticent, sly and obstinate, as was made apparent in their religious fanaticism. Tacitus calls Egypt a province torn asunder and unsteady on account of its superstitiousness and lack of restraint. And the fellahs of to-day exhibit surprising similarities with the descriptions of the ancients, namely, craftiness and wiles, endurance and stiff-neckedness, conceit and quarrelsomeness, envy and mendacity, and love of satire and gibe.

The fates of these imperial servants, often their masters' rulers, were sometimes the most singular of the strange events of this eventful time. Often their introduction to Rome had been on the platform where cheap slaves stood with whitened feet, and were inspected and handled by purchasers. They passed from hand to hand, suffered every degradation of slavery, before entering the monarch's home by sale, gift or inheritance, or being as freedmen transferred into it. Talent, adaptability or fortune turned their master's eye on them, and raised them from that bottomless sea of servitude, some promptly and suddenly, some slowly and gradually. Many of them have made inroads on the world's stage, and cut their names deeply on the tablets of history. Of others again we learn from monuments : they rose from humility to heights of service, their careers, if less brilliant, were more secure, more honourable and distinguished. To follow their story is not uninteresting. Like instances of such attainments of splendour and might from the lowliest origins, are afforded perhaps only by eighteenth-century Russia. The consort of the Empress Elizabeth, Count Razúmovski, had, in his boyhood, herded cattle ; Menshikóv, Peter the Great's

confident, had sold tarts in the street. Kutaisov, one of Paul's favourites, was a Turkish orphan, captured by the soldiers at the siege of Bender, brought from the camp to the court, to do scullion's work ; he rose to be boot-black, then the chamberlain and barber of the grand duke, and ended by becoming equerry, count, a knight of all the Russian orders, and an opulent magnate, and ever contrived to remain in the Emperor's graces ; and yet the master whom he still shaved, used to whip him at will to the last.

The position of the freedmen, in so far as it was dependent on the relation to the Emperor, the respect and power they enjoyed as the servants of his house, outside his service, naturally varied with the monarch's personal tastes and principles of government. Limited though their extra-official influence may have been under good governments, yet it was by no means slight, as the following survey will show, under the best ; it must not be forgotten, moreover, that our knowledge is derived from isolated facts, only from such as aroused general attention.

Augustus, who officiously deported himself as a private individual, was uncompromisingly severe towards his slaves and freedmen in Rome, if they allowed themselves, in view of their position in his house, any liberties. They had greater licence in the provinces. Licinus, the Gaul, one of Caesar's former slaves, ruled in his own country as imperial commissary for some time with absolute sway, and extorted enormous sums. He is notorious for dividing the year into fourteen months as regarded monthly payments, as November and December were the ninth and tenth (as their name shows) and two new ones (called Augustean) had to be added. Despite the petitions of the Gauls, and Augustus' ill-will, he escaped with the sacrifice of a large sum, and had so much over that his wealth was spoken of in the same breath as that of Crassus and Pallas. His towering marble tomb on the Via Salaria, a monument builded for eternity, was a landmark for bitter reflections for later generations. And it is noteworthy that Herod, King of the Jews, who left Augustus 1,000 talents in his will, directed 500 to be given as legacies to the wife, children, friends and freedmen of Augustus.

Tiberius was of a nature too aristocratic, knowingly and publicly, to allow freedmen any influence on his wishes. ' His

slaves were modest, his family contained few freedmen,' is Tacitus' comment on the first half of his reign. Later, after the death of Drusus, this and much else changed. Egypt, the most important imperial province, was, after Sejanus' death, entrusted to a freedman, though only temporarily. Herod Agrippa, the King of the Jews, almost ruined himself with his presents to Tiberius' freedmen, whose support he thus purchased; one of them Thallus, a Samaritan, was in a position to lend him 1,000,000 denarii; and yet the greatest of them was another freedman, Euhodus. Nomius, a third freedman of Tiberius, Pliny cites as the owner of one of the largest and most valuable tables known, made of pure citron-wood, whilst Tiberius only had an inlaid one.

But the frightful anomaly of publicly putting at the helm of the world-state a half-lawful and despised class, and letting them decide the most momentous issues, only really began under Caligula. Callistus, a private individual's slave, was sold, became a slave of the Emperor, and, as his favourite, gained practically an equal autocracy and enormous wealth. Seneca often saw his former master vainly beg admission at Callistus' door. At his request, in the year 39, Caligula consented to abandon the persecution of Domitius Afer, consul in 39, an orator he disliked. Though a participant in the conspiracy against Caligula, Callistus kept his position under the succeeding emperor.

The *saturnalia* of the freedmen were celebrated in the reign of Claudius. In Seneca's pasquil on the deification of Claudius, at his entry in Elysium, all those present, he says, must have been his freedmen, as no one regarded him in the least. Callistus, Pallas and Narcissus, 'brave and crafty men', made the Emperor's home the seat of Empire, and themselves the participants. They, and the other freedmen, with Messalina as their accomplice, juggled at their fancy with civic rights, offices, governorships, reprieves and even capital sentences. Besides these names Suetonius mentions Botes as the lover of Claudius' first wife Urgulanilla, and father of their daughter Claudia; also Posides the eunuch, the Procurator of Judaea Felix, Polybius, the literary adviser, and Harpocras. Both of the last and Myron, Amphaeus and Pheronactus, in Seneca's pasquil, receive their former lord, in the underworld; he had sent them in

advance, so as never to lack for servants. Pliny names a very rich eunuch Thessalicus, originally a freedman of Marcellus Aeserninus, who, however, to gratify his ambition got himself adopted by the household of Claudius : he was the first to transplant the ever-green plane-tree from Crete to Rome and his villas there.

Nero's freedmen possessed no less power. Polycletus, one of the most infamous pilferers at his Court, was in the year 61 despatched to Britain to arbitrate between the Legate and the procurator of that province, and also to quench the smouldering embers of revolt. With a tremendous retinue he repaired to Britain, the terror of the armies and laughing-stock of the barbarians, who failed to understand the power of a freedman, could not grasp how a host of men and a victorious leader could cringe to a slave. Another freedman of Claudius, Helius, was, at the beginning of Nero's reign, administrator of the imperial demesnes in the province of Asia, and in the year 54 was employed by Agrippina to assassinate Junius Silanus, pro-consul of that province. Nero, for the period of his journey to Greece (66/67) left him at Rome in absolute sway ; he could issue edicts of confiscation, death and exile against knights and senators even, without any reference to Nero ; so that Rome, in Dio's words, was subject to two Emperors ; which were the worse, none could say. In the year 62 a detachment of men, under the command of a centurion, was sent to murder Rubellius Plautus, and the direction of it was entrusted to Pelago, a eunuch, with a train of halberdiers like the slave of a sultan. Of the two heads of the department of Petitions and Grievances Doryphorus (a boon-companion of Nero's debaucheries, whom he afterwards poisoned) and Epaphroditus, Epictetus the philosopher's master (who was instrumental in Nero's suicide), we shall speak later on.

Galba had those favourites of Nero, for whose punishment popular hatred clamoured the most, executed ; namely, Polycletus, Helius and Patrobius (who in the year 66 had conducted the gorgeous games and spectacles in welcome of Tiridates, the King of Parthia, at Puteoli). Yet Halotus, one of the most fiendish of them (perhaps the eunuch who acted as cup-bearer when Claudius was poisoned), Galba not only let go scot free, but also appointed to a very high procuratorship. He was contemptibly submissive to his own freedmen ; as

before, the Court became a chaffering-place for taxation or exemption, the punishment of the guiltless or the acquittal of the guilty in return for pelf or favour. The most influential of them was one Icelus, a man of the dirtiest antecedents, whose only virtue lay in subservience to his lord. The right of wearing a gold ring was given him, and thus knightly rank; he was spoken of as a candidate for the Praefecture of the Praetorium. He, too, abused his power for the most reckless pilfering. Otho had him executed, and restored Nero's freedmen and procurators, a source of general consternation. To his own freedman Moschus he handed the command of the fleet in the Civil War, and the commission of keeping a watchful eye on the demeanour of the upper classes.

From depths as low as Icelus, Vitellius' freedman Asiaticus climbed up to a position of equal might in his reign. He had been maltreated by his lord, ran away in disgust, and maintained himself at Puteoli by selling a liquor relished by the vilest of the lower classes; he was caught, again won his master's graces, again embittered him; his master's anger made him sell the slave to a peddling merchant of gladiators; then he bought him back and at last set him free. On the first day of Vitellius' accession, he was raised to knightly rank; in four months he had fared like the most depraved freedmen of the preceding reigns. His career terminates with that of his master, he being probably crucified. Of the freedmen of the first two Flavian emperors little is known. According to Philostratus Apollonius of Tyana advised Vespasian to curb the freedmen's spirit; the greater their lord, the less should they be. According to Suetonius it was believed that Vespasian promoted the most rapacious to procuratorships, so as to sentence them afterwards, and confiscate their augmented properties. One of his freedmen, Hormus, a man of ill-fame, who had proved himself active in the Civil War, and responsible for the razing of Cremona in 71, was made a knight. Under Domitian freedmen again were given important offices and great power; the chamberlains Parthenius and Sigerus were personages of great weight at his Court.

A substantial change in the position of the imperial freedmen came in with Nerva and Trajan. Yet the tone in which

Pliny the Younger praises the newer modes of government shows that they retained no little authority. 'Most of the princes', he says, 'were both lords over citizens and slaves of freedmen, who became the guiders and controllers of their counsels, their ears, and their tongues; the purveyors or rather granters of Praetorships, priesthoods and consulates. To your freedmen you may well give honour, but as freedmen; you may believe that for them to be upright and honest is merit enough. For, as you know, great freedmen and little princes go together. And, above all, if you only have about you such as are dear to you or your father and all good men, you can fend them off, bid them betake themselves to their own rank, not yours: and they rank all the higher in that we do them every honour, unsolicited'. And Pliny also tells how at the indictment of Eurythmus, a freedman and procurator of Trajan, for forgery of a will, the parties dreaded appearing in the case; and Trajan finely observed: 'He is no Polycletus, nor am I a Nero'. Hadrian is said not to have stickled at wooing and bribing Trajan's freedmen, so as to secure his own adoption. He himself aimed at his freedmen remaining unknown, and their wishes having no weight with him; he used to say that all previous emperors had had to bear the burden of their freedmen's vices, and was severe against those who made boast of their influence over him. Antoninus Pius, too, repressed his freedmen, and effectually destroyed the power of the courtiers by personally keeping himself well informed, and preventing them from selling their information. But Marcus Aurelius was too gentle to be able to shatter the dominance of Geminus and Agaclytus, two freedmen high in his co-regent's favour: he even suffered Verus to marry the latter to the widow of his cousin Annius Libo (Consul in 128, died as governor of Syria in 176), and deigned to be present at this wedding, so repugnant to his principles. After Verus' death he dismissed his freedmen on honourable pretexts, except Eclectus, who afterwards murdered his son. Under Commodus the freedmen ruled as arbitrarily as ever under Claudius; and one of them, Cleander, actually was Praefect of the Praetorium, the highest dignitary next to the Emperor. Pertinax drew on himself the deadly hatred of the courtiers by his energetic measures against their excesses, and their venom

contributed not a little to his fall. Severus was also stern with the freedmen, but, under Caracalla, whose fortunes they shared, their power was all the greater. And the reign of Elagabalus heralded in fresh freedmen's *saturnalia*.

Though, occasionally, after violent revolutions, the entire domestic service of the imperial house was changed, for the most part it went on from reign to reign unaffected, and all the members might easily acquire an experience enabling them 'to veer their course to every wind'. Tacitus says of Graptus, who exercised an evil influence over Nero, that a life at the Court from Tiberius onwards had made him thoroughly conversant with the ways of Empire. One Claudius Etruscus had died at the age of ninety under Domitian. His father had been taken under Tiberius in his boyhood to Court, served under ten emperors, with only, it seems, one slight intermission of disgrace. Of his sovereigns six had died violent deaths; their blood-stained reigns had wiped out many an ancient family; and the face of the earth had been shattered and re-shaped: and, all this while, the old freedman went on in undisturbed enjoyment of his position, and his enormous wealth, and died in his bed. And so, too, hundreds grew up and rose to eminence in the palace, accommodating themselves to one sovereign after another, outliving one after another; if they had only told their tale!

But the higher they climbed, the more unsure was their foothold. As the historical survey indicates, many came by their fall, as soon as their riches awoke the Emperor's avarice (Nero had several rich old freedmen poisoned), or if their power was too overweening for him and the other favourites; when they attached themselves to the chiefs of the defeated side in throne or palace revolutions: their sharing in momentous deeds and resolves might prove momentous to themselves; for often was it their word that decided the issue of conspiracies against the Emperor, or the choice of his consort or heir.

The riches that streamed into them, in consequence of their vantage-ground, lent them their main strength. At this time to be as rich as a freedman was proverbial, and few could measure themselves with these servants of State. Narcissus had 400,000,000 sesterces (£4,350,000), the largest sum in one man's hands known to antiquity, and Juvenal

calculates his wealth as equivalent to that of Croesus and the Persian king: Pallas had 300,000,000 (£3,256,250), Callistus, Epaphroditus, Doryphorus and others scarcely less immense sums. When Claudius complained one day over the deficit in the imperial exchequer, it was said in Rome that, if he were to enter into partnership with Narcissus and Pallas, he would have a surplus. Epictetus tells a tale of Epaphroditus that a petitioner once fell at his feet, and bewailed his ill-luck; he had only 6,000,000 sesterces (£65,250) left; and Epaphroditus expressed his surprise at any one bearing such poverty in patience. It will be seen, too, that less prominent men were very rich. Apart from their profitable appointments, both in the provinces and in Rome, they had many opportunities of augmenting their possessions, without directly plundering, or extorting: for they had control of moneys in the imperial household; and they could skilfully avail themselves of circumstances. To mention only one point, naturally, every such employee saw he was paid for any assistance, real or otherwise, he might give in order to bring a request to the Emperor's ear and exercise influence direct or indirect on his decision. On one journey of Vespasian's the mule-driver dismounted, ostensibly to shoe his animals, in fact, to give a man the opportunity of petitioning the Emperor. Vespasian asked what the fee was for the shoeing, and claimed his share. Disseminating news as to the Emperor's speeches, intentions or moods was a very good speculation; often these costly titbits were only rumours (*fumi*); Martial already speaks of the 'traffic in empty rumour at the Emperor's palace' as a business: and later biographers regard the word almost as a mere technical term. Alexander Severus had one of his servants hanged for selling 'smoke' about him to a soldier for one hundred aurei, and, at his orders, his friend Verconius Turinus was smoked to death at the stake in the Forum of Nerva for making a livelihood in this way; a herald shouting the while, that he who lived by smoke, must die by smoke. Hadrian and Antoninus Pius kept better order at their Court, and none of their friends or freedmen 'sold' a word of what they said or did, 'as had been the custom of the Emperor's servants and courtiers'. New regulations were ever being made against this trade in false tales, and prove how impossible it was

to allay the evil permanently. A picture of Elagabalus' time in the childish wise of these biographies describes the dealing of one of his favourites and is fairly applicable to the greater part of the history of the Empire. Aurelius Zoticus, the son of a Smyrnaean cook, sold 'all the Emperor said or did, under false pretences, hoping for boundless wealth. He used to threaten one man, lavish promises on another and deceive them all. On leaving the Emperor's presence, he would tell them all singly: "I said this of you", or "I heard that of you", or "our fate will be that . . .". Such are some men who are admitted to the familiarity of the Emperor, but abuse the honour of both bad and good rulers. The folly or simplicity of the purblind Emperors let them grow fat on such scandalous swindles'.

The vast riches of the imperial freedmen enabled them to outbid the Roman aristocracy in luxury. Their palaces were the most pretentious in all Rome; that of Posides, the eunuch, outshone the Capitol, according to Juvenal, and all that was rare and costly on earth was squandered on its decoration. The poor man fears nothing, the poet says; but Licinus the rich is all a-tremble for his Phrygian pillars and statues, his beryl, tortoise-shell and ivory in his palace-rooms. In a dining-room built by Callistus, a freedman of Caligula, Pliny saw thirty pillars of oriental alabaster; four smaller columns of alabaster had been erected by Cornelius Balbus in Augustus' reign in his theatre as a great curiosity. The 'Baths of the Freedmen' were proverbially gorgeous, and the most splendid must have been those of the imperial freedmen. In the bath constructed by Etruscus, the son of an imperial freedman, marbles in frequent use, though costly, were discarded as too common, and the rarest only used in quantities; the ceilings gleamed with designs in glass mosaics, and from silver pipes the water gushed into silver vessels. Their parks and gardens were the largest and most beautiful in the city, their villas the most palatial in the environs. Would any menial of Nero's (the expression with which the hated and despised freedmen were designated), asks Pliny the Elder, have been content a little while ago with a garden of two acres? In Rome the parks of Pallas and Epaphroditus on the Esquiline were famous. Martial says that the garden in the palace of Entellus (a freedman

of Domitian) must be exalted above that of Alcinous ; there the purple grape ripened under glass, despite the wintry cold. But these freedmen also bedecked Rome and other cities in the monarchy with magnificent buildings of public utility. Cleander, the mighty freedman of Commodus, diverted a portion of his wealth to the erection of houses, baths, and 'other institutions, to the advantage of individuals and whole cities'. At various places, inscriptions record imperial freedmen as builders of temples, *thermae* and other great works, or the statues or honours awarded them in commemoration of their munificence. Their refined luxury out-rivalled that of voluptuous connoisseurs. One of Caligula's freedmen copied his master in having essences mixed with his bath-water. A hot well at Baiae was named after Posides, Claudius' eunuch, who discovered it, or made it fashionable. Patrobius followed the example of Alexander's generals in importing Nile-sand for his gymnastic exercises. Their mortal remains and those of their families were interred with oriental pomp ; colossal monuments, adorned with every art, covered over their ashes ; boastful inscriptions testified to all posterity how great they had been. Those on Pallas' grave (he died in 62 A.D.), recording the honours offered him by the Senate, all of which he would not accept, could forty-three years later (107 A.D.) so irritate Pliny the Consular, as to blind him to their humour.

The freedmen, sprung from races loathed and stained with the ineffaceable stigma of slavery, were despised and abhorred by the aristocracy of Rome, the descendants of immemorial families of great repute : and yet to these freedmen, who rightly ranked lower in many an aspect than a free-born beggar, the noblest had to pay homage and allegiance, because they were the omnipotent servants of the Emperor. For imperial freedmen ranked no higher than any others of their order, and the promotion some might receive from Emperor or Senate entitled them at the most only to the rights of the second rank, even if—what was very rare—distinctions pertaining to the first were added. The most common honours awarded, in the first century even, were the rank of knight by the conferring of the Golden Ring, and in dealing out this much, the Emperors seem to have been very sparing ; only the most deserving and prominent

favourites were selected, and the honour was not cheapened by excessive distribution. Thus Nero conferred knighthood on Pallas, Galba on Icelus, Vitellius on Asiaticus, Vespasian on Hor-mus and the father of Claudius Etruscus. At the same time, a new knightly surname was given them: thus Icelus was titled Marcianus, and Elagabalus' chamberlain, Aurelius Zoticus dubbed Avitus after his master's grandfather. If Narcissus had the insignia of the office of quaestor granted him, and Pallas those of the praetorship, this is accountable for by the anomalies of this dominion of the freedmen: it was to enable both to sit in the Senate. When Claudius gave all his procurators jurisdiction in fiscal matters, he thereby, says Tacitus, put the freedmen who superintended his private estate on an equal footing with himself and the law. Narcissus and Parthenius (the chamberlain of Domitian) even carried an officer's sword, a privilege belonging, not even to senatorial proconsuls, only to the generals appointed by the Emperor; it was perhaps as evidence of military authority over the Palace Guards. Claudius deigned to allow his freedman Harpocras to use a sedan-chair in Rome, and to organize public spectacles, but this was possibly a right appertaining to any free and responsible person. One military distinction (a blunted lance) Claudius with his usual tactlessness conferred on his eunuch Posides at the British triumph. The tutor of Lucius Verus, the freedman Nicomedes, before receiving this and other honours, had been raised to knighthood.

Thus (except for short periods) the outward distinctions of the servants of the Emperor were quite modest; in exteriors, their subordination socially and politically was to be kept intact as against the aristocratic dignitaries of the monarchy, with their high-sounding names, and show of pomp. In reality, the relations were reversed: the slaves, so deeply despised, had the satisfaction of 'receiving the admiration and envy of the free and the noble', of seeing Rome's greatest cringe to them: few were they who dared treat them as servants; one such was Lateranus (beheaded under Nero in the year 65) who retorted on Epaphroditus' inquiries: 'If I wished, I would speak to your master'. For Pallas his smug flatterers devised a genealogy tracing him back to his namesake, the King of Arcadia; and, in return for the

condescension wherewith this descendant of the kings of old preferred the good of the State to his own ancient rank, and deigned to serve his prince, it was a Scipio who in the Senate proposed a vote of thanks. In the year 52 A.D. one of the Consuls moved that Pallas be granted the insignia of the praetorship and the large gift of 15,000,000 sesterces ; Pallas accepted only the insignia. Thereupon followed a decree, that, fifty years afterwards even, Pliny the Younger blushed with shame and indignation to read. The Senate had already voted a considerable sum to this worthy patriot, and, the more his gentle spirit recoiled, the more persistently did they beseech the Emperor, the Father of his Country, to induce his treasurer to accede to their own wishes. But the Emperor, at Pallas' wish, and in his name, still declined the gift ; and the Senate recorded that they had voted, as a matter of desert and for their own satisfaction, these honours to Pallas, and that, even herein, they loyally would not wrongfully withstand in any wise their monarch's will. This decree was publicly exhibited, engraved in bronze (probably on an office of the imperial exchequer), beside a statue of Julius Caesar in coat of mail ; in it the owner of 300,000,000 sesterces was belauded as an example of stern disinterestedness. Lucius Vitellius, the father of the Emperor of that name, a man of very high position—at any rate, even in his day, a past-master in the art of servility—poured libations to golden pictures of Narcissus and Pallas, as his house-gods. Polybius often shared the walks of the two Consuls. And even Severus had to return to the Senate a decree of honour to his freedman, Euhodus, with the comment that it was scandalous for the Senate to pass such votes on a servant of the Emperor.

The strongest evidence for the position attained by these former slaves is that they could marry the daughters of noble and even imperial families, and this at a time when aristocratic pride in ancient lineages was at its height, at a time when the law forbade the female descendants of senators to the fourth generation to be engaged to or marry freedmen ; an enactment, dispensable at will by the Emperors, like the corresponding law, that senators might not marry freedmen's daughters. Felix, the brother of Pallas, the well-known administrator of Judaea, was the husband of three princesses :

the first was Drusilla, a granddaughter of Antonius, and Cleopatra; the second, Drusilla, a daughter of Herodes Agrippa; the name of the third is unknown. Nor did his descendants feel any shame of their ancestry. An inscription at Pola dedicated to one of his great-grandchildren, Lucius Anneius Domitius Proculus, expressly says of this boy of senatorial rank that he was a great-grandchild of Antonius Felix. The mother of Claudius Etruscus, a woman celebrated for her beauty, was the sister of a consul who commanded in the first Dacian War (86). Antistia Priscilla, the wife of Abascantus, Domitian's freedman, also came of a noble family. Agaclytus married the widow of Annius Libo, a cousin of Marcus Aurelius, as has been already said. These facts are chance survivals; but they justify the assumption that alliances between imperial freedmen and noble families were no rarity.

Every circumstance then combined to enhance to the utmost the complacent pride of these self-made men who had risen from the depths, and their insolence was the more defiant and open in proportion to the contempt with which they were regarded by those born in freedom and high rank. Once on the stage the verse was declaimed, 'Nothing more loathly than whipped curs in luck', and every eye turned on Polybius, who shouted back, 'The same poet also said, "Kings came of men who herded goats"'. Pallas, who did not conceal his sombre self-confidence even in the presence of Nero—who owed his throne to him—and at the last made himself intolerable, was arraigned in 55 A.D. for high treason. Some of his servants were named as accomplices: he replied he ruled his house by hints and signs, more specific orders were given in writing: he would not degrade himself by speaking to them. And, though their over-weeningness reached its height under Claudius, it was always very great, and any who dared confront them could be sure of general support. One of these probably rare incidents is recorded in Plutarch. An imperial freedman, who had just come into his fortune, was behaving snobbishly and rudely at a banquet to a philosopher, and ended by asking him why both black and white beans made a yellow stew, a question the latter countered by asking why black and white thongs produced red welts. Martial in one poem praises the demean-

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our of the freedmen of Domitian, but is scarcely more reliable than in his other laudations of this reign. Up till then, he says, the servile refuse of the sovereign had been loathed and the insolence of the Palatine a byword. But now the Emperor's men were universally loved, every man's family-friends, so gentle and considerate were they, so quiet their life, so modest their manner. No freedman had any individuality, except his master's; and this was the character of the imperial court. And the greater the arrogance of the imperial freedmen, the more effective would be their occasional condescension; Epictetus expressly mentions their friendliness as one of the things likely to wrest every secret from a man bent on externalities.

§ 2

In the administration itself the freedmen seldom held high positions; before Hadrian's reorganization, knights were regularly appointed to them. Thus the directors of the more important tax offices, for example, the 5 per cent. death-duty, were mostly knights. Still there were exceptions, partly in pursuance of imperial arbitrariness, partly because the only standard was personal fitness. The supervision of finance in the imperial provinces, and the raising of the revenue in the senatorial, was entrusted to freedmen; but more frequently they were departmental or subaltern officers of their superiors; the directors of the imperial camps (*procuratores castrenses*, an office important because of its close relation to the person of the Emperor) were for the first two centuries systematically freedmen; as also the procurators of the waterways of Rome, even after Hadrian had designated this post for the knights. In the wide and many-sided administration of the imperial estates, which, as time proceeded, expanded enormously throughout the entire Empire, and gradually assumed the character of Crown property, freedmen retained the direction of single parts, even after the superintendence of the whole had been transferred to the knights as procurators. Often they managed the imperial mines and quarries, afforestations and estates, and the parks, villas and palaces of Italy and the provinces, as, for example, Marcus Ulpius Euphrates was the procurator of Pausilypum (Posilipo near Naples), which passed into the private inheritance of the Emperor from the estate

of Vedius Pollio. The freedmen who, after Claudius, had the business control of the gladiatorial and animal shows, had, under them a large staff of men; a procurator, for instance, was specially set over the moneys devoted to the maintenance of the elephants. Of the salaries attached to the offices accessible to freedmen, we only know that of one, the procurator of the Roman waterways: this was 100,000 sesterces (£1,087 10s.). An imperial freedman, Euphrates, returns thanks (in an inscription at Lanuvium) to the 'genius of the place', for having enjoyed a yearly income of 100,000 sesterces, presumably an increase of salary.

As the freedmen, in matters of finance, so seldom received high rank, it is rather surprising that, for the whole of the first century, they remained in possession of the three posts of which Claudius so increased the importance, Finance, Petitions and Grievances, and the Secretariate—and at intervals, even in the second century. The reason is plainly that what was requisite was not personal rank (as for governorships, especially in the provinces), so much as reliability, submissiveness and aptitude.

In the imperial Finance Department (*a rationibus*), all the receipts of all the imperial exchequers were pooled and the total disbursements published. How extensive the operations of this department were is indicated by Statius' poem, written at the commission of the son of Etruscus to commemorate his father's life (a work which has already been made use of in several instances). Etruscus' father may have lacked an ancient lineage, says the poet; but fortune compensated him in large measure. No man from out of the crowd could be his master, but only they whose liege servants are the sunrise and sunset. Of that much he need not be ashamed, for, were there no law or discipline, what on high or below could exist? The dance of the stars, the moon and the sun obey set laws, Hercules and Phoebus had been thralls!

This Etruscus was born in the second decade of our era at Smyrna, came, at a very early age, to Rome to Tiberius' Court, and was manumitted by him (i.e. before 37 A.D.): under Caligula he maintained his position, and had a humble place in his retinue on his journey to Gaul: under Claudius his elevation began: under Nero, he underwent no change—he had steered his craft successfully. In the year 55 perhaps, when Pallas

resigned, the administration of the Holy Chamber (the Imperial Exchequer) was entrusted to him. The receipts from Iberian and Dalmatian gold-mines, African and Egyptian harvests, the pearl fisheries of the Eastern Seas, the revenues from Tarentine herds, and Alexandrian manufactories of transparent crystal, from the forests of Numidia, and the ivories of India ; whatever the winds from every point of the compass might waft in, he, and only he, administered. And the disbursements he must also assign. Through his hands there passes the daily food of the armies, the demands for the Roman distributions of corn, for the erections of temples, the construction of waterways and harbours, the adornment of the palaces of the Emperors, the statues of the gods and the mint. He has little sleep, and little time for meals, none for banquetings. Pleasure is not for him. Under Domitian (84) he fell into disgrace, but was only punished by relegation to the coast of Campania, whither his son accompanied him. In about 89 or 90 he was forgiven. Shortly after his return to Rome, he died (about 92 A.D.), nearly ninety years old. His grave was fragrant with flowers, the rarest essences scented his funeral urn. Painters and sculptors busied themselves to perpetuate the features of this whilom slave in the most precious materials ; the two most celebrated poets of his day wrote elegies on him, and have preserved his name and fate to posterity.

The office of Petitions and Grievances (*alibellis*) was politically of far less consequence. Under Claudius it was administered by Polybius, of whom repeated mention has been made, to whom Seneca as an exile in Corsica addressed his well-known and undignified *Consolation* at the death of one of his younger brothers. One ground for relief Seneca finds in the fact of the nature and importance of his work, which would preclude from giving way to his anguish : ' You must hear so many thousands of men, decide on so many petitions. To be able to lay before the mind of the supreme ruler such a vast mass of matters, streaming in from the four quarters of the world, in proper order, you must raise your own spirits. You who hear so many weep, must not yourself weep. To dry the tears of the many who are in peril and beseech the mercy of our gracious Emperor, you must first dry your own tears '. And, besides this office, Polybius was also Literary Counsellor to the Emperor. Amongst other things he had made paraphrases

of Virgil and Homer, and Seneca says, that, as long as the force of the Latin tongue, and the charm of the Greek, shall survive, so long will Polybius live among the spirits of the mighty. And this tone dominates the entire work. He is the only one of the powerful courtiers whose friendship is not merely advantageous, but also pleasurable. With his ease in gaining wealth, the only profit he purposes to himself is to despise wealth. He is universally respected; his luck raises no envious tongue. And so on.

Further, the Literary Counsellorship (probably instituted by Claudius) seems to have been a large, constant and well-staffed office at Court. In the fourth century, a second director (*adiutor*) is mentioned, with a salary of 60,000 sesterces. After the second century, it was regularly reserved to the knights. One Sextus, whom Martial requested to find room for his poems in the imperial or Palatine Library, was apparently both librarian and Literary Counsellor to Domitian. For he, the eloquent worshipper of the Palatine Minerva, was permitted to enjoy the intimacy of the god (the Emperor), and to watch the beginnings of the prince's works, and his secluded thoughts. In the third and fourth centuries a high official, a knight, was the principal conductor of the office of Literary Adviser.

The Secretariate (*ab epistolis*), the imperial Chancery, had two departments, Greek and Latin, each, beyond all doubt, under a separate head. But the supervision of the department in the first century was always apparently vested in one supreme authority. For the omnipotent Narcissus, who held the Secretariate under Claudius, can hardly have been subordinate, nor as such would he have held his place beside Callistus and Pallas. Under Domitian as well, the one official *ab epistolis* had the conduct of the whole. Statius describes the imperial secretary of his day, Abascantus, as being engaged in correspondence with the whole Empire, countries where Greek and where Latin prevailed—even a poetical account dared not contain any crude inaccuracies. Yet in the second century a change took place, perhaps in conjunction with Hadrian's general official reorganization. No doubt the Latin section was now made independent of the Greek, a separation eminently desirable in view of the frightful pressure of business. According to Statius no department in the 'holy' house was

busier, especially as the continual concentration of the government would augment the extensiveness of the work in this office more than in any other. And the staff must have increased more and more. One of the reforms of Julian the Apostate consisted in dismissing a number of useless scribes, who perverted their office into a system of scandalous blackmailings and extortions.

Statius dedicates this poem of his to the freedman Abascantus after the death of his wife, Antistia Priscilla, 'as he was ever unrelaxing in his efforts to serve the interests of all concerned with the Holy House, in so far as his weakness allowed, for he who loyally revered the gods, must also love their priests'. The Emperor, with his perspicuity into character, recognized the abilities of Abascantus even as a young man, and laid on his shoulders this titanic burden, the scarce bearable weight of this office of world-wide consequence. Abascantus now had to despatch into every land the monarch's orders, to steer through the currents and utilize the resources of the Empire, to receive the tidings of victory from the banks of the Euphrates, the Danube and the Rhine, or the news of the progress of the arms of Rome in the farthest lands, even in Thule. For never was the plume, the betokener of defeat, borne by the messengers, but they always brought the laurel-crowned lances of success. He decided on military promotions, and announced who is to be made centurion, or tribune, who is to have the command of a cohort, or squadron of cavalry. He must inquire whether the Nile-floods will ensure a good harvest, whether in Africa the rains have fallen, and infinite are the matters he must investigate; Mercury or Isis never had so many errands. Abascantus, in his panegyrist's view, was unmoved by his promotion; he was still calm, upright and modest; no Apulian or Sabine yokel more sober in eating or drinking. But he must have been very rich. According to Statius, Priscilla on her deathbed made her husband swear he would put up, in her name, a golden statue of the Emperor, on the Capitol, of 100 pounds (£4,500). Her funeral was royally magnificent. Every fragrance from the East was poured over her dead body, which rested on pillows of silk, wrapped in mantles of purple: it was embalmed and buried on the Via Appia near the Almo. Her grave was a palace, where her form was reproduced in the shapes of

different goddesses, in bronze as Ceres and Ariadne, in marble as Maia and Venus the Chaste. Its remains can still be seen.

The director of the imperial secretariate had also to be an educated man. The Emperor's letters and the rescripts of his agents had to be drawn up in the sovereign's name and in a form worthy of his majesty. Their calligraphy had also to be perfect. The names of some freedmen, which were no doubt conferred on them by their masters in consideration of their occupations, indicate literary culture and scientific knowledge : such as Tiberius Claudius Philologus, Titus Flavius Ilias, and perhaps Flavius Hermes. Naturally and probably such men would be made librarians ; thus Dionysius the grammarian of Alexandria, and son of Glaucus, succeeded the Stoic Chaeremon as school surveyor at Alexandria, and later became librarian and imperial secretary at Rome.

As the repute of this office, as of all the imperial offices, rose, especially after its restriction to the knights, it may be assumed that only known men of literary reputation were invested with it. Titinius Capito, who held it under Domitian, Nerva and Trajan, is reckoned by Pliny the Younger as one of the ornaments of his age, the restorer of the senescent literature ; he also wrote verse. Under Hadrian Suetonius became the imperial secretary ; he was already known as a learned and prolific writer, and his biographies of the Emperors are noticeable for their tone of precise and sober exactitude ; his over-confident manner to the Empress Sabina lost him the post. But in the second century, the control of the Greek section seems to have been the ambition of the Greek rhetors and sophists in a quite remarkable degree. They strove for the imperial confirmation of their literary fame, and for something more, for the brilliant post with its prospects of higher and remunerative promotions. The rhetor Avidius Heliodorus, who held it under Hadrian, obtained the governorship of Egypt, and his son Avidius Cassius dared reach out for the purple.

Yet how could such men who idolized eloquence as man's highest aim, not deem it a great advance, to be recognized by the Emperor as the first of living stylists, if thus appointed ? This at least was their view and that of their friends : their enemies asserted the Emperor could make them secretaries, but not good stylists. Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, according to the Atticist Phrynichus, had nominated the rhetor

Cornelianus the principal of their Greek chancery, as being a man of the highest standing in the learned world, and the most eminent of all. Phrynichus praises him as an orator of a pure and classical expression, the only professor of rhetoric, who brought his art back to its ancient and standard form ; he made the imperial court really Hellenic and Attic ; he taught others correctness not only in expression, but also in action, look, voice and attitude. Therefore—the Atticist continues in a ridiculous vein of exaggeration—the Emperors considered him worthy of the highest department of State, and entrusted to his keeping all Greek affairs, set him beside themselves to watch, and made him nominally secretary, really co-regent. Evidently the pride of the imperial chanceries of that day was no less than that of the papal chanceries at the Renaissance, and epistolary style esteemed no less by the sophists than by the humanists of the fifteenth century. Antipater of Hierapolis, the sophist, was the tutor of Severus' sons, and principal of his chancery, and Philostratus remarks of him that none wrote the imperial despatches better ; he spoke in a manner worthy of the Emperor, like an eminent actor correctly interpreting his piece. His letters exhibited clearness, a lofty range of thought, apt expression, and a proper terseness, the special ornament of a letter. The sophist Aspasius of Ravenna, imperial secretary possibly even under Caracalla, was the subject of a letter from Philostratus on the epistolary art. For his imperial despatches had too many purple patches, and too little preciseness. The Emperor's letters should not be couched in ornate and rounded periods, but should declare his purpose, and ambiguity must also be avoided when he sets forth laws, in which their own clearness should be the true interpreter.

§ 3

The imperial chamberlains, as has been remarked, began to be prominent much later than the palace officials of whom we have spoken. They were the heads of a large staff, consisting partly of slaves, partly of freedmen (but never of the free in the Early Empire), and had varying degrees of access to the Emperor's person : this may be the meaning of their 'first' and 'second' stations. Their great number may be gauged from the fact that a special service for their sick was

organized, and (from inscriptions of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius' times) for their supply of corn. Obviously a deft handling of opportunities would at all times have given them power. Cicero even boasts that he was not, for any purpose, approachable, when Proconsul of Cilicia, through his chamberlains, as had been usual in the provinces. Bontems, the first of Louis XIV's four valets, 'saw the whole Court at his feet, even the princes, the ministers and the proudest of the nobles'.

The example of Helikon, the Egyptian, at the Court of Caligula, instances the importance of the chamberlain even in the Early Empire. Our authority is Philo's report on the embassy of the Alexandrian Jews, in which, after oriental fashion, he is designated as the 'right-servant' or 'bodyguard'. Helikon was first a slave of a private individual, from him received a general education, and was presented to Caligula. At his Court he rose to the rank of principal bedroom attendant, and thus came into the directest contact with the Emperor. 'For, when Gaius was playing ball, taking exercise, at his bath and at his breakfast, and retiring at night, he was with him; so that he had the ear of the Emperor at his leisure, and on all occasions more than any other man.' According to Philo he owed his influence largely to his national gift for wit, jests and merriment, which he always spiced with Egyptian malice: he thus, heading his troop of Egyptians, infected the Emperor with his own inborn and developed hatred of the Jews. It was said he had been bribed by the Alexandrian ambassadors, to prejudice the Emperor against the Jews, partly with money, partly with the promise of honours to be awarded him should he come to Alexandria in the Emperor's retinue. The Jews, for their part, had attempted to retain him, but in vain; no one dared approach him, on account of the general haughtiness and brusqueness of his demeanour. Whether he was a freedman or, as Philo calls him, a slave is uncertain, very possibly a slave. Claudius had him executed.

At the Court of Domitian, the two chamberlains Parthenius and Sigerus were most important personages. Martial thus describes an old buffoon, who was making himself a byword with his Court relations: 'ten times a day, he will run up the street to the palace and talk of nothing but Parthenius and Sigerus'. Of the two, Parthenius held the higher rank: Suetonius gives him the later title of 'Praefect of the Bed-

chamber': he was so much in Domitian's favour, as to receive from him, as has been said, the right of carrying a sword. Martial begs him to hand a copy of his fifth book to the Emperor: 'you know the seasons of Jupiter's gaiety, when his own native geniality shines out, and does not reject suppliants'. Parthenius and Sigerus had an active part in the murder of Domitian, and the raising of Nerva to the throne, with whom Parthenius continued in favour. And now his hand could not be idle. He had to read so many requests, that he had no time over for the Muses, otherwise he would have devoted himself to his own Muse; for, Martial says, he was an excellent poet. Martial in the year 88 congratulated him on the fifth birthday of his son Burrus, and, in 93, received a gift from him of a fine toga, which was unfortunately worn out in 94. He now requested him anew, if he had time, to recommend his poems to the Emperor; without much prospect of success. When in the year 97 the Praetorians demanded the punishment of the murderers of Domitian, and killed them despite Nerva's refusal, he is said to have fallen.

But, one hundred years later, the position of the Emperor's chamberlains was very different. Already, as in an oriental despotism, they had their ranks and were the omnipotent mouthpieces of their sovereigns, all the more, as Commodus had been accustomed by Perennis the Praefect, to live a life of pleasure, and, for the most part, was away from Rome. Hence his freedmen ruled as they liked. The first of them, Saoterus, a Nicomedian, was powerful, and made the Senate vote his native city the right of holding a periodic festival and building a temple to the Emperor. Cleander displaced him, and handed him and others over to the executioner. Cleander was a Phrygian, brought to Rome as a slave and porter; he was sold in the open market, entered the palace and rose to be chamberlain. As such his power was unparalleled—in one year he appointed five-and-twenty consuls, and by means of extortions of every kind piled up an enormous fortune. After, partly at his instigation, the Praefect Perennis had been sacrificed to the fury of the soldiers, he filled and deposed for a time all these offices at his will—the offices standing next after the Emperor's—and finally assumed them himself with two others. As Praefect he carried the officer's sword, the sign of military command, a distinction seldom awarded to

freedmen, and hence was nicknamed by the people 'the belted freedman'. He was said to have aimed at the supreme power. At last, at a time of famine, the hatred of the populace burst into flame, and Commodus abandoned him (189); he and his principal supporters fell, and his head was carried about Rome on the point of a lance. The last chamberlain of Commodus was the Egyptian Eclectus. When he saw that his life was in peril from his moodish master, he plotted his murder with the Praefect Laetus and his favourite concubine, Marcia, raised Pertinax to the throne and died at his side in valiant fight with the soldiers.

Severus' chamberlain, Castor, whom Dio calls the best of the imperial staff, was murdered by order of Caracalla. Probably he held the same influential post under Severus, as had Festus, the chamberlain under Caracalla (*a memoria*). Of Elagabalus' favourite and chamberlain, Aurelius Zoticus, mention has already been made.

Besides these important officials of the Court, the Court actors and dancers should be mentioned. They were not always freedmen of the Emperor, but it is typical of our epoch that their rôle in his palace was often by no means insignificant. Amongst the numerous comedians of the Court, the pantomimes took first rank, as the upper classes were passionately addicted to this species of scenic representation, the women even more than the men; often did its greatest professors enjoy the Empresses' favour. The waking thought, says Epictetus, of no few people is to whom in the palace shall he send a present, how he can ingratiate himself with the dancer, or turn a slander on one into a gratification for another. The names and a part of the careers of some of the most famous pantomimes have survived. Pylades, the Cilician, founded this branch of the ballet, and credited himself with Augustus' gratitude for diverting the popular mind to the stage; he seems to have been his freedman; and the beautiful Mnester, Caligula's favourite and Messalina's constrained lover, Tiberius' freedman. He and Messalina were executed together in the year 48. Paris, the comrade of the debaucheries of Nero, who had him executed in the year 67, was a freedman of his paternal aunt, Domitia. Whether the Paris who exercised so much control at Domitian's Court was his freedman, is unknown. Another Pylades, a darling of Trajan's, was manumitted by Hadrian.

One Apolaustus, the second of that name, had been Trajan's freedman, as also a third Pylades, freedman of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. The first must have been an important personage at the Court of Commodus, as he was involved in Cleander's fall and executed. Agilius Septentrio, 'the first pantomime of his day', was a freedman of Commodus, brought up by his mother Faustina, and, at his imperial patron's inducement, a public actor. The dancer Theocritus, appointed by Caracalla to a high military command in Armenia, had been a slave of Commodus' chamberlain Saoterus. The verses of Juvenal are said to be directed against the second Paris, and thereby to have later on drawn on him the anger of another pantomime, and, in consequence, his banishment: 'what the princes cannot do for you, a dancer will; it is idle to visit the palaces: a Pelopea creates praefects, and a Philomela tribunes'.¹

And other stage artists are sometimes mentioned as influential at Court. Apelles of Ascalon, the most celebrated tragedian of his time, was Caligula's regular companion and adviser, and 'did all such things in full freedom as men of that stamp venture on, once they attain to power'. The Jewish ambassadors of Alexandria were of opinion that he, as an Ascalonite, would be their born foe, after Helikon the chamberlain, and inflame the Emperor against them. But, afterwards, he fell into disfavour, it is said, because he hesitated in replying to Caligula's question, which seemed the greater, *he* or *Jupiter*. Caligula had him flogged, and congratulated the sufferer on his melodious shrieks, agreeable even then. Through the instrumentality of the mime Alityros, a Jew high in Nero's graces, Josephus was presented to the Empress Poppaea at Puteoli and, through her intercession, obtained the release of some Jewish priests, whom the procurator Felix had sent to the Emperor in chains. Latinus, the mime, a master in his art, was a favourite of Domitian and proud of Rome knowing him as the 'servant of his Jupiter' (the Emperor). He reported to the Emperor the day's occurrences, and, as an informer, was feared.

Of the host of the remaining servants, the pages and boy-loves at least deserve mention. The name of Antinous is sufficient to remind us of the importance they might attain.

¹ Pelopea and Philomela are names of plays.

Martial and Statius vied in glorifying Carinus of Pergamus, the beautiful freedman, a eunuch and cupbearer of Domitian, who, as Martial says, of a thousand Ganymede-like servants was his Emperor's favourite. 'Dear boy', Statius addresses him, 'so oft chosen to hand the nectar and to touch that all-powerful right hand, which the Getae, Persians, Armenians and Jews, long to grasp!' When he first wished to have his flowing locks shorn, Venus with her Cupids hastened down to help him. They enwrapped him in a silk mantle, cut his hair with the points of two arrowheads, perfumed them with fragrant scents, and placed them in a golden bejewelled case, and sent this and a similar mirror to Aesculapius at Pergamus.

In a room on the slope of the Palatine towards the Circus, on the walls of which some pupils of the Pages' school have recorded their removal to the Court, inscriptions are found. These show that boys from the most outlying countries were here assembled (such as the Crimea and North Africa). Amongst these scribblings (perhaps of the epoch of the Antonines) the name of the 'believer Alexamenos' can be traced; his schoolmates mocked his Christian faith in a drawing roughly scratched into the stucco: he is praying to a crucified figure with an ass's head; the Greek legend is 'Alexamenos worshipping his God.'

§ 4

Of the women, slaves or freed, in the palace, naturally mention is seldom made; but some characteristic facts deserve mention. The Jewess Acme (Hacma is Syrian for clever) was Livia's slave, and heavily bribed by Herod the Great's illegitimate son Antipater, to join an intrigue against Herod's sister Salome. A letter from her to Antipater was intercepted, and she paid for her action with her life. Otho, the future Emperor, paved his way to a close friendship with Nero through an influential freedwoman of the Emperor, and did her every honour. To attain his end, he pretended love for her, in spite of her considerable years. A modern parallel suggests itself. At Louis XIV's Court, there was one Nanon, an old servant of Mme. Maintenon, and thus of great consequence: princesses deemed themselves happy to chance to speak to her; ministers, whilst working through Mme. Maintenon, bowed to her; the Duchess du Lude in 1696 won

her prize of becoming lady of honour to the Duchess of Burgundy by paying 20,000 thalers to Nanon, and this, too, after one evening, on which the King had been speaking of her with decided disapproval. 'Such is Court life' was the remark of the Duc de St. Simon.

It follows that the most powerful would be the Emperor's concubines. When Messalina was being effectively accused to Claudius, Narcissus induced two especially favourite concubines of the Emperor, Calpurnia and Cleopatra, by means of promises, gifts and prospects of greater influence, to further the enemies of the Empress. And sometimes the concubines might for a while bewitch the sovereign, but there was never a mistress-rule in the Roman Empire, a fact attributable, perhaps, to the old-world relations of the sexes, so utterly different from modern conditions.

The first Emperor to condescend to such an amour was Nero, then in his nineteenth year, and his choice fell upon the slave Acte, a Little-Asian, and the affair was so revolting that Annaeus Seneca, Praefect of the Night Watch, had to avow himself Acte's lover. The Empress-mother was enraged at a *liaison* with a slave, which threatened her influence; the older friends of the Emperor encouraged it in hope of working off his lusts in a harmless fashion. Nero's passion for Acte was so great that he even thought of marrying her; and men of consular rank were willing to swear to her royal pedigree from the Attali. But others soon supplanted her, and, last, Poppaea. She survived Nero, and, with two of his old nurses, did him his last honours, with a magnificent burial, which cost 20,000 sesterces. Some records of her large household of slaves and freedmen have come down; specifying two chamberlains, a runner, baker, eunuch, and a Greek vocalist. Drain-pipes inscribed 'Claudia Acte, the Emperor's freedwoman', have been found at Puteoli and Velitrae in her villas there, and tiles stamped with her name at her potteries in Sardinia.

But Caenis, the mistress of Vespasian, held her master all her life, by other qualities than youth and beauty. She had been manumitted by Antonia, the mother of Claudius, who employed her as a secretary, as she was remarkable both for fidelity and memory. Vespasian, whose early love she had been, after his wife's death, took her back. She must then have been nearly forty years old, as, before the death of

Sejanus (October 31) she was Antonia's confidant, and Vespasian's wife, Flavia Domitilla, died at the earliest in 52 (which was the date of Domitian's birth). The Emperor treated her as his lawful wife. All the more offensive must Domitian's budding insolence have seemed, who held out his hand to her to kiss on his return from a journey; she had offered to kiss him. Her influence on the Emperor gained her enormous wealth; she was even said to be Vespasian's means of accumulation. 'For she received money from all sides in return for the offices, procuratorships, commands, priesthoods, even imperial responses that she sold. For Vespasian never took life, but rather gave life for money. She was the receiver; Vespasian was supposed to connive.' She did not enjoy her power for long; she died in the first year of Vespasian's reign. Recently on the Via Nomentana a votive altar was found, dedicated to 'the manes of Antonia Caenis, freedwoman of the Emperor, their good patron', erected to her by one of her freedmen and his three children. And Antoninus Pius even was so much under the sway of a concubine, that gossip attributed to her the appointment of the praefect of the Life Guards, possibly Lysistrata, the freedwoman of his wife Annia Galeria Faustina. Marcus Aurelius, after his wife's decease, took a daughter of one of his procurators as concubine, rather than give his children a stepmother.

Panthea of Smyrna, a love of Lucius Verus, is indebted for most of her celebrity to the enthusiastic allegiance paid to her by Lucian, the wittiest author of that day, during a short visit of his to Smyrna in 162. Her beauty—so runs the work dedicated to her—can only be described in terms of the excellences of all the masterpieces of the Greek brush or chisel; she combined them all; her voice was embodied harmony; her singing more tuneful and melodious than the nightingale's; Orpheus and Amphion would listen to her and hush: she plays the cithar with no less art; she has an intense poetical feeling, and an intimate acquaintance with the works of the historians, orators and philosophers. She is an Aspasia in her experience and insight in politics, in the sharpness and quickness of her intellect; rather a greater Aspasia, in proportion as the Roman Empire excelled the Athens of Pericles: comparable to Theano, the wife of Pythagoras, Sappho or Diotima. And repeatedly is she praised for her kind and gentle spirit,

her affability and responsiveness, her true faith towards her lover. Fortune has not spoiled her ; with those who frequent her she moves on equal terms and unconstrainedly : her friendliness is the more attractive, as coming without any trace of haughtiness, from one so highly placed. And the manner of her coming proves her lofty position ; a brilliant retinue of maidservants, eunuchs and soldiers guarded her person. And, as possibly, the beauteous lady may have found this libation of praise over-plenteous, Lucian thinks fit to indite a second glorification, repeating the former but belauding her modesty as well. Panthea seems to have gained Verus' life-long love and survived him many years. And she forms the motive of one of Marcus Aurelius' pessimistic reflections on the vanity of earthly gauds. ' Does Panthea or Pergamus still sit by their master's coffin ? It would be perfectly ridiculous. Or Chabrias and Diotimus by Hadrian's ? And if they did, would the dead know of it ? And did they know of it, would they be glad ? And were they glad of it, would their favourites be immortal ? Was it not their doom, to suffer old age, and then to perish ? And what should their masters do if their loves died ? All is idle and fleeting ; an empty and rotting husk.'

The harem of Commodus comprised three hundred women and three hundred love-boys, and the position of favourite was won by Marcia for her beauty and mastery of courtesanship, some said, by magic. She maintained this rank for nine years. She was a former concubine of Ummidius Quadratus, who was executed in 183 as an accomplice in Lucilla's conspiracy. Commodus liked seeing her as an Amazon, calling himself Amazonius ; and in this costume, wished, for her sake, to appear in the arena : her picture is preserved to us on a coin, on which his head appears next to the head of a beautiful woman with the Amazon's shield. She received the honours of a lawful wife, and all the insignia of an Empress, except having fire carried in front of her. One word from her, and the Christians condemned to the Sardinian mines were set free : she was a Christian, or inclined to that faith, as had been her foster-father, Hyacinthus the Eunuch, the priest in the Roman Community, and several freedmen of the Court, and had a connexion with Victor, Bishop of Rome. In vain did she beseech Commodus on the last day of his life, on her knees and

in tears, to abandon his intention of taking up his residence in the gladiatorial school: she only excited his anger, and he decided to have her killed. Marcia learned of this accidentally, and forthwith concerted the Emperor's murder with two others, who had been condemned for the same reason, Laetus the Praefect of the Praetorium and Eclectus the freedman, who is said to have been her lover. The Consul Falco denounced her and Laetus as Commodus' comrades in profligacy at the first sitting of the Senate after the murder, but Pertinax absolved both on the ground that they had been forced to obey against their natural goodness. Didius Julianus had Marcia and all those concerned in the conspiracy against Commodus executed.

§ 5

Even the slaves of the palace were influential personages. They, too, might be very rich, their favour had to be solicited and their insolence endured. Such are the slaves Seneca refers to, as footmen or slaves of even lesser consequence, whose kiss is considered a privilege by some people, who go into their park in their sedan-chairs for this purpose. Hadrian saw a slave of his walking between two senators, and cuffed him for going in step with those whose slave he yet might be. One ground of the suspicion entertained against his brother-in-law Servianus was the fact of his having treated the palace slaves. But these examples of imperial severity seem to have been exceptional; otherwise they would scarcely have been expressly mentioned, as in the case of Claudius. 'How is it', asks Epictetus, 'that a man becomes suddenly intelligent, if he superintend the imperial privy? Why do we at once say 'What a sensible fellow that Felicio is!' I would rather have him dismissed from his privy and his sense. Epaphroditus had a shoemaker whom he sold as worthless. Later on, the fellow managed to get bought by some one in the palace, and became the Emperor's shoemaker. You should have seen the respect Epaphroditus paid him. 'How is the worthy Felicio? I have the highest regard for you.' And one of us asking 'What is Epaphroditus doing', the answer would be, 'taking counsel with Felicio'. And elsewhere the philosopher observes: 'If life were to be the gift of Felicio, I would rather die; he is unbearable with his pride and slavish insolence,

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But few dared entertain this view. A Numenius or Symphorus would have suppliants for favours kissing his hands, passing half the night outside his bedroom door, sending presents, to gain his support: even candidates for praetorships and consulates would woo him. Nero's able barber Thalamus and his cupbearer Pythagoras were spoken of in Rome full twenty-five years after his death.

As oriental customs after the third century thrust their way in, the imperial household became more and more multifarious. According to Libanius Julian the Apostate found in it 'one thousand cooks, one thousand barbers, even more cupbearers, and hives of table servants and eunuchs'; scarcely an exaggeration if, for example, the numbers in some sections of the household of the Sultan Abdul Aziz be considered, viz. 5,005 officials and servants, 409 watchmen and porters for the twenty-one grantees' houses, 359 cooks and 351 gardeners, etc. And of these palace servants 'not one' did not use his place as a means of defrauding, intimidation and pilfering; 'not one' who did not aim at owning land, driving his own gig, being a master, no less a one than his own, not content with mere wealth, but hankering after an esteem that should mask his slavery.

Only a few, of course, in this enormous throng, could become personally known to their master; often enough would ambitious souls be foiled, to the exultation of their fellows. The fabulist Phaedrus, as an imperial freedman, was at home with the servant-class, and tells the following tale not unwillingly. When Tiberius on his way to Naples was stopping at his villa at Misenum, and taking a walk in the park, one of the better-class slaves there employed ran and leaped about before the Emperor on all the paths he took, with his apron on, in gay clothing and well-shaved. At last Tiberius signed to him, but to tell the joyous hastener that his pains might have been spared: 'the honour of a box on the ears from my hand (the customary symbolic blow at manumissions) is not to be so easily purchased'.

Amongst the principal slaves were the *Dispensatores* (accountants, paymasters and intendants); not only at Court, but also in the many estates in Rome and the provinces. The *dispensator* of the Armenian War at its close purchased his liberty of Nero for 13,000,000 sesterces, a fact Pliny mentions as an atrocity. How large the earnings of the *dispensators* generally were, may be appreciated from the fact

that Otho could extort from an imperial slave for whom he had obtained such a post under Galba, 1,000,000 sesterces. A slave of Claudius, Rotundus, formerly the property of Drusilla, the sister of Caligula, and *dispensator* in Hither-Spain, possessed a silver vessel weighing 500 pounds, to make which a special workshop had been built, and many of his train, smaller ones. In a *columbarium* on the Via Appia near the tomb of the Scipios, there is a gravestone of a principal *dispensator* of Gallia Lugdunensis, a slave of Tiberius. It was erected to him by sixteen of his slaves (*vicarii*) who accompanied him on his return to Rome, during which he died. Such a retinue gives a perspective of the size of the whole household. There were three secretaries, two butlers, two chamberlains, two cooks, two walking attendants, a physician, a wardrobe keeper, a man of business, steward, and one unspecified.

§ 6

But not all the indispensable attendants of the Court could be freedmen or slaves; least of all, artists or scientists. Amongst these servants, but not slaves, of the palace, physicians, astrologers and the tutors of the princes are the most frequently mentioned.

The teachers in the imperial family were often eminent men. Seneca was a senator, when summoned to educate the eight-year-old Nero; and perhaps the same may be said of Fronto, when he took in charge the instruction of Marcus Aurelius (then Marcus Annius Verus) and Lucius Verus (then Lucius Commodus). Generally, it may be assumed, men of great reputation in their branch were selected; Quintilian had been for twenty years a teacher of rhetoric at Rome, before Domitian entrusted to him the care of his sister Domitilla's grandchildren. The famous Theodorus of Gadara was Tiberius' teacher of oratory. Amongst the teachers of Marcus Aurelius were the sophists Alexander of Cotyaeum and Herodes Atticus. When the teachers were of less standing they would be taken into the palace. When Augustus made the famous philologist Verrius Flaccus the tutor of his grandchildren, he took him and his whole school into his house, with a yearly salary of 100,000 sesterces. Apollonius the Stoic, whom Antoninus Pius chose to educate the future Marcus Aurelius,

and summoned from Chalcis, refused to enter the Tiberian palace where Marcus Aurelius lived ; the pupil must come to the master, a request accorded by the heir-apparent. Pertinax made his son frequent the public schools and gymnasias ; he was acting quite exceptionally. Three royal tutors attained the Consulate: Seneca in 57, Fronto in 143, but only as *suffecti*, and Herodes Atticus, 143, with the full rank. Consular insignia were bestowed on Quintilian at the instance of Domitian's cousin Flavius Clemens, and on one Titianus, perhaps the teacher of the younger Maximinus.

A medical staff was a part of the imperial household, and very numerous, owing to the many palaces and estates and servants' apartments, and the medicine of the day was highly specialized. Nevertheless the selection of physicians was based on confidence and confidence on professional skill ; and the medical servants of the palace would only be employed for slight and subordinate occasions. In the Early Empire the physicians received a yearly salary of 250,000 sesterces. Quintus Stertinius considered he was making a personal sacrifice in accepting double this sum, as he proved that his town practice brought him in 600,000. His brother, Gaius Stertinius Xenophon, received from Claudius the same amount, and both, after exhausting their property in great improvements of the town of Naples, left 30,000,000 sesterces, whilst another imperial physician, Arruntius, alone left as much. After the death of Demetrius, the physician, Marcus Aurelius, then on the Danube engaged in the German War, inquired of the head of the imperial finance department which doctor was actually in the imperial pay, and on hearing that it was Galen, who had all the time superintended the preparation of the drugs, directed he should also make the theriac. Under Alexander Severus, only one Court physician received a salary, and the rest, some six or seven, only their board. In the last centuries of the old world, the imperial physicians (*archiatri sacri Palatii*) took a high rank, confirmed to them by Theodoric.

Generally speaking, the physicians at the Court of Rome were Greeks, such as Tiberius' doctor, Charicles, and the two of Nero, both named Andromachus, the elder being a Cretan ; Trajan's physician, Crito, who accompanied him on his German campaign ; Hadrian's physician, Hermogenes ; Marcus Aurelius', Demetrius ; and Galen, the physician of Commodus. In

return for their work, these Court doctors probably received Roman citizenship, if not originally possessing the suffragium, like Titus Claudius Alcimus and Titus Claudius Menecrates. Antonius Musa, a freedman, was rewarded with a statue, and the golden rings, and exemption from taxation for himself and his associates, in return for curing Augustus in 22 B.C. Gaius Stertinius Xenophon, an Asclepiad of Cos, the physician of Claudius, was both medical adviser and holder of a palace situation; he secured himself, his brother and his uncle, the *civitas* and the military tribunate or knighthood, and for himself the important military post of *praeфекtus fabrum*, as well as the distinction of the wreath of gold and the lance at the British Triumph 43 A.D (no doubt he had accompanied Claudius in his campaign); for his native island, exemption from taxation as well. His grateful fellow-countrymen erected a statue to him and, in his memory, struck coins bearing his effigy. He is said to have been Agrippina's accomplice in the murder of Claudius. His monuments record his titles; he was not only, as usual, 'the Emperor's friend', but also 'the friend of Claudius', and, after Claudius' murder, 'the friend of Nero'.

The enemies of the medical craft imputed to them the habit of poisoning, of committing adultery with wives of princes, to whom their practice gave them free access. According to Pliny, Vettius Valens of Ariminum (where monuments of his family are still extant), a famous physician under Claudius, was Messalina's lover: 'he and she were executed together in 48, also Eudemus, who attended Livia, the daughter-in-law of Tiberius, and connived at her adultery with Sejanus, and himself cohabited with her'. Naturally the imperial physicians enjoyed some higher reputation with their colleagues at Rome. Galen boasts of having restored the rhetor Diomedes, who lived in Sandal Street, to health in a very short space of time, whilst the Court doctors failed to understand his illness and treated it wrongly.

Nor were astrologers likely to be lacking at the Court; they were mostly Greeks or Orientals. True, astrology conjured up peculiar dangers for a throne. Their prophecies would awake sleeping passions, stir mischief into life, and convert the dreams of faith into success through fatalism. Seneca, ridiculing the astrologers, says, that every day and every hour had been foretold by them as that of Claudius' deification. Otho's courage,

after Galba had adopted Piso, was not allowed to falter by the soothsayers and Chaldaeans, who beset him ; one Ptolemaeus especially had forecast his survival of Nero and his accession, and now claimed credit for the fulfilment of the half of his prediction. The Chaldaeans, according to a Christian writer of the third century, bring ruin on monarchs, by filling the rulers with fear, and the ruled with audacity. Hence there ever ensued new edicts against astrology, and periodic expulsions or penalties against the Chaldaeans, always in vain. Nearly all the Emperors made astrologers their counsellors, and an initiation into the secrets of this superstition was attained by many of these monarchs. Tiberius was noted for his reserve ; but his Court ascribed a boundless influence to the astrologer Thrasyllus, his inseparable and life-long companion. Vespasian was particularly addicted to this superstition, and accorded Barbilla, an astrologer of Ephesus, the institution of a periodical festival at his native town, often mentioned in inscriptions as the *Barbillaea*, a privilege that fell to the lot of no other town. This same famous astrologer it was, whose advice to Nero, at a visitation by a comet in 65 A.D., made him have several of the aristocracy beheaded, so as to forefend the imagined danger. And Poppaea, too, had much secret conference with many astrologers, who had been her 'unhappy aids to her imperial marriage'. Often the fate of princely houses lay in Chaldaean hands. Tiberius had many killed, after ascertaining their hour of birth and therewith their character and coming career. Caracalla too consulted the horoscopes of the leaders of his court, so as to gauge their disposition friendly or hostile ; and, on this evidence, awarded death or honour. An individual in whose horoscope the Chaldaeans read a throne, had generally no choice but to suffer his own death or contrive the Emperor's. The death of Nerva is said to have been determined beforehand by Domitian for this reason, and only averted by a kindlier astrologer who made the Emperor believe Nerva had but few days to live.

III. THE FRIENDS AND COMPANIONS OF THE EMPEROR

Knights or senators, who attended the Emperor personally, were called his friends. They were preferentially invited to

the imperial privy council, formed under Augustus out of senators. Tiberius 'requested of the Senate, besides his old friends and intimates, twenty of the most prominent statesmen to act as his advisers in public business'. Amongst the later Emperors, the appointment of a similar council is not reported, save of Alexander Severus. But in the decision of matters of weight, military or political, the Emperors usually took into counsel eminent senators or knights and naturally their friends especially. The men of rank (*proceres*, almost all consulars, besides the two praefects of the Praetorium) are repeatedly called Domitian's 'friends' by Juvenal in his account of how Domitian hurriedly summoned them to his castle at Alba to advise: 'as though he wished to intimate news of the Chatti or the savage Sicambri, or some shocking event on the other side of the world', but really to consult as to the best fashion of dishing up a big sea-fish.

But, whilst such systematic transactions of a special council in emergencies seem sadly infrequent, Augustus and all the later Emperors respected the ancient tradition of not deciding judicially before gathering their friends and advisers, and hearing their views. Such an assembly was convoked by Claudius and comprised twenty-five senators and sixteen consulars. Up to Trajan this council remained unorganized. After Hadrian, however, the members of the *consilium*, called the *consistorium* under Diocletian, met as regularly appointed councillors (*consilarii Augusti*), and if in this council the Emperors selected the advisers for every separate occasion, and jurists were naturally preferred, the friends and companions of the Emperor must always have been numerous, especially those from the ranks of the knights. Probably, too, the palace and Court officials would have been attached from an early date: 'after the end of the second century, the praefects of the guard even took a prominent part'.

Partly as members of this political council permanent or provisional, partly unofficially, the friends would exercise much influence on the changing governments: examples are—to mention no others—Maecenas and Agrippa as the friends of Augustus, Sejanus of Tiberius, Seneca in Nero's earlier period, and Tigellinus in his later. They were esteemed as the men who determined the matters of the greatest moment, and very often did, in fact. When, in Nero's first year, the

Parthian War broke out, Rome awaited the names of the generals in order to judge the quality of Nero's friends. Marius Maximus, the biographer of the Emperors, even said the security of the State lay rather with the goodness of the Emperor's friends than in the Emperor's virtues: the evil-minded man might be reined in by many good, but against many evil one good man could not prevail. Dio of Prusa, in one of his paraenetic addresses to Trajan, says the ruler's truer eyes are his friends: through them his sight could pierce to the ends of the world; they are keener ears that let him know all he need; more useful tongues and hands, which could converse with all humanity and never fail of any project, which could effect much at the same time, give many synchronous counsels, and be omnipresent. And he, with his high powers of reward, could choose the most reliable and capable. 'For who can grant more honours? who depute with more authority the conduct of a war? From whom might greater distinctions flow? Whose board is more honourable? Were friendship to be bought, who has a greater superfluity of wealth, so that none could return the like?' His friends' advice nearly induced Trajan to adopt not Hadrian but Neratius Priscus. Antoninus Pius 'decided no provincial or State matter, without consulting his friends and formulating his despatches in accordance with their views'. And as his end drew nigh, he summoned his 'friends and praefects', confirmed to them Marcus Aurelius as his heir, and recommended them to him. Marcus Aurelius always discussed questions of war and peace with the *optimates*, his view being that it was better he should bend to so many good friends, than they should surrender their wills to his!

And the Emperor's friends were respected and dreaded. Pliny the Younger says, as a young man, he undertook an action (under Titus or Domitian) against the mightiest statesmen, and the friends even of the Emperor! 'I will become a friend of the Emperor's', says Epictetus, 'and then no one will dare tread too near'. The power conferred by this position was often abused. The biographer of Alexander Severus describes his friends, to whom he entrusted both home and foreign affairs, as models, because they did not exhibit his catalogue of faults and vices and wrongs, generally attributed to men of their standing. This list includes thieving, ambition, evil propensities, lust, cruelty, circumvention of their

sovereign, whom his friends used to scoff at, and cheapen by their venality, mendacity and fabrications.

These 'friends', even in the Early Empire, soon came to have formal distinctions, which crystallized round the old Roman practice of the morning receptions in the great houses. In the early Republic even Gaius Gracchus and Livius Drusus are said to have organized their party, by dividing it into three sections; the first of which they received in private, the second in larger numbers, and the third in assembly. This distinction of 'friends of first-class and second-class admission' obtained at the Court: men were entitled to a 'first or second greeting', and thus officially inscribed, alive or dead, as one of the offices or honours he had held. The personal relation to the Emperor, and not mere rank, was the determining factor. Friends were, in the first place, kinsmen and the friends of his youth, and, after them, the most eminent senators, such as the *Praefecti urbi*, consuls and consulars, and lastly younger men, at the beginning of a career, which thus portended a brilliant future. In this way Lucan attained the quaestorship, after being summoned from Athens by Nero, and admitted amongst his friends, and Otho (born in 32), the future Emperor, made himself a high place amongst them as a companion of Nero's debaucheries about the year 55, before holding the quaestorship. And from the second order, also, the Emperors would choose their attendants: Augustus may have given knights power and influence by preference, such as Proculeius, Sallustius Crispus, in order to lessen the importance of the Senate: the practice continued, after the reason had ceased. The highly placed praefects of this order, such as the governor of Egypt, the praefect of the Praetorium, and the sub-praefects of the nightwatches, who also controlled the fire-brigade and police, and were subject to the City Praefect, and the praefect of the Corn Supply so essential to Rome, were *ex officio* friends of the Emperor.

As time went on, the title of Friend of the Emperor became indissoluble from certain high offices, and meaningless. In a rescript of Severus and Caracalla in the year 201 an immunity was granted to the citizens present and future of a certain town in Moesia, 'subject to their being declared proper recipients of the citizenship of Rome by our friend the Consular Legate for the time being'. But perhaps in the first years of Marcus

Aurelius all consular legates already bore the title of 'Friend of the Emperor'. An inscription of 163-165 A.D. informs us that the two reigning Emperors had restored a road near Abila through Julius Verus, praetorian legate of the province of Syria and their friend; it was doubtlessly set up by the legionary tribune who conducted the work. And during the first centuries there were degrees of this title. In the legal style of the fourth and fifth centuries the three highest officials (*praefectus praetorio*, *praefectus urbi*, and *magister militum*) have the title of *parens*; other officials of the first rank (such as the *magister officiorum*, and the *comites rerum privatarum* and *sacrarum largitionum*) those of *frater*: lesser officials, such as a consular of Picenum, a praefect of Egypt, are only addressed as *carissime* in the documents preserved. The beginnings of these official addresses can be traced in Trajan's letters to Pliny the Younger, as imperial legate in Bithynia, who is always addressed as 'dearest', and in Commodus' appellation of the praefect of the Praetorium as 'father': and doubt becomes certainty when Severus in 222 addresses the jurist Ulpian as the praefect of Corn as his 'friend', and as praefect of the Praetorium in the same year as 'father' (*parentem*). Didius Julianus, at his first reception of the Senate and the knights distributed the titles of 'son', 'brother', 'father' wholesale, according to the ages of the assembly. Further, it would follow of itself that the title of 'friend' would be more frequently bestowed by the Emperors on others than assumed by individuals or conferred by any third party, a fact confirmed by the business style and by the inscriptions.

The friends were often invited by the Emperors to their repasts, as, for example, by Hadrian: Antoninus extending this to ordinary as well as great occasions. Marcus Aurelius reckons among his father's precepts, the obligation of not compelling his friends to dine with him, and showing no disfavour to those who abstained: but what his self-esteem deemed a merit, was taken in evil part, and in the absence of the friends from the society and banquets of the Emperor, a fresh aggravation given to Court pride. Alexander Severus used to have some friends to dinner uninvited. The service of the friends, some of whom, even in Rome, lived permanently or for a time in the palace, was deputed to a certain section of the staff (*a cura amicorum*).

On every journey or expedition the Emperors used to select some of the friends to accompany them (*comites*), and this retinue (*cohors amicorum*) is exactly similar to that of the Republican proconsul. Hence the Emperors could only have 'comrades' in the technical sense, when they journeyed outside Italy, and when Caligula summoned a 'cohort of friends' to escort him in light Gallic carriages on his triumphal procession over the bridge of ships built from Baiae to Puteoli, he was acting the part of the emperor returned from his campaigns. Lucius Verus was provided by Marcus Aurelius with a train of imperial friends of senatorial rank, on setting out for the Parthian War. Of course this great honour of selection was a virtual command, but Marcus Aurelius put no pressure on his friends in this instance, as he himself remarks. Galba, as a member of the cohort of Claudius, enjoyed the rare honour of having the expedition delayed one day since he was ill.

On the journey the friends lived with the Emperor, or provision was made for their housing: Vespasian accompanied Nero on his journey to Greece, fell into disgrace and was banished from the common home. In the imperial camp a special place in close vicinity to the imperial tent was staked out for his suite. They were paid during their journey. Even in Cicero's day it had become customary for a proconsul to afford his officers and retinue a largess proportioned to their rank and length of service. One mark of the parsimony of Tiberius was that he (as prince) gave his escort on his travels and campaigns no fee, but only the daily pay in the stead of their food. Once only did he give a largess in money, the means being found by Augustus: the first-class received 600,000 sesterces each, and the second 400,000. And complaints were raised at the meanness of Augustus' gifts to his friends. Caligula's travelling companions found their necessary expenses ruinous. The retinue was a weary burden for the regions it traversed; a fact vouched for by the comparison Pliny makes between Domitian and Trajan. For Trajan 'had no tumults, no insubordinate grumblings over the quarters: all shared the same provender, and the escort was kept in strict discipline'. Antoninus Pius, who never travelled outside Italy, remarked that, however sparing the prince, the retinue was none the less a burden on the provincials.

The work of the Emperor's escort was assigned by the

Emperor. In the field, they did military service ; and, after a successful campaign, received their share of the distinctions awarded. But their usual function was to assist their sovereign in judicial and administrative matters, a privilege not accorded to the knights but to the senators and quaestors, and even to young men, who had just made their first bow in the Senate.

The Emperors treated the friends to a certain extent with the usual social courtesies, and like private individuals, in so far as their affability, real or pretended, permitted. At the beginning of his reign Tiberius used to attend the courts on his friends' behalf, and frequent their sacrificial feasts : visit them in their illnesses without his guard, and even delivered the funeral address for one of them. Claudius, however, never paid his visits unattended by his guard, a precedent that became the rule with few exceptions, e.g. Trajan. When Galba the Emperor dined with Otho, Otho, apparently to do his guest honour, gave every man in the cohort on guard a gold piece. Nero, who at the beginning of his reign bestrewed his friends with gifts, incited in them a corresponding extravagance, when dining with them, or otherwise : such a banquet would cost more than 4,000,000 sesterces in roses alone. He had a doctor summoned from Egypt to tend his friend the knight Cossinus, who lay ill. Severus and Caracalla are praised for the readiness with which they supplied their friends with rare medicaments, unpurchasable by private individuals and stored in the imperial palace. The sociability of Trajan was particularly admired : he would join in his friends' hunting-parties, drinking-bouts, enterprises, consultations and jests, visit them when sick (emphasized by Ausonius), even, as already said, without his guard. He was, says Pliny, really loved by them, as he really loved them ; he even denied himself his own desires, so as to fulfil theirs. He allowed a praefect of the Praetorium to retire contrary to his own wish, and thus ' an unimaginable event occurred, that, of two conflicting wills, the Emperor gave way to the friend '. And Hadrian condescended further in quest of popularity. He visited the sick among knights and freedmen in Rome, consoled and counselled them, and attended his friends' banquets. At the *saturnalia* he used to exchange gifts with them, send them presents of game, drove with them in fours and went to their palace in and out of town ; a knight is described in an inscrip-

tion as 'guest-friend of the divine Hadrian'. One of his friends, Platorius Nepos, escaped scot-free, for refusing his house, when ill, to the Emperor. Antoninus Pius and Alexander Severus frequented their friends' banquets: the latter the sickbed, not only of friends in the first and second orders, but even of those humbler placed. Some Emperors took a rebuke or reproach of their friends in good part. Vespasian permitted his friends a great deal of free expression, and brooked astonishingly much from Licinius Mucianus. When Antoninus Pius once asked his friend Valerius Homullus (consul in 152), whilst visiting him, whence he had the porphyry pillars in his palace, the latter replied—for they could only have come from the imperial quarries by the Red Sea—: 'in another's home, one must be deaf and dumb'.

The Emperors used to make very generous gifts to their friends. Nero, as has been said, enriched the first of his friends, immediately after the death of Britannicus (55). Men who claimed respect were blamed for dividing their booty of palaces and villas at such a time amongst themselves. Seneca was especially intended in this attack; in 62 A.D. he defended his immense riches in a letter to Nero, countering his critics by saying he could not refuse his prince's offerings. Now he will put them at the Emperor's disposal, an offer the latter refused in a conciliatory letter, and bade him retain all he had received, gardens, rents, and villas. According to Pliny, Trajan, also, at his accession, freely distributed the most picturesque estates, and regarded 'nothing as his own, unless his friends possessed it'. Hadrian's munificence was unsolicited, and invariable. Antoninus Pius made use of his large private property, on his accession, in largess to the army and his friends. Marcus Aurelius was especially generous to the friends of his youth, and in inverse proportion to the offices he could bestow. Severus paid his friends' debts: more than this, his 'nature, passionate in love and in hate', showered on them riches and palaces, of which those of the Parthians and Laterani were in the fourth century the most notable in Rome. Of Julian the Apostate's friends the best refused the gifts of 'land, horses, palace, silver and gold', whilst others were avaricious. On the other hand custom demanded that the friends should remember the Emperor in their wills, especially as legacies used to be left to him by all propertied men. Augustus, who laid overmuch stress

on the 'last decisions' of a will, and took no pains to hide his gratification or disappointment, in the last twenty years of his reign, received through bequests from his friends 1,400,000,000 sesterces (£15,000,000), and instituted several friends and relatives as heirs in the third place.

The highest ambition of courtiers was a grievous oppression to philosophical onlookers from without, who regarded the imperial friendship as a lot of supreme misfortune, constraint, disquiet and anxiety. They had to be adaptable to the Emperor's every whim of taste or fancy. Galen tells us that the courtiers of Marcus Aurelius the Stoic, became stoics to the extent of wearing their hair short; Lucius Verus had utterly diverse views, and jeered at this fashion as befitting a mime; long hair came in again. They might not even sleep, says Epictetus. The news arouses them that the Emperor is up and about; fresh excitement and perplexity. They are not asked to dine; more anxiety: they are asked, and dine like slaves at a master's table, fearful of saying something awkward or untoward. And the cause of this fear? Is it a slave's whipping? Nothing so good. Their risk, the danger for so many men in high position, is the loss of their heads. At the baths, in the gymnasium they can have no peace. Who would be so dull or false to himself, as not to bewail every instant of his life as the Emperor's friend?

And actually the position was often not only difficult, but perilous. Ever and again would the sudden headlong fall of the mighty proclaim the insecurity of the favour of princes. Seldom, says Tacitus, is the power of a favourite assured; perhaps satiety seizes the sovereign, who has bestowed his all, or the recipient, who has received his all. Eprius Marcellus, when upbraided in the Senate under Vespasian with Nero's friendship, replied it had been a source of tribulation to him, no less than banishment to others. Seneca says in one work, written under the recent reminiscence of Caligula's sway, that one courtier was asked, how it was he had attained old age at Court, where grey hairs are so seldom seen: it was, he said, because he swallowed insults with a grateful countenance. Often the Emperor in his heart hated his so-called friends, and Domitian's Court was not unique in the 'paleness of the unhappy friendship of the mighty' reflected on their visages. The ill-will and distrust of the princes were easily stirred up; slander

and intrigue had a busy time at Court. Few Emperors had such unassailable confidence in their friends as Trajan had in Licinius Sura, against whom constant calumny was unavailing. For all that Trajan visited him unannounced, let Sura's slaves anoint his eyes, shave and bathe him, and dined at Sura's house. And the next day he retorted on Sura's foes with the remark : ' had he wished to kill me, he could have done so yesterday '. Suetonius praises the constancy of Augustus in friendship, as, despite occasional disturbances in his relationships to them, none was crushed, except Salvidienus Rufus and Cornelius Gallus ; they all retained power and wealth to the end. The instance of Fabius Maximus is, however, forgotten ; he fell into disfavour only a few days before Augustus' death. On the other hand, out of all the friends and advisers of Tiberius only two or three escaped. Caligula rewarded those who had helped him to the throne with death. In the pasquil of Seneca Claudius is welcomed in the underworld by one of those he had sent to anticipate him with the greeting, ' Hail, murderer of all thy friends '. Hadrian's favour was very mutable. Sometimes he would overwhelm his friends with gifts, sometimes listen to every voice of calumny and spy their doings in their own houses. Those whom he raised he treated afterwards as his foes, and no few perished at the hands of the executioner, or by their own. Julian, in his panegyric of the Emperor Constantius, says that none of his friends could complain of disgrace, maltreatment, loss or deprivation of any kind. Even those who proved unworthy of their promotions were not punished, but only relegated. Some of the imperial friends reached a great age, keeping their positions and dying in harness, and leaving their property to their sons, friends or relatives ; others, weary of work and war, lived on in honourable retirement. Many who died young were reckoned among the happy.

The Emperor's wrath was dire and unfailing as a thunderbolt. The luckless sufferer was forbidden the palace, according to ancient Roman custom, on a breach of friendship : and such a judgment was felt as the severest condemnation. Decius Junius Silanus was convicted of adultery with Augustus' granddaughter Julia, forbidden the company of his prince, and acknowledged this as a hint and banished himself (8 A.D.). In the year 20 Tiberius permitted his return at the intercession

of his brother Marcus Silanus (consul in 19 A.D.), but informed him he had the same feelings towards him as his father. Silanus lived in Rome, but undistinguished. The victims of imperial disfavour might often fare worse. Cornelius Gallus rose from a lowly walk of life to be praefect of Egypt, and then drew on himself Augustus' displeasure. He was excluded from the palace and his province, and forthwith his supporters deserted him, prosecutors rose up against him, and the Senate in all haste decreed his banishment and the confiscation of his property; he had to anticipate the execution of the judgment by suicide. The Consular Fabius Maximus, one of Augustus' most trusted friends, betrayed a secret to his wife; this came to Augustus' knowledge. He at once manifested his anger, and rumour attributed Maximus' swift death to his own act. Sextus Vistilius, a man of praetorian rank, had been closely associated with Drusus the Elder, and hence was included among the friends of Tiberius. The Emperor forbade him his society, and he tried with his weak hands to open his veins, and then bound the wound up and wrote begging for mercy. The answer was unfavourable, and he again untied the bandages. Vespasian, the future Emperor, was a consular, attending Nero on his journey through Greece, and drew Nero's anger on him for often going away or sleeping whilst Nero sang. At once he was banished from Nero's suite, and Court. Confusedly he cried out, What should he do, where should he go? and one of the freedmen drove him away with a curse. Vespasian, fearing the worst, hid away in a little far-off hamlet, and so succeeded in evading the Emperor's further observation. Sometimes relegation from the Emperor's neighbourhood was an honourable banishment. Nero made Otho, the coming Emperor, once his favoured friend, governor of Lusitania, though he had only been quaestor, and so contrived an undisturbed possession of his wife Poppaea.

Yet, despite their bitter experiences, the atmosphere of the Court almost irresistibly attracted most of those who had lived there. Epictetus tells us of a man, then holding the high office of praefect of corn, who had been once banished. On returning from exile, he asseverated his intention of passing the scanty years that remained to him in peace; Epictetus foretold he would change his mind, as soon as he again breathed the air of Rome. He swore, should he ever set foot in Court again,

Epictetus might think of him what he would. Yet, scarce arrived in Rome, he received a letter from the Emperor, and instantly all his good intentions were blown into thin air, and one busy department after another fell to him.

The Emperor's death scarcely seems to have affected the position of the friends, except if the relation were personal; otherwise they kept their places in the new Court, unless some radical change in polity and persons had taken place. Titus chose friends 'so as to prove indispensable to his successor as well, and the foremost servants of sovereign and State'. The new ruler was also actuated by 'piety' in treating his predecessor's friends as honourably as he could: when the late monarch was deified, his priests were generally chosen from among his nearest friends. This was how Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus proceeded in appointing the priests of Antoninus Pius. Domitian was guilty of a breach of piety when he relegated and persecuted his father's and brother's friends, and Commodus, when he acted in the same way towards those of his father. Revolution certainly brought about the fall of those friends who were intimately associated with the Emperor: thus Severus had Didius Julianus' friends banned and executed immediately after the death of their patron. But even then it might be that the friends of the fallen monarch maintained their position. One of Galba's most trusted supporters, Marius Celsus, consul designate, was taken up by Otho as his confidential adviser, a piece of astuteness which not only made an adversary into a constant and true friend, but also assuaged the aristocracy. And so, too, Nerva, from over-great clemency, tolerated the presence of Domitian's most unpopular friends at Court. Once one of them, Fabricius Veiento, was dining at Court, and the conversation turned on another abominated personality of the time of Domitian. The Emperor asked, Were he now alive, where would he be? 'Here dining with us', was the answer of Junius Mauricus, who, under Domitian (93 to 96), had been banished.

Sometimes, as has been said, the friends might be playmates of the Emperor's youth. One cause of this was that children of highly placed families and foreign rulers were brought up at Court, generally because this would in many respects be highly advisable. Augustus took, as has been remarked, Verrius Flaccus, the philologist, and his whole school into Court; he had

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a large number of foreign princes educated and instructed with his own grandchildren. In this way, Agrippa, the grandson of Herod the Great, was educated with Tiberius' son Drusus, and his son Agrippa at the Court of Claudius. Marcus Aurelius grew up at Hadrian's Court. Claudius instituted the custom of his children sitting together at mealtimes with the sons and daughters of noblemen at the feet of their elders, so that a picture is presented of the children who were educated at Court. Such had been Titus, whose father, Vespasian, had risen to high rank under Claudius through the favour of Narcissus; he was the schoolmate of Britannicus, and learnt the same subjects under the same teachers; they were heart-whole friends, and Titus is said to have tasted the bowl that poisoned Britannicus. Often from these comradeships of youth life-long intimacies developed; out of Marcus Aurelius' most favoured friends, two senators and two knights had been fellow-pupils. An imperial freedman, Publius Aelius Epaphroditus, hygienic trainer of the 'aristocratic youth' (*pueri eminentes*), must have been one of the staff assigned to these Court-trained boys.

IV. THE EMPEROR'S TABLE COMPANIONS

The Emperors availed themselves of the counsel and support of their friends of both orders, principally in matters of business. Permanently or transiently they also summoned to Court a number of persons without regard to origin, for their social qualities and talents, their learning or culture, such as philosophers, erudites, poets, artists, according to the tastes of the reigning sovereign, as well as more or less professional jesters. These imperial companions (*convictores, συμβιωται*, friends only in a less technical sense) were often foreigners, especially Greeks; to this class belonged, for the most part, the physicians, astrologers and tutors already mentioned. Generally they were paid: Lucian says one of the philosophers, then in greatest repute, accepted a salary for giving the Emperor his society, and had to pay for it, by being obliged, despite his years, to accompany him on his journeys, like an Indian or Scythian slave. Perhaps the model for the Roman Court had been that of the Diadochi, at which philosophers were regularly maintained.

At the Court of Augustus, amongst other Greeks, the philosopher Didymus Areus of Alexandria, an Eclectic, was the most in

favour: he was the intimate and constant comrade of the Emperor, and his petition after the Battle of Actium secured the forgiveness of the Alexandrians. Seneca calls him, as against Augustus' consort, the continual companion of her husband, 'to whom all these secret emotion of your hearts is known'. He is said to have decided Augustus on the murder of Caesario, the son of Caesar and Cleopatra. The sons of Areus, Dionysius and Nicanor also stayed on in a similar position at the Court; Augustus employed them to extend his knowledge of Greek literature; Nicanor is perhaps the man glorified in a contemporary inscription at Athens, as being approved as a new Homer and Themistocles by the people, the Areopagus and the Six Hundred, for redeeming the island of Salamis, pledged in some hour of need, and for being an epic poet. Areus introduced Xenarchus, a peripatetic of Seleucia in Cilicia, and he, too, retained an honourable position all his life. And Athenodorus of Tarsus, the Stoic, who had been Augustus' teacher in Apollonia, spent some time at his imperial pupil's Court, Augustus wishing to testify his faithfulness, and only acceding to his desire to return home on condition of one year's postponement. There was also Nicolaus of Damascus, a learned and intellectual Aristotelian (a many-sided and prolific writer and poet, the author of a drama in Greek on the modest Susanna), who was often at the Roman Court on the business of King Herod the Great, and who was said to have been the teacher of Antony and Cleopatra. He, too, was high in Augustus' favour. Timagenes of Alexandria, the historian, had been brought to Rome in 55 B.C. as a prisoner of war. Seneca the Elder calls him 'happy save for the Emperor's favour', for his unrestrained wit jested Augustus' friendliness away. At feasts and on his walks he gave his humour full scope, directing it against the Emperor and his consort; Augustus at last forbade him his palace, and Asinius Pollio opened his doors to him. A welcome guest of Augustus' was Tigellius, the singer, both for his mastery of his art and for his conversation; Caesar and Cleopatra had liked him for the same reasons, and his artist's capriciousness was tolerated. Augustus also endeavoured to bring Horace into his circle, but in vain. When Horace refused the post of a secretary, he did not take it ill, but still went on pressing his friendship on him. He wrote to him in these terms: 'use me, as though you sat at my table (*convictor*), which

is what I wished for, as far as your health permitted'—'if you haughtily reject my friendship, I will not pay it back to you in the same coin'.

Tiberius, a man of wide and thorough culture, had a circle of Greeks before his accession, who after that event, shared in the largess distributed amongst all his friends, they receiving 200,000 sesterces each. They remained at his Court, and were asked their opinions; as, for example, when Thamus, an Egyptian steersman, was summoned before him, and reported how the news of the death of Pan had been announced by his fellow-daemons' loud lamentations. Tiberius let these erudites accompany him to Capri, to distract his mind with their converse. One of them was Thrasyllus, the astrologer, who has been already mentioned, and Charicles, the physician, whose advice Tiberius followed, though he was not officially appointed. Charicles, shortly before the Emperor's death, took his hand, as though to kiss it and say farewell, and at the same time felt his pulse. Tiberius noticed this, and, to conceal his weakness, lingered at table, 'seeming to do his parting friend honour'. But Tiberius, who was learned in both languages, found the most pleasure in philologists, whom he loved twitting at table with difficult or unanswerable problems; their learning used to be thus tested, half seriously, half in jest: he would ask, Who was Hecuba's mother; what was Achilles' name as a girl amongst the daughters of Lycomedes; the tune to which the Sirens sang? But these spiteful jests often were terribly earnest. One day he found out that Seleucus, the philologist, had been inquiring of the domestics what Tiberius had been reading, in order to prepare answers in advance: Tiberius first banished him from the palace, and then forced him to commit suicide. Nero's favourites were versifiers, who had to eke out his poetical efforts: he also used, says Tacitus, to indulge philosophers after dinner, in order to set rival principles wagging, and some were found who combined with ascetic manners and pronouncements an inclination to be the monarch's fools. Dio of Prusa was especially honoured by Trajan, and constantly seen in the Emperor's carriage. Hadrian assiduously cultivated a large circle of philosophers, philologists, orators, musicians, painters, mathematicians and astrologers, amongst whom Favorinus of Arelate was pre-eminent. The great Greek philologist Aelius Herodianus, who, for the depth and breadth

of his studies, has been compared with Jacob Grimm, was a friend of Marcus Aurelius, and wrote his theory of accents at the Emperor's orders.

Other entertainers of the Emperor were wittlings, jesters, harlequins and figure-models, who often had to sacrifice their person to amuse. Juvenal says, that a man wishing to live a parasitical life at Court, must endure more than Sarmentus, or the contemptible Gabba at Augustus' table. Sarmentus had been a slave or freedman of Marcus Favonius, who was killed at Philippi. He was of Etruscan extraction, and his beauty and his wit had endeared him at Court. Gabba, according to Plutarch, used to close his eyes at table, so as not to see Maecenas ogling his wife. When a slave attempted to filch his wine, he remarked : ' I am only asleep as far as Maecenas is concerned '. This anecdote is found in Lucilius as well. Martial praises Gabba's wit, but adds, elsewhere, should he, so happy in his patron, return from Elysium, and have a bout of jests with Capitolinus, he would be cried down for boorishness. Capitolinus must have been one of Trajan's fools. Plutarch mentions another of the sort, Battus, and says that Trajan's rough soldier's disposition found the jests of fools more entertaining than nobler converse. Claudius, when living a musty life of retirement under Tiberius, ' cheered his idleness with the society of jesters ' : one of these, Julius Paelignus, as loathly in body and weak of mind as his master, yet his especial favourite, was given, after Claudius' accession, the procuratorship of Cappadocia. At the Court of Nero Vatinius obtained a rank quite befitting the spirit that there reigned. He had grown up in a shoemaker's booth at Beneventum, ungainly of form, and a farcical jester ; as a mockery he was brought to Court. His servility endeared him to Nero ; his imputations and slanders of honest men brought him so great influence, that his power and property and harmfulness outdid the most evil at this Court, and ranked him with the most relentless and terrible of Nero's freedmen. Commodus, too, had also enriched some uncleanly jesters with frightful faces and horrible names and ghastly duties in return for their shameless impudence ; their names have come down, as Pertinax published them and the amount of their property.

V. THE CEREMONIALS

§ I. THE MORNING RECEPTIONS

One of the friends' privileges, though perhaps attaching only to those of the first class, was to wait on the Emperor in the morning. Fabius Maximus learnt of his disfavour by Augustus' answering his usual morning salutation of 'Hail, Caesar' with 'Farewell, Fabius'. Pliny the Elder, a friend of Vespasian, regularly visited him before daybreak, at which hour Vespasian gave audiences. This right was also a duty, and, if neglected, save on the most urgent grounds, an occasion for severe punishment, although all the Emperors would not be equally stern. Fronto boasts of having the affection of his pupil Marcus the Caesar, though he 'neither paid his visits at dawn, nor daily waited on him'.

Often the senators would pay their suit to the Emperor in the morning, in body or singly, as to the first in their order. Such receptions would take place especially on occasions of festivities or congratulation. When Nero had a daughter by Poppaea in 63 A.D. at Antium, the whole Senate repaired thither, to wish him joy. Of them only Thræsea, the leader of the opposition, was not admitted; he bore this rebuff, which was a warning of his imminent fall, with unmoved fortitude. Augustus never suffered the Senate to wait on him on the day of session, but greeted them in the Curia, and made them keep their seats; and, in his latter days, forbade such attendances. Tiberius used to invite the Senate, at the beginning of his reign, to visit him in a body, so as not to have to face the crush alone. Sometimes, too, the wives and children of the senators would be presented; Augustus is said to have foretold to Galba, who was presented to him when a boy, his future eminence. Amongst those present at Claudius' reception, women, boys and girls are mentioned.

Occasionally the Emperors would receive not only the senators: knights and the third estate might even be admitted. At such functions petitions would be handed in, and the Emperors would be more or less gracious. Augustus once jestingly remarked of a hesitant claimant, 'that he looked as though he were offering a farthing-piece to an elephant'.

To induce Tiberius to leave Rome, Sejanus 'objurgated the importunity of the people and the multitude of the comers'. Nero, in the early years of his reign, was conspicuous for his memory in addressing men of all ranks by name. Vespasian was exceptionally affable. All day long the gate of his residence in the Sallustine Gardens Palace stood open; no one was refused, senator or plebeian. Alexander Severus would only admit respectable persons with good credentials, and proclaimed by a herald that no one guilty of any underhand dealing should greet the Emperor, on pain of death.

The general reception (*publica, promiscua salutatio*) usually, it seems, occurred on festival-days, including the day of accession. Fronto apologizes in a letter to Antoninus Pius for absence on one anniversary: he had had rheumatism. Especially festive was the reception on the first of January. The palace was decorated and the Emperor received and gave New Year's gifts in money or kind (*strenae, étrennes*); Nero was buried in the white carpets threaded with gold used at his last New Year's day. Augustus utilized the money in buying statues, which he distributed throughout the city. In his early years, Tiberius used to return every gift fourfold with his own hands; but, as he came to be pestered all through January with people who could not contrive to come on New Year's day, he ceased giving, and left Rome on every first of January, besides limiting the exchange of gifts to that day. Caligula declared his readiness to accept by an edict, in order to fill his exchequer, and himself took the gifts on the palace terrace, where a mixed throng of all sorts and condition were throwing them in a pile. Claudius, in another edict, prohibited this abuse; but its disappearance was never quite complete.

The Empresses but seldom gave receptions open to whole corporations and ranks at once. Only three, who took an active part in the government, or aimed at claiming a share in the sovereignty, are said to have done so. Livia, according to Dio, was raised above other women, after her son had attained supreme power; and, at all times, let the Senate wait on her, and any others who wished to be presented; and she had this publicly recorded. Agrippina, in the same authority, did as much: under Claudius she was present at the reception of embassies and at other government

functions ; she had a retinue of noble ladies, and asserted her pretensions even under Nero, who in 55 A.D. assigned another house to her, so that there might be an end of her morning-receptions. Julia Domna, the third, was entrusted by her son Caracalla with a part of the government during his absence, and 'publicly received the *optimates*'. At all times, most of the prominent men must necessarily have paid their respects to the Empresses, singly, and the women, beyond all doubt. Alexander Severus forbade women of evil fame to appear before his mother and his wife. Even in the time of Hieronymus there was a crush waiting on the Emperor's consort.

On reception days, in front of the palace, a crowd of men of every standing always assembled, waiting for the announcement that the Emperor would receive. Gellius tells of some conversations of learned friends, like Favorinus, Fronto, Sulpicius Apollinaris and others, during this wait. And on ordinary days the place would seldom be empty. Apollonius of Tyana, according to Philostratus, compares the bustle in front of the palace with the scurry in front of a public bath : some rushing in to do allegiance, others forcing their way out, like the jostling crowds of the bathed and the unbathed. Many were there, on business, or in employ : many, too, desirous of seeing the Emperor leave the Palatine and drive out, or of greeting or petitioning him ; some used to climb the Sacred Hill ten times a day to give others the idea of their having friends at Court.

The reception was in the early morning, the usual hour in Rome for visits. Many would arrive at early dawn. Vespasian, as has been said, would admit even before daybreak, and converse with them in bed, and whilst dressing. The spectacles also began very early ; and the Emperors, to save their subjects a long journey, would often stay overnight in some freedman's house near the theatre, or even for several nights before, or even, as Hadrian, on such days give no audiences.

In the palace there was always a whole cohort of Praetorians (1,000 men) on guard, clad in the *toga* or civil costume, and a sentry was generally placed at the entrance. At least, Dio mentions it as a surprising fact, that no sentry paced the open doors of Vespasian's palace, an example probably

imitated by some of the later Emperors, such as Nerva or Trajan. But when, on January 22, 205, Plautianus was summoned to the palace, to hear his sentence of death, 'the guards at the barrier' admitted him, but shut out his retinue. In the early years of Nero's rule, Agrippina had, besides a guard of Praetorians, a number of German mounted cavalry, for her especial service, as also other members of the Imperial House.

Sometimes, too, the visitors might have to undergo a search for concealed weapons. Augustus even had senators searched, when he purged the Senate and expelled a number of members. Claudius' nervousness brought this practice to its height. Only after many days, and with much trouble, was he persuaded to relax the rule for women, and young boys and girls, and to allow the suite and secretaries of those admitted to keep their style and quill cases. And in the year 47 a Roman knight was apprehended with a dagger on him. To such as were freely admitted, Claudius gave a gold ring bearing his image, an institution that gave rise to great abuses. Vespasian suspended the practice of searching even during the Civil War; Claudius' immediate successors seem to have maintained it. What the later Emperors did is not recorded; in Dio's time it had ceased.

Inside the palace one section of the imperial domestics was engaged in keeping order and announcing and introducing the visitors (*ab admissione, admissionales*). This duty must have required a large staff, in view of the continual embassies from the provinces: Philo mentions one Homilos, who introduced them, and through whom Caligula gave audience to his Jewish embassy; interpreters must also have been included in it. The difficulties incident to admission would have varied with the rulers. Pliny the Younger paints Trajan's receptions as utterly differing from those of Nerva, his predecessor. 'Here we have no bolts and bars, no ascending scale of rebuffs, no endless series of further locked doors after an endless series already passed. In front of you and behind you, dead quiet; and near by you most of all; so noiseless and kindly the proceedings, that the Emperor's palace is a model of peace and restraint to any little or poor home.' Even when oriental pomp was gaining the upper hand, Alexander Severus gave audiences like a mere

senator: the curtains of the imperial cabinet were drawn back; only the servants were present, who waited at the door: 'whilst formerly the Emperor could not be greeted, as he could not be seen'.

Both the Emperor and his visitors came in the *toga* to the reception; a custom observed down to the fourth century. One indication of the change to a military autocracy was seen, when Gallienus, inside the walls of Rome, gave audience, clad in his soldier's costume, or *chlamys*, with bejewelled buckles. Marcus Aurelius and Alexander Severus wore the *toga* even in the other cities of Italy. The Emperor could scarcely appear even before his friends in his tunic, one of Antoninus Pius' greatest breaches of convention. Yet Marcus Aurelius had been taught by Junius Rusticus 'not to go about indoors in the *toga*, or do similar unbecoming acts'. Nero outraged custom by receiving the senators in a flowery tunic and a muslin scarf: for, says Dio, in such matters even, he violated the decencies of life by publicly appearing in an ungirdled tunic. Commodus received the Senate in a tunic of white silk and gold threads with sleeves. Caracalla spread the use of his favourite dress, a long Celtic tunic, whence he derived his nickname, amongst the people, and made them come before him in this garb. Macrinus proposed making a similar propitiatory gift in his son's name.

In Republican days friends of the first class were received singly: how far this obtained during the Empire we do not know. On occasion, apparently, single audiences were abused for the spreading of false reports; hence Alexander Severus would receive no one except his praefect Ulpian without witnesses, and the other friends only in assembly.

Friends, at least those of the first order, were kissed by the Emperor; thus Otho received the 'usual' embrace on the morning of Galba's last day on earth. This fashion came in under Augustus, and was restricted to the *optimates*. For, we are told, in the middle of Tiberius' reign, an infectious facial disorder broke out in Rome, attacking, so Pliny says, neither women nor slaves, neither the middle nor the lower classes, but only the *proceres*, who spread the disease by kisses. Tiberius, too, fell a victim. Even in Galen's day, there existed 'Tiberius' Anti-Scab Pastils': Tacitus specifies, as one of his motives for leaving Rome, his facial disfigurement with

ulcers and plasters : a consequence, perhaps, of this disease, which was treated with caustics that left scars, according to Pliny, uglier than the disease itself. Whether the edict of Tiberius, prohibiting the 'daily kiss' at Court receptions, was occasioned by this outbreak, remains uncertain. The manner of Valerius Maximus' justification of the Emperor's proceeding proves its unpopularity. 'The kings of Numidia are not to be blamed for following their people's example and never kissing. For the practices of the highly placed must be exempt from the imitation of the mob, to preserve due reverence.' From the aristocracy kissing spread down into the lower classes. In Domitian's time, or perhaps earlier, it was universal, and Martial is always voicing a complaint that in Rome kisses seem inevitable.

Possibly the grandees of Rome derived this utterly new custom from the East. At the Court of Persia, kinsmen were privileged to kiss the King, and Alexander took over many institutions of the Persian Court, amongst them the right of kissing the King as an honour ; the Seleucids and Ptolemies carried the practice on. Under Caligula 'the barbaric custom of prostration was introduced, and this last assault made on the spirit of Roman freedom', and thus such milder imitations of oriental forms can hardly surprise us, when they were not in direct opposition to Roman manners. The father of the Emperor Vitellius prayed to Caligula on his return from Syria, as to a god, with veiled head, throwing himself on the ground. Caligula, 'a being to orientalize a free state into Persian thralldom', made Pompeius Pennus, the old consular, kiss his gilded left pearl-slipper, in return for the gift of his life. This reverence was accorded to him by others of their free will ; as, for instance, by Pomponius Secundus the Consul shortly before he was murdered ; and the fact that prostration had become common is evident from Claudius' prohibition of it. Domitian demanded unmanly reverences ; for Pliny praises Trajan for not requiring his fellow-citizens to embrace his knees, and not returning their kiss with his hand. The jurist Publius Juventius Celsus was accused in 95 of conspiracy against Domitian, and, in the secret audience he asked for, adored him as Lord and God. Yet Domitian cannot have gone as far as Caligula. Epictetus says he would regard compulsion to kiss the Emperor's feet

as direct tyranny. Elagabalus again required the adoration of a Persian king, a custom abolished by Alexander Severus. Later on cringing reverence gained more and more vogue, and, in the last days of the Empire, the imperial kiss was a high honour seldom awarded.

Senators, as the Emperor's peers, also could claim the honour of the imperial kiss. Pliny thus describes Trajan's entry into Rome as Emperor : ' Every one was glad that you greeted the Senate with a kiss as you had left them ; and acknowledged the foremost of the knights with a personal address, with no one to prompt you, and that you greeted your clients almost first of all, and added signs of confidence '. Presumably, these differences of greeting obtained also at the Court receptions ; except in so far as knights who held the highest offices, or were made friends, enjoyed the same honour as the senators. Tiberius' formal prohibition of the custom has been mentioned. Caligula 'kissed very few. To most, even the senators, he gave his hand or foot to kiss. And therefore those he kissed thanked him publicly in the Senate, though they saw him kissing pantomimes every day'. Nero manifested his hatred of the Senate in that on the day of his return from Greece, and also when setting out, he refused to kiss or return their salutations. Such breaches of custom were the more offensive, the more insignificant the honour became, and the more commonly it was bestowed on senators. Agricola, on his return from Britain, was received with designed coldness, yet Domitian, despite his monarchical haughtiness, which Pliny censures, embraced him, though he did not allow him to converse. Embraces were, no doubt, bestowed according to individual standing. Marcus Aurelius testified his regard for his intimate friend Junius Rusticus, whom he twice made consul, by kissing him before the praefect of the Praetorium, who had the first claim ; Julianus, who held this praefecture under Commodus, and was murdered by him, was often publicly embraced by him and called *Parens*. Further, no doubt, it was physically impossible to deal this honour out to all those present at a reception. Fronto tells how his imperial pupil, Lucius Verus, admitted him first into his bedroom, to be able to 'kiss him uninviciously', and, characteristically enough, expatiates, how he, to whom the Emperor had entrusted mouth and speech to educate, had a peculiar

claim to his kiss ; kisses he esteemed an honour due from mankind to eloquence.

As a rule, the Emperors would show the greatest politeness to the first order in the State at public receptions : and any designed disrespect to them would be the more keenly felt. If Caesar received the whole Senate, offering him decrees of honour, seated, it would be taken as a discourtesy and returned with loathing : it had been a primitive right of the Senate to remain sitting round the magistrate, whilst the other citizens stood up. Augustus was courtesy itself, and Tiberius adulation even ; the only Emperors in the two first centuries whose behaviour showed ill-will towards the Senate were Caligula and Nero, perhaps also Domitian and Commodus. According to Pliny, at Domitian's receptions, there was an air of hesitation, as though one were running a mortal danger ; the salutations done with, all was flight and solitude ; terror and menace hung about the gateway, affected the admitted no less than the excluded. The Emperor had a terrifying aspect, and none dared meet him or approach him. But Trajan received all affably : waited for them, devoted much of his busy day to conversation with them ; his visitors arrived untroubled, merry and at their own pleasure ; or, if detained at home, an apology was hardly needed. This condescension made the functions much longer ; Antoninus Pius in his later years used to fortify himself with a crust. Pertinax was 'courteous to all his visitors and interlocutors'. Alexander Severus made the Senate remain seated at receptions. But Caracalla, at his winter quarters in Nicomedia, would let them wait one whole day in front of the palace, and then not receive. Dio considered Elagabalus indecent in his receiving the senators in bed.

§ 2. THE PUBLIC MEALS

Besides the public audiences, the Emperors also instituted frequent public banquets (*convivia publica*), open to large numbers. Claudius was the first to have a guard set at them, a custom continued down to Alexander Severus' day. A knight Pastor, whose son Caligula had executed, was soon after invited to a public banquet and 'lay there as the hundredth guest'. Claudius loved these huge dinners,

at which never more than six hundred were assembled. Alexander Severus disliked them, as resembling eating in the Circus or theatre. To these functions the third estate would be invited, besides the senators and the knights. Augustus used to select among ranks and persons with the utmost care, and never asked a freedman to his table, except Menas, and him only after the rights of freebirth (*ingenuitas*) had been conferred. He wrote that he once asked a man in whose country house he once stayed, a former orderly. The exclusion of freedmen by Augustus points to laxer indulgence by the later Emperors to a class that was ever rising in power and esteem.

Further, the senators did not always sit with the knights at the Emperor's board, but often by themselves. Otho, in the first days of his reign, dined eighty senators, some with their wives together. And, generally, senators' wives often apparently took part at these banquets. Caligula used to invite the noblest even without their husbands, and send those who suited him letters of divorce in the absent husbands' name. Claudius at table once asked Publius Scipio why his wife Poppaea Sabina, the mother of Nero's consort, was not there; she was in prison and, at Messalina's instigation, driven to suicide. Pertinax, on the day of his accession, invited the principal men of the Senate (*proceres*) and the magistrates to table, a custom (*consuetudo*) disused by Commodus. At these dinners, too, the Emperors would be very courteous to the Senate and the consuls especially. When Tiberius received them, he would welcome them at the door, and personally see them out. Hadrian, too, received them standing up. Tiberius, on dismissing his guests, would stand in the middle of the *triclinium* with a *lictor* beside him, and bid each farewell separately.

An invitation to the imperial board was an honour even to the highest placed. Tiberius, who loved lulling his victims' suspicions, raised Drusus Libo to the praetorship, after deciding on his death, and repeatedly asked him to dine. Vespasian, as has been said, publicly thanked Caligula for the honour before the assembled Senate, but showed himself manifestly and extravagantly servile. Martial declares, were he to receive simultaneous invitations from Domitian and Jupiter, he would not waver one minute, even were the

mount of Olympus nearer than the Palatine. The poetical fame of Statius, who had been crowned at the feast of Minerva, ensured him his invitation, and he vented his gratitude at his first 'Holy Banquet' in a long flowery poem. He believed he had been sipping nectar with Jupiter; that this day was his real day of birth, the threshold of his existence. He could scarcely realize that he had been privileged to behold, whilst at his cup of wine, the Emperor's face, and to sit at the same table. Caligula was apprised that a rich provincial had bribed the slaves who carried the invitations with 200,000 sesterces, so as to secure a place: and, so far from being angry at the high price the seat fetched, made him next day buy some trifle at an auction at the same figure, with the message that that day he should dine with the Emperor at the Emperor's own invitation. Sometimes at these mixed assemblies untoward incidents would occur. At a banquet of Claudius, a guest of Praetorian rank, Titus Vinus (who attained great influence under Galba) was suspected of stealing a golden cup: he was asked next day and given an earthenware one.

Every emperor behaved differently to his guests. Augustus used to display the greatest courtesy, move them to conversation if they whispered or were silent, and provided distractions in the shape of lectures, dances and jugglers: he would come in late and leave early, but never allow the guests to be disturbed. Titus' banquets, too, were social and not extravagant. Of Domitian's there are two opposite delineations; one of Statius, already mentioned, who seems intoxicated at the honour, and one of the Younger Pliny, who makes fun of the haughty treatment of the senator. Statius paints the gorgeousness of countless rooms of costly marble, the immensity of the halls, the ceilings too high for the eye to reach, the gilded wainscoting: at which the Emperor seated the senators and knights at many tables. But for the rich meal, the citron-wood tables with ivory feet, the army of servants—for these he has no time: Him, Him only he gazed at, kindly mitigating the radiance of his majesty. And so on. Pliny draws a different picture of Domitian gormandizing alone before midday, and sitting among his guests as spectator, showing every sign of satedness; he had the dishes thrown rather than placed in front of them; with a forced semblance

he got through a common meal with them, and then retired to his private carouses. But Trajan's feasts were noticeable more for his friendly amiability than for the ostentation of gold and silver and delicate cookery : at his table no perversions of oriental superstition, no obscene licence, only a kindly exhortation, decent jokes and the honour due to knowledge. He delighted in common meals, engaged all in conversation, and what his affability prolonged, his moderation shortened. (Actually, this was not one of Trajan's virtues : he was a hardened toper.) When Pliny and others were summoned to the imperial council at Centumcellae, Trajan invited them every day to a dinner which was simple for a prince. Sometimes music might be performed, sometimes the night was passed in agreeable conversation. And gifts were made at the parting. At Domitian's table the guests had been liable to unfriendly or even ignominious treatment. Once he invited the first among the senators and knights to a banquet, where the hall was draped in black, the servants like black spectres, the courses served in funeral black dishes, and by every guest his name inscribed on a tablet lit by a hearse-candle. And after the guests went back home in alarmed expectancy of a sentence of death, they were given precious gifts. Elagabalus used to lock his friends up, when they were drunk, and send among them wild beasts, who had had their teeth drawn : many died of fright ; less noble friends he would seat on air-cushions and have them pricked.

The fare provided by Augustus was very simple ; three courses or six at the most ; Tiberius, desirous of inculcating parsimony, made them almost stingy ; but the economical Vespasian gave costly dinners, so as to create a demand for the sellers of food, whilst making his own meals scant and severe. Pertinax, in some measure, diminished the enormous wastefulness of Commodus' banquets. Alexander Severus, at all meals, great or little, observed the same simplicity. The general Roman custom of serving guests according to their rank did not apparently obtain at the imperial table, as Hadrian, to foil the embezzlements of his culinary officers, ordered the dishes served up at the last of the tables to be given to him.

The imperial table scarcely excelled private banquets in respect of the fare, but in the dishes, the state and the service, a difference that scarce can have arisen before the end

of the first century, and varying at various times. Information is scant and incidental. Caligula, Nerva, Trajan, Antoninus Pius, Pertinax and Marcus Aurelius (to cover the cost of the war with the Marcomanni), all held great auctions of the imperial valuables, such as golden, crystal and myrrhine cups. Later on, Marcus Aurelius allowed the purchasers to return the articles at the same price, not, however, forbidding them, and the *proceres* especially, to dine in the same state linen, and with the same plate as he, and to use golden antimacassars on the dining sofas: the first subject to avail himself of this permission is said to have been Elagabalus. Hadrian was the first to cover the tables with golden or embroidered coverlets; Elagabalus imitated him and had the coming dishes worked in as their design. Alexander Severus would have only simpler ones with scarlet stripes. Gallienus had them threaded with gold. The use of gold plate at table was an imperial privilege, reserved to private persons by Tiberius in the year 16 for sacrifices. Aurelian expressly granted such a licence.¹

The guests, as at the morning receptions, used to appear in the *toga*, at any rate up to the reign of Marcus Aurelius, whose guest, Septimius Severus, came in the *pallium*. A *toga* of the Emperor's was given to him; this was taken as a foretoken of his accession. But, probably, the use of the Roman state-costume lingered on to late times. Senators and knights wore their purple stripe on the tunic, and magistrates their *insignia* of office. In the year 70 a banquet of Otho was interrupted by military uproar, and the magistrates cast aside their robes, so as to escape unnoticed. During the banquet, the *toga* probably was allowed to hang down from the shoulders, a manner attributed to Hadrian by his biographer. Soldiers never regularly came in uniform until the second half of the third century.

¹ In dress, too, in course of time, the imperial servants became distinguished. Domitian, as a prince, was angry at his brother's son-in-law clothing his servants in white, and quoted in disapproval: οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίῃ ἐς κοίρανός εἶναι; which is mentioned as an instance of his uncivil haughtiness. Marcus Aurelius had learnt from his father that one could live at Court without life-guards and special garb, or indeed any pomp. But this *étiquette* came in later. Aurelian is said, when emperor, not to have altered his slaves' costume. Gold seems to have marked Court dress; Alexander Severus, who aimed at simplicity, would not let his servants, even at public meals, appear in gold, or have any gold at table. As late as about 350, tunics stitched in gold were part of the special costume of imperial servants.

CHAPTER III

THE THREE ESTATES

I. RANK AND BIRTHRIGHTS

ANCIENT Rome made between citizens, freedmen and strangers, a stern division, which the evolution of the Republic had already weakened and destroyed. The more universal her Empire became, the more did foreign elements stream in, first from Italy, and then from the provinces, and swamp the vanishing descendants of her original founders: aliens and their children, the posterity of freedmen, forced their way in even into the higher ranks and the highest offices. To this process of dissolution and admixture the levelling effect of absolute monarchy was added, in which all subjects were, to a certain extent, equalized. Yet, despite these tendencies, the consciousness of a better inborn right, which is felt by all privileged classes, might become less keen, but could never wholly die out; rather would it always renew and reshape itself. Ranks, classes, nationalities were no longer segregated in the same way; the transitions from one sphere to another were from time to time variously bridged over, and constantly alleviated; but it followed necessarily that all new-comers into a higher community would soon share the feelings of elevation with their new peers, and of a superiority to the class out of which they had emerged. Thus, despite the reversal of the old institutions, the old differences, in some measure, still subsisted; rather did the monarchy renovate and increase them. Such was the new regulation of names in the Empire. Very probably Augustus even issued distinct directions in this matter, and established clear verbal differences between the free and the freed. Henceforth an ordinary slave would have one name, a State or imperial two, and the freedmen three; but the name of the tribe,

together almost certainly with the franchise, was withdrawn from them, and reserved to the free-born, who might have four names or more.

Not only the freedmen, but their sons as well, as before, ranked below the free-born; their grandsons became equal. The promotion of their sons to the Senate and the magistracies was always esteemed an abuse; Claudius even admitted a freedman's son into the Curia only on condition of adoption by a knight: Nero excluded them altogether for a long time, and deprived those admitted by his predecessor of their offices. Tiberius in 23 A.D., by an Edict, formally declared the sons of freedmen inadmissible to knighthood, a rule often infringed by Augustus (one of his friends Vedius Pollio, the knight, was a freedman's son): in time exceptions multiplied and annulled the rule. But still freedmen's sons were rarely admitted to the highest offices, though instances had occurred in the later Republic and under Augustus. Of such descent had been the tribune, in 25 B.C., Gaius Thoranius, who made a good impression by allowing his father to sit beside him in his place of honour at the theatre. A few such attained the higher offices in the course of the first century. One Larcus Macedo, who, oblivious (according to Pliny) of his servile descent, treated his slaves cruelly and haughtily, was praetor, some year before 101 A.D. But, even at the close of the second century, no sneers were spared at his humble origin, for 'war always brought such scum to the top', when Pertinax, a freedman's son, reached the consulship for his military services.

Freedmen might gain repute through individual pre-eminence in rank or wealth, but never could attain social equality with the free-born. The free-born man, for all his humble bows and cringing flatteries, never lost his sense of superiority: 'on your birthday', so Martial addresses a rich freedman, 'the Senator and Knighthood may dine with you, but not one of them, Diodorus, asks whether you still are alive'. Only good looks, he says elsewhere, could make a freedwoman preferable to a free-born maiden, or a slave to a freedwoman. Yet then, socially, freedmen had unquestionably advanced since the day of Augustus: Court *étiquette* in the first century precluded them from the imperial board, and Horace might be stigmatized as a 'freedman's

son', despite the broadmindedness of Maecenas who declared the irrelevance of the father's standing to one of Nature's gentle-born.

Somewhat higher in the scale of disdain did Rome place the conquered provincials. The provincial was brought to the Roman slave market, sold, and manumitted, and in his new-born citizenship of Rome deemed himself above his 'tribute-paying' fellow-countrymen, who were liable to poll-taxes, in ancient times a badge of servitude, as well as those assessed on their property. The lower estimation in which the provinces stood in comparison with Italy, is seen in Tacitus' remark that the praefect of Ravenna, Clodius Quirinalis, oppressed Italy with his harshness and lusts, 'as though he were in a mere subject land'. In his political will, Augustus directed a sparing use of the citizenship, so as to conserve the distinction of citizen and provincial. The *decuriae* (jury lists) were restricted to knights, and contained 3,000 names, 2,000 of whom had half of the wealth; and ordinary provincials were only admitted under Claudius, even then and later excluding 'new citizens'—i.e. by grant, not by birth—and the lists were prepared from amongst Italians by preference, and next out of Latin-speaking provinces. 'No Egyptian juries' runs a placard at Pompeii. Seneca, the Spaniard, exhibits the full Roman haughtiness in ridiculing Claudius, who squandered civic rights and the *toga* amongst Greeks, Gauls, Spaniards and Britons. The *Parcae* cut his life's thread short, just to preserve a few *peregrini*. When grants were made wholesale to corporations and classes, an individual bestowal became a distinction, rare, except under Claudius, and the more honourable.

Amongst provincials, the West was in greater repute than the East, where the utter diversity of race served to foster the prejudice. But the Gauls, Spaniards, and Africans, and other 'wild barbaric folks', were but slowly Romanized, and reluctantly and late accorded these rights. Cicero asperses with bitter words the credibility of the witnesses cited from Narbonese Gaul against Fonteius the Praetor, the principal of whom was Induciomarus, the chief of the Allobroges, as barbarians, whom no thought of the hallowedness of the oath, no religious fear could terrify from giving false testimony; were the jury to lend credit to such foes of Rome, rather

than to the Romans settled in that province? Caesar, when he invested some 'half-barbaric' Gauls with the *civitas* and brought them into the Senate, outraged public opinion, which shrank at the very thought of the influx of the 'transalpine, trousered' populations. A public request was issued not to show the new senators the way to the Curia, and on the streets the people sang :

Lately victims in his triumph, now they're for the Senate ripe ;
Lately wearing Gallic breeches, now they wear the purple stripe.

These Gallic senators were probably deposed by Augustus, yet, as early as 40 B.C., a foreigner, for the first time, became consul, though only to fill up a blank ; this was Cornelius Balbus, a Spaniard of Gades, whom astuteness and wealth had furthered in the Civil War ; the first, as Pliny the Elder says, of foreigners, born moreover at the pillar of the world, to have got the honour our forefathers denied to the inhabitants of Latium : and he was always scoffed at as the man of Gades, or the man of Tartessus, and ever denied admission to the Senate. His nephew, Balbus the Younger, also became consul after his victory over the Garamantes in 19 B.C., and built the third stone theatre in Rome. Narbonese Gaul was regarded more as a portion of Italy than as a province, and its inhabitants, even in the Early Empire, often attained senatorial office. Vienne, 'that great and brave colony', as Claudius calls it, was the first, and perhaps the only town, to send representatives to the Curia. Valerius Asiaticus, of Vienne, one of the greatest of his day, was twice consul, and resigned the office the second time (46 A.D.) in the vain hope of thus circumventing enmity and malice. Pompeius Vopiscus, of Vienne, had the consulate conferred on him by Otho in 69 A.D. Besides these Viennese, the names of senators from Nîmes (Nemausus), Forum Julii (Fréjus) and Tolosa (Toulouse) have come down. In the year 49 A.D. senators were allowed to visit their Narbonese estates without asking for furlough.

In the year 47 the chiefs of new Gaul began agitating for the senatorial offices ; they had been Romanized for one hundred years, and only Lugudunum (Lyons) had been favourably excepted. Yet strong opposition was offered. Italy,

it was objected, poverty-stricken as she was, could still provide a senate for her capital. Were not Veneti and Insubres admixture enough? What privilege would remain over for the scanty survivals of the nobility or poor senators of true Latin blood? The rich scions of the tribes vanquished a century ago would soon supplant their conquerors. Citizens they might become, but do not cheapen senatorial and magisterial dignities. It required the outspoken will of Claudius to stifle the protests. At Lyons, his native city, a bronze tablet still exists, containing a fragment of the learned speech he delivered on this occasion. Incontestably, he said, Italian senators were to have the preference over provincials, whose claims to a rank they might adorn must not be spurned. The Aedui (between the Saône and the Loire), first received the senatorial rights, and others perhaps individually in the remaining districts. The father of Gaius Julius Vindex, an Aquitanian 'of royal descent', was a Roman senator.

Other provincials can only have been in the Senate exceptionally, and grudgingly, as interlopers. Tacitus makes Seneca of Corduba in 63 send Nero a confession of his unworthiness, so as to disarm evil tongues: often, he says, he has weighed the question, how he, a knight and provincial, dare rank with the primates of the State; how he, with his mushroom growth, dare soar to a height with an aristocracy of ancient fame. After the decimations of the Civil War, Vespasian further restocked the benches of the Senate from the provinces, and ever found in them his best support. When Trajan, a Spaniard, ascended the throne, the voice of conservative Rome could no longer openly jeer at the Western lands. And under Trajan (in 115) Quintus Lusius Quietus, a Gaetulian sheikh, born not in Africa, the province, but near an obscure and distant frontier, became consul. He had distinguished himself in the Dacian and Parthian Wars as a cavalry leader. In the second century no few senators were African. Fronto (consul in 144) met many fellow-countrymen from Cirta (Constantine) in the Senate.

And then Greeks and Little-Asians could no longer be fairly excluded: the latter were held in scant respect, and had no part in the reverence paid to Greece, the mother of Roman culture. Phrygians, says Cicero, are the better for their weals; a Carian makes the best desperado; 'the last of

the Mysians' expressed supreme contempt; Greek comedy made its stock-slave a Lydian. Shall a man, Juvenal makes a born Roman exclaim, impress his seal in front of me, have a higher place at table, whom the same wind wafted to Rome with imported Damascene plums and Syrian figs? Is it for nothing our youth has been nurtured on Aventine air and Sabine fruit? And he, the son of an Aquitanian freedman, saw and despised the 'knights of Asia, Bithynia and Cappadocia, who had come to Rome as bare-footed slaves'. Martial, too, looked on it as the irony of fate, that a noble poet should starve, because he was not a 'burgess of Syria or Parthia, a knight from out of the Cappadocian slave-stands, but a mere native of the people of Remus and Numa'. Alexander Severus was ashamed of being a Syrian and fabricated himself a Roman family-tree.

From the Early Empire onwards, however, Greeks and Little-Asians took high rank in the Roman knighthood. Vedius Pollio, a rich knight and a friend of Augustus, came from Caesarea in Bithynia. Vespasian and Titus during their censorship (73 and 74) were the first to admit the most prominent of these settlers in larger numbers to the Senate. Tiberius Claudius Atticus, of Athens, in Nerva's reign became enormously rich through a treasure-trove, and was twice consul (the first time about 104); his son, the great sophist, Herodes Atticus, is recorded in the consular *fasti* of 143 A.D., and his grandson Tiberius Claudius Bradua Atticus in 185. In fact, in the first century, literary fame was a sure key to inspiring favour, as is shown by the many great Greek sophists and writers who became consuls. Scions of princely houses might also be thus distinguished, as, for example, under Trajan, the Commagenian Gaius Julius Antiochus Philopappus. The second and third century contain most of the inscriptions mentioning Greek and Little-Asian senators or consulars.

Few other Orientals entered the Senate before the third century. The consular Flavius Boethus, a zealous Aristotelian, and a friend of Galen, was born in Ptolemais in Phoenicia; but, after Caracalla and Elagabalus and Alexander Severus, their numbers increased. Such was Odeinathus, prince of Palmyra (died in 251), father of Odeinathus, the husband of Zenobia, and of Septimius Heyranus. He attained

consular rank. No Palestinian Jew is known to have reached Senatorial rank before the fourth century, when Hieronymus speaks of Jewish senators, though Josephus mentions some as being knights. The senatorial knight Tiberius Julius Alexander, was a nephew of Philo the philosopher. Philo, in Nero's last years, the governor of Judaea, was an Alexandrian renegade Jew 'of a rich and famous family, allied to Caesar, who had rendered distinguished service in the Parthian War on the general staff, a rank he also held in Titus' Jewish War': in the interval, he had been praefect of Egypt.

Dislike of the Egyptians was even stronger than hatred of the Jews. Only the citizenship of Alexandria might entitle them to that of Rome, nor often: seldom might they become knights: two hundred years of subjugation had to pass by ere Caracalla made the first Alexandrian, Coeranus, a senator and consul. Even in the fifth century did the rest of Egypt lack all right to senatorial office. Juvenal's spleen was aroused at the nationality of Crispinus the Egyptian, who became 'first of the knights', perhaps praefect of the Praetorium, and a Court-favourite.

In the later centuries, too, Romans naturally retained a preference over foreigners in the elections to the higher offices, as Dio testifies, when he makes Maecenas state it as the bed-rock of the imperial system that the curule offices and the consulate should be held by Romans. This rule was honoured, even in the breach. Pescennius Niger, one of the rival Emperors of Septimius Severus, said he intended to govern Rome by Romans. Rome's disdain of strangers, her contempt of everything extra-mural, lasted to the end, and then even the mob made the theatre resound with its loud bigotry.

The Italian, the Latian even, was deemed but somewhat better than the provincial; as a senator he was an upstart, and his children were not easily forgiven for their ancestry. Antony, the aristocrat, reproached Octavian for his mother being born at Aricinum. 'One might take it', says Cicero, 'he was talking of a woman of Ephesus or Tralles. You see how we are prized, we who come from the *municipia*. And yet how many of us do not?' And he had blue blood often enough dinned in his ears. Catilina dubbed him 'an import'. But Tiberius, as Claudius says in his address,

incorporated the flower of Italy's *municipia* and *colonias* into the Senate. But whilst revolutions might destroy, society be transformed, this disdain was ever there, deep-rooted in the nation's soul. One hundred years later Tacitus found Rome no less uplifted over the cities of Italy than in Cicero's time, despite that the Flavians of Reate had held the sceptre, and Nerva the Narnian, and Trajan the Spaniard. And his views are the more striking, as he can scarce have been more than a knight. He accompanies the tale of the adultery of Livia, the wife of Drusus, with Sejanus, a knight from Volsinii, with the remark : ' She, Augustus' niece, Tiberius' daughter-in-law, Drusus' wife, shamed herself and her lineage with adultery with a mere municipal ! ' The second marriage of Julia, the granddaughter of Tiberius, with Rubellius Blandus, he considered an utter degradation for a princess, for many still remembered her husband's grandfather, a knight from Tibur, though Rubellius Blandus had been consul. Suetonius tells of how Caligula, in a letter to the Senate, impugned the descent of his great-grandmother Livia Augusta, as her maternal grandfather had been a councillor at Fundi. Suetonius defends her against this imputation, as Aufidius Lurco undeniably held high office at Rome. One hundred years later, Marcus Aurelius espoused his daughter Lucilla to Claudius Pompeianus, the son of a Roman knight of an obscure family at Antioch ; but this need not be ascribed to a change of social view, but to the philosophic breadth and rare unprejudice of that Emperor : he selected his sons-in-law not from the first men in the Senate, but according to individual capacity. Further, neither Lucilla nor her mother Faustina were satisfied at the match, not merely since the bridegroom was no longer young.

These facts serve to illustrate the feelings of rank between the senators and the knights : but the division between the two classes did not cover that between Romans and municipals. Knights are celebrated on their monuments by their clients or themselves, as ' a senator's father ', a ' senator's grandfather '. A quarrel once arose between a knight and a senator, and Vespasian's ruling was that senators might not be insulted, but their insults might be met, a decision, according to Suetonius, that the dignity rather than the legal standings differed. Martial describes the first two estates

as the 'Knights and Lords Senators'. The terms of senatorial titles will be later on dealt with.

In criminal law both orders were privileged, as were also soldiers, veterans, town councillors in imperial cities, and so sharp was the distinction that a man of rank might be degraded to a plebeian. They might not be flogged, tortured in evidence, pressed for labour and mines, crucified or thrown to gladiators or animals in the Circus. An insult from a plebeian to a senator or knight was severely punished. In social intercourse the gap between the knighthood and the lower middle-class was great, and a chasm existed between the first and third classes: the following fact is illustrative. A senator of praetorian rank was, under Domitian, accused of a somewhat dubious transaction, and chose voluntary banishment rather than certain condemnation, and, to maintain himself in Sicily, had to teach oratory. On entering the lecture-room one day, he began declaiming, 'O Fortune, thou raisest the meek and humblest the strong! Thou makest professors into senators, and senators into professors'. Pliny the Younger says this sentence was so full of bitterness and gall, that he believed he became professor, just to be able to say it. And identically with Pliny the Senator, Juvenal the Knight made out the contrast of the two classes as extreme. 'If thou, Fortune, wiltst, thou makest a rhetor a consul, or a consul a rhetor.'

II. THE SENATORS

The Empire was accepted either of the troops or the Senate; in either, legitimation came from the Senate, which also might depose, as often happened. To the Senate, the Emperors were only *primi inter pares*, and fellow-senators; except Caligula, Nero, Domitian and Commodus, they all endeavoured during the first two centuries more or less to maintain this relation. Herodian cites an apologetic letter of Opellius Macrinus (217) on his election, begging no repugnance may be felt at his having been a mere knight, for nobility was nothing without excellence; and the blue blood of Commodus had benefited the Senate as little as the lawfulness of Caracalla. Emperors of high descent were more violent rulers than humbler men. Those who received the Empire

from the Senate, regarded themselves as its debtors, and sought to acknowledge its favour by their acts.

Augustus was the first to establish a legal senatorial caste and hereditary peerdom, by restricting competition for curule office and the consequent seat in the Senate to the nobility or families, whose ancestors had held such offices. Those not born into this order might be admitted in two ways, the granting of senatorial rank to young men, or the exceptional creation of senators of one of the three subclasses (*adlectio*): both forms were used by the Emperors, and when the censorship fused in the general imperial authority, new creations were in the ordinary prerogative. Such ranks were hereditary, tenable even by the wives, and the agnate line to the third degree.

The ancient senatorial families must have been very few at the dawn of the Empire; extinction (as with the Atilii, Metelli, Curii, Fulvii), outlawry and death in the Civil Wars—the triumphs proscribed either 130, or 300 senators and 2,000 knights—disappearance in the Early Empire, as with the Aemilii Scauri, or penury, with the Hortensii, all were active causes, losing them their family rights and submerging them utterly. These gaps were filled up, as set out. The seedhouse of the Senate was the knighthood of Rome and her colonies and towns, and her provinces, whence ‘new men’ found their way up into the Senate, in virtue of birth, wealth or merit. Rutilius Gallicus, who, according to Statius, did long service in the field under Nero, attained the consulate, under Domitian became City Praefect, and gave his family a lineage of nobility. He must have been of knightly descent, despite the elevation of his father into the Senate. The knights who were not senators had no hard and fast means of ennoblement. Practically, at least later, the command of the Guard conferred, on retirement, a claim to a seat in the Senate, in some measure an honourable dismissal.

And men of the third estate, even at the beginning of the Empire, could rise through fortune, merit or favour to the first. During the Civil War, Octavian raised Salvidienus Rufus, a man of no family, nor even a senator, to the consulship. Talent and his friends helped Curtius Rufus, a man so humble as to be called a gladiator’s son, to the quaestorship: subserviency towards his superiors, and truculence to

his underlings, enabled him to gain the consulate, and pro-consulate of Africa. Tiberius, who gave the praetorship to him rather than to his noble competitors, excused his smirched birth, by saying, 'he seems to me a man self-born'. And many other such 'self-made' men owed their eminence to the readiness in fulfilling the imperial will, especially as informers in cases of high treason. Through the favour of Sejanus, Junius Otho, originally a teacher of oratory, was appointed senator, and his unscrupulous zeal carried him through to the praetorship; and the same influence raised both Eprius Marcellus and Vibius Crispus from the depths of poverty to high rank, vast wealth and great power, gained by unconscientious use of their extraordinary ability. Military service could win the low-born a seat in the Senate. According to Dio, Maecenas advised the admission of the most distinguished officers, though they had begun as centurions: but a mere soldier of the rank and file, a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water, should never become senator. Thus careers like that of Oclatinus Adventus must have been very rare: he had begun as a common soldier (even a hangman's assistant, according to Dio); without a tincture of culture, rose up to the Praefecture of the Praetorium; Macrinus made him City Praefect: in 218 he resigned this post to become consul. The first known senators who commenced life as centurions, are the Emperor Pertinax, and Pescennius Niger, the rival of Alexander Severus.

It is hardly credible that freedmen should have been admissible to the Senate before the time of Commodus, whilst forbidden access to the first rank in all the *municipia* and colonies: Cleander, the favourite of Commodus, was the first to make freedmen senators and patricians. Under Caracalla the deposition of a former slave, Marcius Agrippa, who had once been the hair-curler of his mistress, from a high knightly post to a senatorship and praetorship was a kind of degradation. Elagabalus used to make 'freedmen into governors, legates, consuls and generals'. Alexander Severus was proportionately stricter, and would not even make them knights.

Even the early Emperors, as has been said, admitted the sons of freedmen; their more distant descendants encountered less difficulty. Even in the middle of the first century

many senatorial families were thus descended. It was said the Vitellii came of a freedman cobbler ; his son made a fortune by investment in building-lots and State agencies ; he married a baker's daughter, who bore him the first member of the family, who became a knight, and then imperial financial councillor : his four sons were senators : one of them was three times consul and censor, and was the father of the Emperor Vitellius. Tiberius' famous teacher of rhetoric¹ was of servile descent ; his son was, under Hadrian, a senator. Claudius, who was by no means exclusive, conferred the purple stripe on a freedman's son, only on condition of his being adopted by a knight ; and similar ceremonies may have been the rule. Nero would not accept any freedmen's sons, and deprived those admitted by former Emperors of their offices. Later on, they may have held them, if only under the cover of friendly aristocratic competitors. Even Valentinian, Valens and Gratianus had to issue rescripts, declaratory that freedmen's sons should not be excluded from the rank of *clarissimi*.

The upstarts and new men in the Senate became more and more, and the ancient nobility continuously died out ; Juvenal refers to the fusion of the nobility, and Apuleius, in 166, to the fewness of the old stock : but the old families became all the prouder of their genealogies, and were looked upon with ever-increasing respect. The hall-mark of the aristocracy was the right of setting up ancestral pictures in the *atrium*. Reverently did a stranger betread houses in which fading paintings of triumphing generals in the four-horsed chariots covered the walls, and smoked masks of the ancestors filled the *atrium*, their names, their honour and their deeds inscribed below. 'Ancestral pictures and inscriptions' were popularly admired, as in the time of Horace. The Middle Ages, the modern epoch and ancient Rome were at one in loving 'great lords who bore great names worthily', and they were proud to share in the radiance of their native aristocracy. Juvenal's rhymed platitudes on the true merit that lies in virtue and not in blood, provide a needless reminder of the generality of the opinion he was combating. How highly they were esteemed by the people is shown by Tacitus' account of the trial of Aemilia Lepida in the year 20. Her late husband, Publius Sulpicius Quirinius, was

¹ Theodorus of Gadara.

accusing her of introducing a changeling and other serious offences. Despite her evil repute and her guilt, the splendour of her descent from the Aemilii and Sulla and Pompey won her the general sympathy. When she, with a retinue of noble ladies, prayed her ancestors for protection in the theatre of Pompey, the people burst into sobs and curses, that a lady, who had been the intended of Lucius Caesar, and the prospective daughter-in-law of Augustus, should be sacrificed to a man so humble of birth, but influential owing to his childless old age. Seneca, moralizing in the same tone as Juvenal, does not only absolutely admit that in competitions for the high offices the nobles secured them for many profligates in preference to meritorious 'new' men, but adds this happened 'not without reason'. Thus his ancestors, Verrucosus Allobrogicus and the three hundred Fabii, obtained for Fabius Persicus (consul in 32) his election to the highest priesthoods, in spite of his notorious vices; and Scaurus, who had been consul in 115 B.C., and the *princeps* of the Senate, assured his descendant Mamerkus Scaurus (who died in 34), a man of like ill-fame, the consulate. Tacitus praises Tiberius for regarding the nobles in the early part of his reign in distributing the honours; and Pliny Trajan for preferring them, Domitian out of fear and mistrust not having ventured to select them. Officially then, and administratively, and everywhere, noble descent was a great advantage, and an asset, even if possessions, on which rank and pre-eminence were based, might be actually valued at a higher rate.

And the history of many families that flourished even under the Empire was venerable. True, few were left in the first century of those who could point to eight hundred years of senatorial rank from Romulus or Brutus; some there must have been, for fifty families were known at the close of the Republic, who claimed Trojan or Alban lineage, both pre-Roman. In a manual of Greek dialogues for teaching purposes, there occurs the sentence: 'I will visit a senator who can trace his descent back to Romulus and the Aeneadae'. Such were, above all, the Julii, who in their funerals had the images of Aeneas, Romulus and the Alban kings carried in the procession. The Quintilii (of whom came Varus, who fell in the Teutoberg forest) were of Alban descent. The Antonii and Fabii made Hercules their first

ancestor, the Aelii Lamiae, Lamus, king of the Laestrygones. The Calpurnii Pisones derived their race from Numa ; Gnaeus Piso, the head of the house under Tiberius, would scarcely allow of the Emperor's precedence, and looked on his sons as inferiors. Generally, pedigrees extending into the world of fables were not rare ; Greek erudites would willingly elaborate them. A work dedicated to Quintus Vitellius, the uncle of the Emperor, whose origin was according to others so low, ascribes his race to Faunus, king of the Aborigines, and Vitellia, a goddess locally worshipped. It was perfectly well known that Vespasian's grandfather had come from Reate, and had been a centurion in the Civil War, and his father had been a tax-farmer ; but an attempt was made to trace the Flavii back to a companion of Hercules ; Vespasian himself laughed at it. The Emperor Galba, who was of the ancient and noble house of the Sulpicii, had an ancestral tablet put up in his *atrium*, recording his paternal ancestry up to Jupiter, and his maternal line to Pasiphae, the daughter of Minos. Even those who, with the incredulous, abandoned these pedigrees, or themselves bemoaned them, at other times found them serviceable, and could use them, without being ridiculous. Thus Julius Caesar in his funeral oration for his aunt Julia celebrated her descent from Ancus Marcius on the one hand and Venus, the grandmother of Iulus, on the other. Manius Acilius Glabrio, too, whom Pertinax designed as his successor (he was consul for the second time in 186), traced his descent to Aeneas, as did the family of Marcus Aurelius to Numa. Herodes Atticus boasts of his wife Annia Regilla, the sister of Appius Annianus Bradua (consul in 160), that she was of the princely blood of Anchises and Venus, whilst Herodes' own tree remounted to the Aeacidæ : in Greece families were frequently ascribed to heroic founders. The *acta* of the Arval priests gives very splendid lists of the noble names who constituted the College. At one sacrifice made by Caligula in the end of May, 39, only three members present had been ennobled by Augustus, Taurus Statilius Corvinus, Gaius Caecina Largus (consul in 42) and Annianus Vinicianus. The others were Paulus Fabius Persicus, Gaius Calpurnius Piso (already mentioned), Marcus Furius Camillus ('the last scion of Veii's conqueror'), Appianus Junianus Silanus, and Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, the father of Nero ;

the ancestors of the last two had often 'worn the Republican purple'. During the Republic the Domitii Ahenobarbi counted six consuls, and two under Augustus, two censors and two triumphs. No *gens* could rival the Claudii for tales of fame; their beginnings were lost in the early Republic; they had twenty-two consulates, five dictatorships, seven censorships, seven great and five petty triumphs to their score, besides many illustrious men and women, mighty for good or for evil; their measureless pride and unbending sternness was hereditary. Further, old pedigrees were valued highly to the last days of the Empire.

The custom of adding new names to the original, besides retaining both the original and the adoptive, under the Julian and Claudian reigns was rare: after the Flavian epoch, when 'new men and new ways came into power', frequent. Adoptions and quasi-adoptions, the use of the maternal besides the paternal names, from sheer family vanity, and for other reasons, swelled the nomenclature of the Roman nobles: under Trajan men like Quintus Pompeius Falco had more than ten names: and his son, Quintus Pompeius Senecio (consul in 169) no less than thirty-eight.

But princely wealth was a more common ornament of senatorial families than ancient lineage. Opulence and senatorial rank were interchangeable terms. Gnaeus Lentulus the augur, under Augustus, possessed 400,000,000 sesterces, the largest private capital known in antiquity. Two hundred million even was enormous; Vibius Crispus possessed this amount, and Martial uses 'richer than Vibius Crispus' as a superlative. But fortunes of three hundred or more were not rare amongst the senators. Tacitus mentions a letter of Nero to Seneca, who was very rich, that many, his inferiors in desert, were wealthier, as, for example, Lucius Volusius Saturninus, who died as City Praefect in 56, at the age of 95; not to speak of freedmen. Eprius Marcellus, too, from his poor beginnings amassed no less. The annual income of such properties would have been nearly as much as the revenues assigned by Olympiodorus to the richest Roman families at the beginning of the fifth century, viz.: £243,600. Capital bore, as above remarked, high interest, and even land-investments brought in more than 6 per cent. A capital of 300,000,000 (£3,262,800) at 7 per cent. yielded £228,396 yearly.

Doubtless the old Italian senators possessed large Italian estates. When provincials were legally admitted (106-7 A.D.), Trajan enacted that suitors for curule offices should lay out a third of their property in Italian land, so as to have a vested and not a passing interest. Marcus Aurelius fixed the proportion for foreign-born senators at one fourth. It must have been the practice to purchase in several counties at once, that untoward weather might not affect the whole of the income, and all climates and lands might be home. Even in Horace's day Sardinian cornlands, Calabrian beehives and pastures there and in Cisalpine Gaul, 'a thousand acres of Falernian vines', and estates on the banks of the Liris, all might be one property: one hundred years later, herds from Parma (worth 600,000 sesterces annually), Etrurian estates worked by thousands of slaves in chains, vineyards at Setia, and properties at Hybla, the home of bees, in Sicily. Marcus Aquilius Regulus, a prominent man under Nero and Domitian, owned estates in Umbria, Etruria, at Tusculum, on the road from Rome to Tibur; Pompeia Celerina, the mother-in-law of Pliny the Younger, at Otricoli, Narnia, Carsulae and Perusia. The Aurelii Symmachi in the second half of the fourth century possessed three palaces at Rome and one in Capua, fifteen villas near Rome or on the fashionable coast-towns, such as Ostia and Lavinium, and in the hills (Tibur, Praeneste, Cora), in the Gulf of Naples (Formiae, Cumae, Bauli, Baiae, Puteoli, Naples, and on the Lucrine lake); properties in Samnium, Apulia, Sicily and Mauretania. Senators, as officials, would often buy provincial estates. After Trajan's edict provincial suitors for curule offices would sell in the provinces to buy in Italy. Gordian I 'owned more provincial estates than any subject'; his world-spread possessions, made Probus, the praefect of the Praetorium (386 A.D.), world-famous. A decree of Arcadius and Honorius has reference to senators who lived at Rome, but owned lands in scattered and distant provinces. Provincial senators would naturally have properties in their own provinces. In A.D. 49 those hailing from Narbonese Gaul obtained permission to visit their estates without leave, a privilege already obtaining for Sicily. Rubellius Plautus had inherited estates in Asia, and Flavius Ursus, a favourer of Statius, besides at least four in Italy, in Crete and Cyrene. In Nero's day half of Africa

belonged to six great landowners, and, under Domitian, in Africa and elsewhere, private property not only equalled but often excelled in size the municipalities, containing peasants' villages and a little town around the manor-house; some of these wealthy owners must have been senators. Seneca did not exaggerate in speaking of vast stretches cultivated by slaves in fetters, cattle-ranches wider than kingdoms and provinces; or when Columella speaks of realms their sovereigns could never ride round. Everywhere no lake whose waters did not reflect some great palace, no gulf by which their villas did not stand; from every lofty height over land and sea, their roofs glittered. Their palaces in Rome had royal forecourts, high *atria*, rich baths, libraries, galleries, peristyles, groves of laurels and planes, fountains, drives and walks; were as extensive as county-estates, were 'like cities'; if as large as the whole property of Cincinnatus (four acres) they were deemed too petty. Martial calls his patron Sparsus' Petilian palace a kingdom: from the ground floor there was a view down on the highest peaks of Rome: it was a *rus in urbe*, and the vintage greater than from a Falernian hill. Inside the portals there was room enough to drive in light carriages: no noisy streets, no too importunate daylight could disturb sleep.

A great house of old, then, with its thousands of slaves and freedmen of all nationalities, was a little and almost self-sufficient state; the inmates consumed its resources, maintained and furthered its prosperity: they also supplied some of the needs furnished nowadays by industry: the ennoblement and beautifying of life in art they also supplied, as well as some of the advantages of applied science. There were also many wholly or partially dependent, who were there nourished; many, too, who owed to their patron's munificence their stay and help in life, and many who saw their better days renewed. Slaves, on their manumission, generally received a donation more or less generous. Martial instances one of 10,000,000. The families, too, of dependents and clients received gratuities and protection. And a freedman of Cotta Messalina, a friend of Tiberius, celebrates, on his tombstone in the Via Appia, how his patron often gave him sums amounting to the knightly census (400,000 sesterces), educated his children, provided paternally for his sons, conferred a military tribunate

on his son Cottanus, and paid the expenses of that tombstone.

About the year 50 the highest place and the greatest influence amongst the old nobility had fallen to Gaius Calpurnius Piso, who headed the conspiracy of 65 against Nero, to win the throne, and lost his life. Caligula had banished and Claudius recalled him, reinstated him in his property and made him consul : his mother's inheritance still further increased his. Every aptitude for popularity he possessed, stateliness and handsome features ; he was affable, even to strangers, eloquent and ready to defend the oppressed, not sternly moral, a lover of joy even to excess, fond of pomp and generous to extravagance, skilled alike in poetry and the cithar, in games with balls and dice and in combat. He helped knights and senators whom misfortune made poor, and aided annually a number of men of the third estate in gaining the knighthood. For a generation after his death, his generosity was the poets' theme.

After Nero's reign, the position of the aristocracy altered. In replacement of the old families, partly ruined, partly extinct, a new and increasing generation of Italians and provincials arose, who remembered their days of poverty and practised a parsimony, which Vespasian initiated. Domitian, too, by himself served as a reminder to the grandees not to excel in splendour, generosity or retinues ; it was only under Trajan they dared again freely 'give, increase little incomes and distribute their surplus'. And Martial was right in wishing back the days of the Pisos and Crispuses, Senecas and Memmii. Then, he says, many friends there were who would confer on their client the golden ring (in other words, give them the 400,000 sesterces or knightly census) ; not so now ; happy is he whom a knight of his house befriends.

But, even then, the life of the senators was brilliant and gorgeous, and a revenue insignificant for a senator would be no small one. At the beginning of the fifth century houses of the second class had an average income of 1,000 to 1,500 pounds of gold (£45,625 to £68,510). Pliny the Younger, who could scarcely support his state, gives us some inklings of the balance-sheet of a senator in Trajan's time, neither very rich nor very noble. His family came of the municipal nobility of Comum : at the age of twenty-seven, he climbed the first rung, and was quaestor, and ascended the ladder quickly, at thirty-eight, 100 A.D., being appointed consul by

Trajan. His three marriages probably augmented his wealth, which for a municipal was considerable; the inheritance of his uncle, his work as heir administrator, no doubt brought him much wealth indirectly, e.g. by legacy, as he refused rewards and gifts. As praetor, he economized in the spectacles. His property was mostly highly profitable vineyards, but he diminished the income by his solicitude for his agents and purchasers. He also lent money on interest. Near Tifernum Tiberinum, in Etruria, he possessed lands rented at more than 400,000 sesterces; at Comum, where he sold an inherited estate worth 900,000 for 700,000 sesterces, and at Beneventum: also several villas on the Lacus Larius (Lake of Como), and one by Laurentum, all fitted up, as he says, modestly and comfortably. About the year 101 he was intending to buy an estate for 3,000,000, and had to borrow from his mother-in-law. His economical management enabled him to be generous towards clients and friends in need, and he collected no few letters in testimony. He presented his nurse with a little estate worth 200,000 sesterces, and the same sum to a relation on her marriage, whose apparently large debts he remitted after her father's death. A fellow countryman of his, for whom he obtained a centurionship, received from him 40,000 as his outfit, and another, a schoolfellow, was advanced 300,000 sesterces, to qualify him for knighthood: Martial obtained from him travelling-money on his return to Spain, in return for a eulogistic poem. In the city of Tifernum Tiberinum, where he was patron, Pliny had a temple built at his own expense, and gave a banquet at the dedication: a temple of Ceres was collapsing in one of his estates, and, instead of repairing it, he built a new and beautiful building with a hall of columns: he ordered four marble pillars, and marble to adorn the walls and floor, and a statue of the goddess to be made. His father had left the Comenses 40,000 sesterces, to pay for the distribution of oil annually at the Feast of Neptune in all the *thermae* and in the theatre; Pliny, imitating him, gave large sums to his native city, eloquent of his 'Italian local patriotism'. He presented the city of Comum with a library worth 1,000,000 and invested 100,000 to maintain it; and offered to pay a third of the fee of a rhetorician in that town. And again he gave 500,000 sesterces to provide for free-born

boys and girls ; the interest, 30,000 (at 6 per cent), was to be derived from land, to be transferred to the community and then acquired by the heirs. And in his will he left the town an unknown sum for the erection of *thermae*, and for their furnishing at least 300,000, for their upkeep the interest on 200,000 ; as well as capital amounting to 1,866,666⅔ sesterces to provide for a hundred freedmen of the testator, and, in remainder, to pay for an annual carouse for the whole community of Comum.

Such were, then, the means at the disposal of a poor senator ; evidently the senatorial census of 1,000,000 (about £10,875) must have been the minimum sum at which a suitable state could be maintained by a single individual only. Larger properties may well have been found in the middle classes at Rome ; Martial makes one braggart boast of an annual income of 3,000,000 from his lodging-houses and properties, 600,000 from his herds from Parma, besides money out at interest. Prosperous municipals even and provincials often obviously possessed (as their legacies and gifts prove) more than the senatorial census. The father of Apuleius left two millions, the father of Herennius Rufinus in Oea (according to Apuleius) three, the widow Pudentilla, whom Apuleius married at Oea, four. In the colony of Petronius, one of the *honoratiores* inherits thirty from his father, and Trimalchio is made to leave as much, for he lost three millions in a shipwreck, gained ten on a more fortunate voyage, and hoped to marry as much again. Nero scattered amongst needy senators, and Vespasian gave indigent consuls 500,000, the half of the senatorial census.

Members of this aristocracy were all alike on a lofty eminence, scanned by all eyes, unable to evade the manifold claims made on them from all sides, without *opprobrium* or falling short of the standard of their rank. Horace was glad of his humble birth, which relieved him of a wearisome burden. He had not to busy himself with money-making and visiting, and could travel by land without trains of horses and waggons and livery-men. A praetor at Tibur with only five slaves, carrying culinary articles, had made himself supremely ridiculous. The poor poet was far more comfortable than the glorious senator. And senators have to dress up to their rank. As late as Hadrian when broad cloaks (*lacernae*) and

sandals were usually worn in the streets, senators might only decently have the cumbrous *toga* and high-laced shoes. Tiberius deprived one senator of the purple for having moved to a garden-house before July 1 (the general time of moving), so as to rent an empty dwelling more cheaply. A man who only pays 6,000 sesterces for rent, Velleius then wrote, hardly counts as a senator. As a fact, the comparatively simple standard of the day is shown in that a senator in so expensive a town as Rome could rent a house at £65 5s., at a time when the acreages of the palaces were complained of. But, after Tiberius, luxury became frightful, the Emperors inciting and heading it. Vespasian restored economy. Senatorial families vying in extravagance and pomp, in palaces, decorations and retinues, exhausted the most boundless properties, and no few sank into debt and poverty.

To maintain their rank was expensive enough ; an official curule career still more so. The outlay was enormous, especially the necessary public games. The Megalensian Games cost the praetor (end of the first century) 100,000, and even then were scantied ; other games 20,000 : the year of honour might cost more than half of the senatorial census. Should a poor friend approach him for 100,000, to admit him to the knightly census, the reply would be, he wanted the sum for Scorpis and Thallus, his charioteers, and would be glad enough to be able to draw his purse-strings in. But, asks Martial, were not such an outlay better than for horses and a saffron-sprinkled stage ? The same author remarks that a cautious woman would obtain her divorce before her husband became praetor, as he might well ruin himself, and, in Juvenal's phrase, become ' his horses' prey '.

Whilst the senators were constrained to such expenses, they were hampered in the means of increasing their wealth. Business and travels hindered the administration of their estates. Men of high rank, says Epictetus, could pay little heed to their own affairs ; they must travel afar, as commanders or in subservience, to defend the arms of justice, or wield the arms of war ; without they had been sent to the most diverse lands, they might never attain the prizes in their career. Such was the official life of Julius Agricola, the father-in-law of Tacitus. He was born at Marseilles in 39, and there grew up : at the age of nineteen served his first campaign

in Britain ; in the year 61 came to Rome and married. His quaestorship he entered on December 5, 63, in the province of Asia. In 66 and 68 he was tribune and praetor at Rome. Vespasian gave him the command of the twentieth legion, which was quartered in Britain : on his return in 73 he was made governor of Aquitania for three years. In 77 he became consul, and in 78, as consular legate, went for the third time to Britain, achieved its conquest, in seven years, up to the Forth and the Clyde. After his recall, he lived a retired life at Rome, refusing, in view of Domitian's perilous jealousy of him, the governorship of Asia and Africa, one of which would have fallen to him by lot. His career was, in no wise, exceptionally full of vicissitude : the leisure left to senators for their own affairs after official requirements can be imagined.

Further, they were legally debarred from all business. Julius Caesar had re-enacted the old Claudian law of the time of the second Punic War, that no senator or senator's son might own a ship of more than 300 amphorae (12 tons or 240 centner). Hadrian enacted that no senator, in his own name or otherwise, should farm taxes, a mere renewal of the old Lex Claudia, prohibiting them all public contracts and speculation : at the Games of Mars Ultor and the Apollinarian and other votive Games, they were allowed to provide horses for racing, only to make these games more reputable. But these interdictions could be easily evaded by conducting business under another's name, or by joint commercial enterprises, or by conducting financial businesses in the names of freedmen and slaves. Thus Vespasian embraced commerce, after his proconsulship in Africa, to gain the necessary means for his social standing, and Pertinax in Liguria similarly used his slaves. Money-loans at interest were allowed, but these failed to satisfy most of the senators ; in the year 33, a financial crisis obliged the government to intervene, and the whole Senate was perturbed, as they were one and all concerned in usurious dealings. These transactions were mostly in the provinces, where the rate of interest was higher than in Italy, generally at about 8 to 9 per cent. Thus Seneca had to force a loan of 4,000,000 on Britain, and his sudden call for it caused the revolt of 60 A.D. In his last years, through his agents, he was negotiating in Egypt, and the corn-fleet regularly brought him news of his monetary affairs. When Antoninus

Pius, as a senator, lent his money at the low rate of 4 per cent., it was to help as many as he could of his peers and a mark of his unselfishness.

But most of the senators invested in land and slaves. Slave-labour could be very profitable; they would do business and handicrafts, and they could be let out. And land, too, was used industrially for such purposes as sandstone, minerals, tiles, potteries and other manufactures. The manufactory of large dry-goods was common amongst the great land-owners, the Emperors and their families and noble ladies derived much income from tile-factories. The names of the two brothers Gnaeus Domitius Tullus, and Gnaeus Domitius Lucanus, two of the richest senators under Domitian, are often found stamped on tiles; tiles, too, of quite different and independent fabrics. Domitia Lucilla, the daughter of Lucanus, who was adopted by his childless brother, inherited both of their estates and the manufactories, and left them to her daughter (of the same name), from whom the Emperor Marcus Aurelius inherited them. And other manufactories were carried on on great estates. Pertinax, as consul, expanded a felt-factory in Liguria he had inherited from his father, by buying further land and erecting new buildings: and himself spent three years there, using his slaves to sell the products. Landowners whose property was adjacent to the highways built inns, and got from the Senate the right of holding fairs and markets there.

Apart from these kinds of industry, senators had the advantage of paid posts, often very remunerative, in the army, the administration and the provinces. A young nobleman who had raced away his whole ancestral inheritance might still hope for a cohort: a tribune was paid 25,000 sesterces (over £270). Legates, who governed the imperial provinces, and had been consuls and praetors, and proconsuls, the governors of the senatorial provinces, also had fixed salaries: the proconsul of Africa receiving 1,000,000.

Extortion, too, though not as gross as under the Republic, often enriched provincial governors. The Senate itself—a body too predisposed to condone its own members, and very open to bribery, was the Court before which they had to appear. Seneca says in bitter irony: ‘The provinces were plundered, and judgments knocked down to the highest

bidders', no remarkable fact, as the purchases could be resold by the *ius gentium*. Pliny the Younger, in the years 100 and 101, was taking up the cause of Baetica and Africa, which in one year had been harried and pilfered by Marius Priscus and Caecilius Classicus, their proconsuls. Classicus died before trial, but had left a catalogue of his extortions, and written to a Roman mistress of his, that he was returning free of debts, having sold part of the Baetici, and so released 4,000,000. Priscus was convicted of executing the innocent for money. Under another legate a provincial bought the flogging of a Roman knight, his condemnation to the mines, and his strangulation in prison for 700,000; his dandified middleman in the business, the legate, exacted, as his commission, 10,000, 'to buy scents and pomades'. The legate was not expelled from the Senate, and only punished by being passed by in the allotment of provinces. Marius Priscus, banished from Italy, retained wealth enough 'to find consolation in the wrath of the gods'. Even under Trajan, such barbarous and notorious misgovernment could be highly condoned; its frequency in the overtaxed provinces is well vouched for. Tiberius used, on principle, to make conscientious holders of governorship continuous; as power also incited avarice, inversely to the length of duration. He compared the provincial to a fly-blown wounded fox, who would not have his blood-suckers blown off. Whether this permanency did alleviate is questionable. Quintilius Varus entered Syria poor, and, after nine years, during which he became rich, left it poor. When the 'extraordinary moderation and abstemiousness' or 'guiltlessness' of Vitellius' and Otho's administration is lauded, proof sufficient is given of the exceptionality of it. Any province that applied to an advocate at Rome to take up its cause was sure to be one which had been plundered out and out. Juvenal exhorts one great nobleman, when his province fell to him at last, to show his helpless allies some consideration, as their very marrow had been sucked out. The victims got no good of the condemnation of their oppressors, for law exhausted the prosecutor's purses, and a Pansa had to be paid for punishing a Natta's robberies. Verres and his contemporaries withdrew the greater portion of an immense opulence. There was nothing left but a few yokes of oxen, some herds of mares, a few

little estates and the statues of the house-gods. Should the suite of the governor be blameless, should no curly-locked boy barter legal decisions, were his wife free from debt; if she did not, harpy-like, tear through the cities and carry the circuits by storm, this much merit might outweigh the most ancient lineage. 'Poor State', the claimant Avidius Cassius writes: 'the prey to the greed of all its rich!' For the over-gentle Emperor should execute freely, and restore order: were men who believed provinces were given to them by Senate and Emperor, as the only source of carousals and gold-mines, to be appointed proconsuls and legates? 'Yet, be their riches ever so great, if the gods are just, the fisc will absorb them!'

Less wealthy senators, unwilling to serve in the army, unable to bear the expenses of public life, might serve as advocates: the fees for defence had been successively reduced to 10,000 sesterces, but these enactments were easily evaded, and popular advocates earned large sums. But the many, especially in the first century, who abused their talents as accusers in trials for high treason, were still more highly paid; thus did Regulus, Vibius Crispus, Eprius Marcellus, gain their immense fortunes. Regulus received, as his reward, the consulship from Nero, a priesthood and 7,000,000; under Domitian he had prospects of continuing the business and realizing a sum of 120,000,000. Vibius Crispus, the Croesus of his day (under Domitian), had 200,000,000 and Eprius Marcellus 300,000,000.

It is hardly possible that the legal lore of senators, to whose ranks the great jurists of the first and second centuries belonged, was a direct source of income. Indirectly, the influence, honour and esteem of it advanced them to highly advantageous posts, such as those of imperial councillor (after Hadrian a paid and permanent office), the City Praefecture, which was held by the great jurists Pegasus (under Vespasian and Domitian) and Salvius Julianus (under Hadrian). The consulate even fell to the lot of no few great jurisconsults of the first two centuries. Antistius Labeo is said to have been of too independent a mind to receive or accept it, as also Aulus Cassellius. Ateius Capito, Labeo's rival, was more pliable, and was consul in 5 A.D., as Marcus Cocceius Nerva in 22 A.D., Gaius Cassius Longinus in 30, Caninius Rebilus (who died in 56) at an unknown date, Caelius Sabinus in 69, Pegasus

perhaps under Vespasian, Neratius Priscus about 83 A.D., Publius Juventius Celsus under Trajan and again in 129, Salvius Julianus twice under Hadrian, Pactumeius Clemens and Marcus Vindius Verus in 138.

Often then lawful and honourable earnings could not meet the great social outlay, and, as might be expected, senators were constantly in direst need. Some were forced to sell themselves as performers in the public games, especially under Nero. When Vitellius was sent to Germany by Galba as consular legate, he was so hard pressed that he had to pledge a pearl his mother wore in her earring, let his palace for the rest of the year, and leave his wife and children in a common lodging-house: hardly could he bluff his thronging creditors. At Nero's death, Otho owed over 200,000,000. Many possible senators remained knights rather than be liable to such burdensome honours, or had to be forcibly ennobled. One Surdinius Gallus in 47 repaired to Carthage to escape the infliction of the honour; was ordered home by Claudius to sit in 'golden chains'. Other knights who refused Claudius degraded.

And very constantly did senators beseech imperial aid, or their own degradation. Generally, the Emperors willingly afforded relief to their former colleagues, and gladly took thought for the conservation of families of ancient fame: but, whilst their efforts could not wholly supplement, their readiness would vary. Augustus was very generous in this respect, and in 4 A.D. brought the property of eighty senators up to 1,200,000 sesterces: and one senator whose 4,000,000 of debt he had paid off, wrote complaining that he was passed over. Tacitus informs us that Tiberius retained the virtue of generosity to the last, and as his last: yet the superabundance of requests obliged him to grant help only in cases of poverty proved to the satisfaction of the Senate: he thus scared many claimants. Thus to Propertius Celer, who already had been praetor, he gave in 15 A.D. 1,000,000, as he was known to have inherited poverty. Marius Nepos, another senator, requested the payment of his debts: Tiberius made him name his creditors, then paid the amount, but added a severe reprimand. Hortensius Hortalus, a grandson of the orator, was enabled, by Augustus giving him 1,000,000, to found a family and prevent the famous name dying

out. Hortalus, in 16 A.D., accompanied by his four sons, appeared in the Senate and begged for relief of his penury. Tiberius brusquely refused; offensively doled out 200,000 to each son, and would hear no more of them. The family sank and vanished. Spendthrifts he either expelled from the Senate, or he accepted their resignations. One notorious evil-liver, Acilius Buta, who used to turn night into day, after drinking his huge fortune up, announced himself as impoverished: Tiberius told him he had woken up too late in the day. In the beginning of his reign, Nero scattered broadcast gifts of half a million to poverty-stricken families; for example, to Valerius Cotta, his fellow-consul in 59, and to Aurelius Cotta and Haterius Antoninus, though they had consumed their inheritance. Vespasian, too, was very generous, made up the amount of the census and gave needy consulars annual incomes of half a million. Hadrian distributed to senators, when innocently bankrupt, moneys proportionate to their families, sufficient for their state and often for life. Not only his friends, but even men of most evil fame received subsidies for the curule offices: he also aided women, probably only of senatorial rank. Hadrian, as praetor, under Trajan, had received 2,000,000 for the spectacles. Antoninus Pius, following the same practice, lent Gavius Clarus, who, on his scant net inheritance, had undertaken the quaestorship, the aedileship and the praetorship, funds out of the imperial purse to meet the expenses of the praetorship, and was repaid in full. Fronto, a close friend of Clarus, writing to Lucius Verus, says that he, were he better off, would willingly help him to meet his senatorial dues. Customarily senators would assist their impoverished colleagues for the honour of their rank: such had been the royal generosity of Gaius Calpurnius Piso.

The first order of the State seems to have acknowledged a limited obligation of mutual assistance; thus friends and even more distant colleagues would give and take contributions for the games. Julius Graecinus (the father of Agricola), who was executed under Caligula, refused the moneys sent to him with this object by the consulars Fabius Persicus and Caninius Rebilus on account of their evil name, whilst accepting from others: Seneca regards this slight as a kind of censorship. If a notable man's house was burned down, Juvenal says

the whole aristocracy would be in mourning, the praetor would suspend public business, contributions would flow in so richly as to make fires almost profitable speculations : but the poor man, whom a fire deprived of all his goods, got shelter and help from no one.

The custom of many scattered legacies was so general as to be a regular source of revenue for most senators. Pliny the Younger congratulates himself on so often being named together with Tacitus. Unless the testator was a special connexion of one of them, they would be named jointly for equal sums, as probably in the will of Dasumius (109 A.D.). Further gifts between man and wife were exceptionally legalized, if for the purpose of maintenance or gain of rank, and the ease with which senators, and noble senators especially, married money, is illustrated by a tale of Suetonius. His second beautiful and rich wife had forced herself on Galba's father, despite his ungainly dwarfishness. And, as a rule, a purple stripe was a woman's great ambition.

There was one great lure in the senatorship, outweighing the many burdens and the many delicate restrictions, which lent one great sense of their high dignity and consciousness of being the aristocracy of the world : this was their monopoly of the Republican offices. Then even, stripped of all their ancient might and meaning, the glamour of these offices dazzled the eyes of the keenest and the best. In the later Roman world, one most remarkable feature is how this wretched shadow of bygone greatness could for centuries replace the reality that had passed away, could arouse all the old reverence, and resistless fascination. This feeling was ineradicable ; down to the very end of all, surviving Rome herself, the consulate remained man's highest prize. In her tottering nonage, when it had become a mere gaud, Julian called it ' the supreme honour ' ; in the sixth century, when it was a mere senseless name, it ranked as ' the supreme good, the greatest honour in the world '. All the less surprising is it if, in the young Empire, a Tacitus even looked on the consulate as the loftiest ambition, when it was not altogether functionless, and when its tenures by the Emperors were ever making it more splendid. He concludes his summary of Agricola's career thus : ' He had attained a triumph and the consulship ; could Fate vouchsafe him more ? '

And how far the vanity of less gifted minds could persuade itself that these functionaries were all they seemed and portended, is strikingly manifested by the way in which Pliny the Younger speaks of the tribunate, the least and most foolish of them all. He found it incompatible with his year's tenure of this honour to act as advocate. 'It makes all the difference, at what the tribunate is valued, as a mere fiction, a name devoid of real honour, or as an inviolable power, which no one should limit, not even the possessor. When I was tribune—I may have been wrong—but I believed I was somebody, and thus would not act as advocate in the Courts: first, because I deemed it unseemingly that he should stand and all others sit, before whom all must stand and give way; and that he, who can command silence, should be interrupted by the waterclock, and that he, whom none may contradict, should hear insulting speeches; speeches he must be weak and leave unavenged: or strong and seem contumacious.'

The first senatorial office, the quaestorship, was, after Augustus, preceded by a complex of offices, known as the *vigintiviratus*. Further, every aspirant to curule rank had to do officer's services, the lowest age being eighteen: originally, before entering the *vigintiviratus*, sometimes after; which became the general rule. One term of service, for at least a year, was required. After Tiberius they served only as legionary tribunes. All the Emperors, up to and including Gordian, insisted on this preliminary service.

The obligatory succession of Republican offices had been the quaestorship, praetorship and consulate; between the first and second Augustus inserted another, comprising the two aediles and six new ones, and the ten tribunes; hence there were four degrees of senators, consulars, praetorians, tribunicii (among whom aedilicii are included) and quaestorii. Each rung had to be ascended; but the patricians, who could only hold the two curule aedileships, were allowed to pass direct from quaestorship to praetorship. The twenty *vigintiviri* became the twenty quaestors, out of whom the sixteen aediles and tribunes were selected; after passing patricians over, the aediles and tribunes became praetors, of whom there were sixteen to eighteen, eighteen being assigned under Claudius and remaining the normal until Hadrian. These figures prove the double tendency to make every senatorial aspirant

praetor at least once, and to present only sufficient candidates to fill vacancies, or, in other words, make the senatorial selection illusory. In practice, the Emperors used to dispense from the *vigintiviratus* and nominate senators to the ranks of *tribunicii* and praetorians without holding office. The caprice of the Emperor dictated the Senate's freedom of choice.

The consulate, the highest ambition, after Nero at least, was in the gift of the emperor; the consuls were increased in number. After A.D. 2, if not before, the consulate was generally for only six months; the year of office a distinction very rarely granted, save to members of the reigning family, the last instance being A.D. 52. Augustus and Nero generally appointed four consuls a year: Caligula and Claudius at will. In the year 69 there were three Emperors, Galba, Otho and Vitellius, and fifteen consuls. Six months' consulates are heard of no more: four months, two months was the arbitrary duration, two months mostly in the third century: Cleander, the chamberlain of Commodus, in one year nominated fifteen consuls. The Augustan order of honours stood firm for over two hundred years.

Between every tenure there had to be an interval. The lowest age for the quaestorship was, after Augustus, twenty-five, and thirty for the praetorship, for the tribunate twenty-seven, and the consulship thirty-three. There were exceptions, especially the right accorded by Augustus to the Senate, to release one year of the interval for every living child the competitor might have.

The correspondence of the numbers of the three lower grades assured quaestors of success in their further promotions, and besides the dispensation of patricians from the third there would doubtlessly often be an ample supply of qualified candidates, as the Emperors used to confer the rank, irrespective of the office. The censorial prerogative enabled the Emperors to range the senators more and more in these three orders of officials who had not served any of the three offices. The numbers of these were, later on, very great. This *adlectio* or promotion carried with it all political rights and pre-eminences derived from the real magistracies, namely, the right of competing for the higher posts.

Besides this real promotion by the Emperor the Senate could also simply confer the *insignia*. Such grants plainly gave

mere outward form and semblance, neither the right to compete higher, nor a seat in the Senate; only qualifying those who could already vote in the Senate, to vote with the rank whose *insignia* he bore, and, at public festivals, to appear in their company. The holders of the *insignia* had a merely titular dignity: those appointed by the Emperor, or holders of office, had the real privileges. Claudius, in vain, begged Tiberius for the consulate, and only received the consular *insignia*. He sent in a second urgent request, and was told Tiberius would give him fifty gold pieces to spend at the *saturnalia*. When Nero was blamed by his friends for neglecting Octavia, he said she must be content with her *insignia* as consort.

Sejanus was the first knight to receive such a grant (A.D. 19) on his appointment as praefect of the Praetorium. These praefects henceforth regularly received the same consular *insignia* (after Nero), as did the praefects of the Nightwatch, and other influential favourites, who were knights, and also imperial procurators, and, under Claudius, even imperial freedmen. Such decorations were also conferred on independent princes, as, for example, Agrippa, King of the Jews, under Caligula, received praetorian, and, under Claudius, consular *insignia*, and his brother Herod (under Claudius) the praetorian. As with modern decorations, the higher grants tended to supplant the lower.

The three lower offices were also filled by the Emperors, though originally in part only: they would advise the Senate what appointments would be legally valid; the rest were the nominees of the Senate. After Nero, the Emperors appointed all of the consuls, and the shortening of the tenure enabled them to spread rewards for merit or servility more broadly, and assure the submissiveness of more senators: and a new distinction of rank grew up, as the consulate for the first two months was more of an honour than for later periods of the year. The increase in number of the annual consuls rendered the censorial appointment of titular consulars superfluous, a practice which came in in the third century, first under Opellius Macrinus, and often after Diocletian. But beyond a second or third grant of the consulship imperial favour could not go, nor could ambition hanker higher; such a distinction was rare; Hadrian and his two predecessors were

lavish with it, even to non-members of the imperial house. The last subject to have a third consulate was Hadrian's brother-in-law, Julius Ursus Servianus (134 A.D.). Trajan used to confer this triple honour, not only for military service, as before, but also for civil. Pliny says that Verginius Rufus attained the utmost honour, short of the Empire, having been consul three times (the first two being in 63 and 69). A second term of office, a more frequent bestowal after the Flavian epoch, and especially under Hadrian, Caracalla and Alexander Severus, was also a great distinction.

The magistracies, now practically bared of their ancient significance, now assumed a new garb and a new value; they betokened a higher rank, and, as evidence of imperial favour and satisfaction, were eagerly sought after. Formerly (that is, under Domitian), Pliny the Younger remarks in his speech returning thanks to Trajan for the consulate, the zeal of even the best would be chilled by a certainty of the Emperor's ignorance or neglect of their doings (especially in the provinces); now, the prospect of promotion and fame could spur on every one to keener emulation with a more individual scope of action. At last, honourable desert in a lower office would be the best recommendation to a higher. In 103 or 104 Pliny requested of Trajan a vacant Augurate, as a proof of his good opinion of him: it was granted, and in reply to a letter of congratulation, he says that to be able to secure the honour on so slight pressure is really a good sign. Servility saw in promotions by imperial favour an irrefragable evidence of personal worth. A knight, who, after the fall of Sejanus, was indicted because of his friendship with him, defends himself before the Senate, saying: 'Not for us is it to doubt of whom thou raisest and why: to thee the Gods have given the supreme judgment; to us the virtue of obedience. We only see the result, who receives from thee honour or wealth, the power to hurt, the might to help. Unallowable is it to pry into the Prince's secret thoughts, perilous and vain'. Every higher step set the aspirant above some of his fellows, and nearer the throne. Thus the offices of Republican name had got the reality of monarchical dignities.

It may be seen at first sight, how this artificial scheme of titles, dignities and decorations, with its careful and obvious

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gradations, answered the purpose of guiding the ambition of subjects in a direction profitable to the monarch. The success of it is shown by the importance attributed to all of the honours, and to the titular ranks as well as the active. The *insignia* by themselves would be conferred only exceptionally, at festivities and Court ceremonies. Alexander Severus contemplated—but never carried his intention out—designing robes for all imperial and curule honours.

Thus the curule offices were the goal of restless desire and unquiet effort; one rung once climbed only showed the next, and roused the longing for it. Ambition, says Seneca, ever makes unsatisfying what had been the keenest wish. For the tribunate no one is grateful; every tribune hankers after the praetorship and then the consulate, and then the consulate again. The greatest exertions were made for the consulate. Many, says Seneca elsewhere, live all the years of their life to have one year named after them. To add one name to the list of consuls, and then to rule Numidia and Cappadocia, says Martial, a senator will in the early morning visit sixty houses. To become consul, says Epictetus, you must cut off your sleep, run about everywhere, kiss hands, wait about at strange doors, do and say what no free man would, give presents daily even.

The acquisition of every office involved similar pains, visits by the candidate and his supporters and recommendations. When Sextus Erucius Clarus the Younger was fighting for the tribunate, Pliny the Younger was in great commotion, as his own reputation was in some danger. He had won of the Emperor Clarus' senatorship, quaestorship and the right of competing for the tribunate, and, if Clarus failed, he would seem to have deceived the Emperor. Hence from house to house did he go, and from office to office, beseeching his friends, endeavouring all he could through favour or rank to enlist support. When Julius Naso became a candidate, Pliny begged his friend Minucius Fundanus (consul in 108) to hasten to Rome and work with him to this end. It seemed to him to be his election over again, and a rejection of Naso would be his own. Acknowledging a letter of recommendation from Tacitus (who was out of town), he says that a recommendation of Naso was the same as one of himself; would he write further letters? To exhaust every legal

means was a candidate's glory. When the young Julius Avitus was named aedile and died before taking office, Pliny praises him for his indefatigable electioneering. But the honour of office would often conduce to humiliating intrigues and servility. Columella, a knight in Nero's day, preferred the modest lot of a country gentleman to the loftiest official eminence, if gained by the tortuous roads of cringing and shamelessness and waste. Ambition, says Seneca, through unworthy ways leads to worship. Promotion was but too often the guerdon of the informer; its price the blood of innocents and the fall of families. In the year 27 a plot was made by three ex-praetors to ruin Titius Sabinus the knight; they were striving for the consulate, 'the keys of which were held in Sejanus' favour, and that could be won only by crime'. Bribery was rampant at Court and in the Senate. Messalina and Claudius' freedmen formally trafficked in offices. Fabricius Veiento was accused in 62 of selling his claim on Nero for promotion or similar grants. But even a Vespasian did not stickle at selling offices and dignities. In 107, a *senatus consultum* announced that candidates should not 'treat', give dinners, banquets, nor money to election agents, a practice hitherto clandestine; treating had been public: and Trajan, at the instance of the Senate, legally limited the allowable expenses.

The election itself down to the end of the first century was delivered orally in the Senate; after Trajan, secretly, and was deemed an important and earnest act. 'At the last election', Pliny the Younger writes, 'on some voting-tablets all manner of jokes and even obscenities were found; the Senate was shocked and consigned the malefactors to the imperial displeasure. What would a man do at home, who could play such pranks on so serious an occasion and time?' The fortunate were as proud as the disappointed were envious. In the year 16 a proposition was made to elect magistrates for five years, and rejected by Tiberius: with the one year's term, the defeated were hardly consolable, and the victors flushed with triumph; a five years' term would make both evils unendurable! Seneca often speaks of the impossibility of sating every desire: 'no one', he says, 'rejoices as much to see many behind him, as he is oppressed with the sight of one in advance. Ambition errs in never

looking backwards'. For 'new men' the day of curule-honour attained was epoch-making. The favoured of fortune would be embraced by his friends, his hands kissed by his slaves, his house illuminated; he ascended the Capitol to offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving, and this, too, was done in his home. Any one who attained a higher rank ennobled his whole family and left his heirs the prospect of newer and greater honours, and a right to them. Tacitus says of Lucius Volusius Saturninus, that, though of ancient lineage, his family was only praetorian; he made it consular. 'If the son of a consular, who has received the triumphal *insignia*, be made thrice consul', says Pliny the Younger, 'it is no elevation, only his family right'. Vitellius was induced to aim at the Empire by the legate Fabius Valens, who pointed out that his father had been thrice consul and censor and colleague of an Emperor; such a lineage laid on him the sovereign's dignity, and robbed him of a subject's security.

There exist other evidences of the reputed importance of these official ranks. Pliny recommends Minucius Fundanus to select as his quaestor during his consulship young Asinius Bassus, with a praetorian father and several consular kin. Calvia Crispinilla, a woman of doubtful fame, according to Tacitus, married a consular, and gained the city's esteem. Quintilian lost his ten-year-old son, a boy of great promise, whose adoption by a consular had paved his way to the honours; he had been destined to marry the daughter of his maternal uncle, a praetor. Writers, whether senators, like Pliny the Younger, Seneca and Tacitus, or not, carefully point out the rank of their friends. On monuments of senators painful accuracy is shown in inscribing their offices in sequence of tenure, even when quite irrelevant. Thus in an inscription set up at Comum after the death of Pliny the Younger, besides a catalogue of his endowments and legacies to his native city, all his offices, from the highest to the lowest, are set down, and the pedestal of a bronze statuette he put up in the local temple of Jupiter was to contain his full titles 'should his friend and agent think good so to do'. In Greek inscriptions, relationship with senators and consulars is expressly set out.

In Republican days, senators had the privileges of wearing a broad purple stripe on the tunic, and the senatorial shoe laced

halfway up to the knee, of having the front seats at spectacles : imperial legislation and tradition at various times conferred, in addition, some other rights. Thus an edict of Augustus of 36 B.C. gave senatorial officers the right of wearing a purple garment as organizers of spectacles. The covered sedan-chair, first used by Claudius, was, in the third century, a consular privilege. About the same time, carriages came into use at Rome ; up to then they had been forbidden ; and Alexander Severus gave senators the privilege of having silvered coaches. In the course of the second century the usual courtesy title of a senator, *clarissimus*, was used to designate men, women, boys and girls, all members of this aristocracy, in a shortened form after the proper name.

In virtue of his censorial powers, the Emperor could degrade senators. Reason might be condemnation, evil fame, loss of property, as well as more specific and occasional motives. Tiberius in 25 erased Apidius Gallus Merula from the roll, for not complying to the Augustan regulations, and, in 32, Junius Gallio, for proposing that the Praetorian Guards should after dismissal have the knights' seats assigned to them ; it was mere servility, but Tiberius imagined it an effort to win the army over. In 53 the Senate expelled a member, incited by Agrippina to bring a false accusation against a distinguished man, who committed suicide. More often resignation would be voluntary. In 52 Claudius in a speech praised those whom poverty drove into willing resignation, and expelled some whose lingering added the vice of impudence to the crime of penury.

Generally expulsion was regarded as a severe blow : seldom borne with the equanimity of Umbonius Silio. He in the year 44 was recalled from the governorship of Baetica (South Spain) by Claudius and degraded from the Senate, on the pretext of having neglected the army in Mauretania, in fact, because of the animosity of some freedmen. Umbonius forthwith had all his possessions collected and exhibited, as though for sale ; he actually would only sell his senatorial robes, thus showing he had lost nothing of any consequence. Further members expelled could recover their rank under a new Emperor : Galba in 70 reinstated three who had been degraded by Claudius and Nero for extortion, and Marcus Antonius Primus thus punished by Nero for forgery.

III. THE KNIGHTS

Every senator was purely Roman ; his creation implied his release from all liability to his native town. Foreign senators, too, were to regard Italy as their home ; not as a mere sojourning : hence the regulations of Marcus Aurelius and Trajan as to investing one third or fourth of their property in Italian land. On the other hand, the knighthood was cosmopolitan, at any rate after Caligula, though many settled in Rome as members of the jury ; that monarch, to stay the diminution in numbers of that rank, included in it every eminent man in every province, an example followed by Vespasian. In the provinces, as in the *municipia*, the knights were the aristocracy, and their esteem may be understood from many inscriptions, e.g. that of one Manlia Secundilla in a city of Mauretania, whose brothers and *avunculi* were Roman knights : it was set up by her husband Quintus Herennius Rufus, who was also a knight. Provincials and municipals whose sons were thus dignified, would be as proud as knights who could boast of having fathered senators. Censorinus says in his dedication to Quintus Caerellius (238 A.D.), that his knighthood had raised him above mere provincials.

Of military origin, the knighthood became a wholly civic rank. In the later Republic even a knighthood signified little more than the qualification for service in the cavalry, and was practically hereditary. In 67 B.C. the Lex Roscia legalized the customary census at 400,000 sesterces, at which it remained in the Empire. Innocent or not, any falling below this sum forfeited the rank, together with its privileges of the gold ring, the purple stripe on the tunic, and the seats at the theatre. The father of Herennius Rufinus became bankrupt at Oea (possibly a relative of Quintus, or the same man) : ' he lays aside the gold ring and the symbols of his rank, and makes a composition with his creditors '. The grandparents of Statius the poet (at Naples) could not muster up the necessary sum, and his father, as a child, had to give up the purple and the golden *capsula*, which children of knights and senators wore as necklaces. ' You have for so long ', says Martial to one Macer, ' given rings to girls, that you have none left for yourself '. Spendthrifts lose their ring, and Pollio must beg with bare fingers.

In the Empire, too, knighthood was not hereditary: the censors, and ever more and more the Emperor, used regularly to grant the equestrian horse, though seldom to boys, save after the second century. The number of life-long grants was limitless. Even under Augustus at the annual parade of the knights (a custom maintained into the fourth century) on July 15, at which all entitled would not attend, five thousand took part in the ceremony.

The equestrian horse was generally bestowed only on families with an ancient title; but men of no birth could also have it, as Tiberius' stringent exclusion of freedmen's sons (23 A.D.) was soon relaxed: it is not strange then that sons of pandars, gladiators, fencing-masters (who might be free-born) in Trajan's day sat among the knights. But even freedmen, subject to a fictitious adoption, might receive from the Emperor the golden ring and the full rank. The first Emperors were sparing of these grants, according them only to those freedmen of theirs most deserving or most in favour. Of these enough has been said. Thus Augustus honoured Titus Vinius Philopoemen, who had sheltered his proscribed patron, and Menas, the deserter from Sextus Pompeius, and his physician Antonius Musa. Soon after Philippi, Horace's anger was stirred at seeing one of these freedmen strutting about on the *Via Sacra* with a *toga* six yards long, and driving on the *Via Appia* with ponies, sitting on the knights' benches in the theatre, and being a legionary tribune. More lavish were such grants under the Flavian emperors: Pliny says that, under Vespasian, men who were yesterday slaves, to-day might have leapt into the second rank; a thing unprecedented: the sign, whereby knights were distinguished from the free-born, now confused them with the unfree. Later on, before the beginning of the third century, perhaps soon after Commodus, the golden ring did not, except under special imperial license, carry with it full rights of knighthood, nor full *ingenuitas*. The standard of honour exacted varied. One claimant, presumably rebuffed in consequence of an action for calumny, on a second application, was told by Hadrian that those who desire the ring must be above suspicion.

Although a seat in the Senate was incompatible with the equestrian horse, the senatorial career regularly set out with

the knightly services and offices, both for senators' sons, and for young men adopted into senatorial families. Both classes of future senators wore the distinguishing senatorial mark, the broad purple stripe, and were a special division of the knighthood, provisionally included.

The knighthood had ceased long ago to serve in the army, but were still organized in *turmae*, and, as such, turned out on solemn occasions, such as funerals and the annual parade on July 15. The *seviri equitum Romanorum*, the six leaders of these squadrons, were appointed by the Emperor, mainly out of the senatorial knights, and the princes, who wore the *toga virilis*, but did not as yet sit in the Senate, led them as the *principes iuventutis*. To this limited extent the knights were an organized corporation, but the essential unity of the Senate they never had, nor was it ever ascribed to them.

Gaius Gracchus (122 B.C.) had conferred on the knights the exclusive right of being *iudices*: thus they were the only jury down to the end of the Republic (except from 80-70), and in matters civil and criminal under the Empire: from their ranks the lists were drawn. Augustus released the senators from the obligatory service on juries, enacted by the *Lex Aurelia* (70 B.C.) and by Caesar (46 B.C.), and assigned to the knights the first three *decuriae* of jurors (about one thousand in each). Augustus added a fourth, and Caligula a fifth, consisting of specially competent men, possessing half of the knightly census. The lowest age limit was fixed at thirty; by Augustus at twenty-five. Under Augustus only Italians were admissible, later on, Latin-speaking provincials (numerous instances are found in inscriptions for Africa, Spain and Gaul, very few for the Danubian countries and still fewer for the East): and, further, only citizens by birthright. Such were the jurors for the first two hundred years.

The legal qualification for service as commissioned officers was the proof of the conference of knighthood by the Emperor. In the cavalry service (*militia equestris*) there were, at least, three regular ranks: the praefecture of an auxiliary division, the tribunate in a legion or cohort (both ranking equally), and the praefecture of an auxiliary cohort. Under this head there also comes the stationary command (*praefectura castrorum*), and perhaps many other ordinary and extraordinary officers' posts. There were no age-limits, and military service was

less tied up than the civil. Further, soldiers who attained the highest centurionate of the legion, were often given the equestrian horse, and the entry of veterans into the officers' ranks was favoured in the Early Empire ; later, when government relied more and more on the populace, these veteran promotions fell into a class apart.

Augustus had made service as officers compulsory on the knights. After Claudius' reign, and certainly after 100 A.D., they were obliged to hold three officers' posts ; after Severus, four. The duration of the several services is uncertain ; they might remain several years in one. To be appointed to the six months' post of tribune or praefect (which was equivalent to a year's service) was an envied promotion. Senatorial knights, on entering the Senate at the age of twenty-five, lost the right of being officers, and only had to serve once. The Augustan order of seniority remained in force until about 250 A.D.

For a long time, service in the army was an essential preliminary for the equestrian civil service. Augustus entrusted to the knights all offices personal to the monarch, such as the finance, and departments of home and war administration, less noble and more responsible, besides the new provinces, auxiliaries and fleets. As procurators (superintendents of finance and administration), knights were used in Rome and in the provinces, and, even in the senatorial provinces, as receivers of all revenues ; in the imperial provinces, as principals of the fisc ; and, after Claudius, as independent administrators or officials with supreme criminal jurisdiction. The other procurators had jurisdiction only in finance, and this much only after Claudius. From such posts knights in the course of the second century gained access to the administration of the imperial household, formerly held by freedmen, namely the Secretariate, the Department of Grievances and Petitions, and the Treasury. The highest posts were the praefectures of Corn and the Police and Fire-brigade of Rome, the governorship of Egypt, and the command of the Praetorian Guards, which was divided between two praefects during the first two centuries : there were also the praefectures of the imperial fleets at Misenum and Ravenna and the imperial post. Soon after Tiberius' reign, the praefects of the Guard ranked first after the monarch himself, as the commanders

of his personal¹ life-guards, and often enough the makers and unmakers of their masters ; besides, they more and more represented the Emperor in criminal and civil jurisdiction. Thus this praefecture became a vice-Empire, and was viewed as the second greatest earthly power by the writers of the third century.

These high positions naturally only fell to the lot of the few, and to attain a procuratorship was no small honour. which raised the holder's family into the equestrian nobility. The career was very profitable, and the high salaries determined the ranks of this hierarchy. Fronto recommends the Greek historian Appian, who was then engaged in legal work at Rome, to Antoninus Pius for nomination into civil service : Appian, he says, desired the post, not out of ambition or desire of a high procuratorship, but to invest his old age with a position of honour. The legionary tribunate could be held at eighteen, and was generally entered on by young knights at or about this age : the salary was 25,000 sesterces (£270). One of Hadrian's reforms of army discipline was the forbidding of beardless tribunes. Salaries of procurators were proportioned to their rank and importance. The largest was 300,000, the income of the chief of the Finance Department, the chiefs of the Secretariate and the Petitions receiving only 200,000, as also the director of inheritances that fell in to the Emperor. The principal provincial procurators received 200,000 ; the others 100,000 or even 30,000. 100,000 was also the salary of the directors of the Privy Purse, the Mint, Roman waterways, the great school of gladiators, public buildings, the Food Commission, and the postmaster-general. Assistants, sub-procurators, and sub-praefects received 60,000, and also the clerks of the State Council, the under directors of the Imperial Literary Department, provincial postmasters-general, the procurator of corn at Ostia, and (in the second century) the professional director of all the imperial libraries. The salaries of praefects must have been gradated similarly to those of the procurators.

An equestrian career was as varied as the senatorial. A tablet dedicated to Lucius Valerius Proculus at Malaga (perhaps his native city) describes his career ; somewhere he was praefect of the cohorts and legionary tribune, then praefect of the flotilla of coastguards at the mouths of the

Nile, then procurator of the province of the maritime Alps (from Genoa to the Varus), and, at the same time, charged with the log of the legionary reserves, and then, in succession, procurator of Baetica, Cappadocia, Asia, and the three Gauls; and, after serving at Rome as head of the Finance Department and praefect of Corn (under Antoninus Pius), praefect of Egypt. Seneca's friend Lucilius, was, at the time of Seneca's correspondence with him, procurator of Sicily: he had been in service in the Graian and Pennine Alps, in Dalmatia and North Africa. The career of Pliny the Elder is incompletely known: he was born in 23 at Comum, in 45 led a division of cavalry in Germany; then, perhaps, became procurator in Spain; in 52 was in Rome amongst Vespasian's Friends; then held several procuratorships, one perhaps in Africa; in 79 died during the eruption of Vesuvius as commander of the fleet stationed at Misenum. His long career as advocate and his literary occupations must have precluded him from higher posts at the age of fifty-six, despite his Emperor's friendship. These officials might be very enthusiastic: one Gaius Turranius, who was dismissed by Caligula from his procuratorship at the age of ninety, lay prone on his bed, and bade his servants raise a *conclamatio* as though for a dead man. He was not satisfied, until put back into his old harness. As a contrast to such indefatigability, Sulpicius Similis may serve; he, under Hadrian, requested dismissal from his unwilling praefecture of the Praetorium, and lived his seven remaining years in country retirement; and inscribed the years of his life as seven.

The *centuriones primipilares*, as has been said, could get an officer's commission, and enter on the official career; but there were none immediately admitted before Marcus Aurelius, and, after him, instances are rare.

'On the one hand, during the second century, more and more stress was laid on military service, and, in the third, the civil service was an epilogue to a long military career, and the administration treated as a provision for officers past service; on the other hand, a purely civil service grew up, leading to the same posts of procurators and praefects.' Hadrian's thorough reforms increased the numbers in the various branches of the service; freedmen were now, on principle, excluded from subordinate posts: hence the larger

demand necessitated a less vigorous qualification, as the officers who had served their time would be too few. Hadrian created a civil service, independent of the military, and with it an officialdom conversant with the facts and the rote of business. The apprentice stages were various : subordinate posts in the Food Commission, the Highways, the Inheritance-duty, the Imperial Fencing-schools, the levying of recruits, Roman public libraries and the Literary Office. A legal training was a great recommendation to promotion, considering the expanding jurisdiction of procurators and praefects. Hadrian organized his Council (*consilium principis*) principally out of professional jurists, especially of knights, for legal purposes of all sorts, and the praefecture of the Praetorium was totally changed, for 'jurisprudence took a foremost place, no longer the counterpart and complement of military service, but its full equivalent'. Even before the third century, knowledge of law had been the principal requisite for the praefecture of the Praetorium ; its holders had been the great jurists Paulus, Ulpian and Papinian, and Herennius Modestinus had been praefect of Police. Volusius Maecianus, the counsellor of Antoninus Pius, and the Friend of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, was probably praefect of Egypt, or judge in Alexandria ; Tarrutenius Paternus, under Commodus, had been praefect of the Praetorium. Equestrian jurists commenced their official career as paid assessors to provincial governors, pleaders to Praetorian praefects, assistants in the Council of State, lower officials, or in the Attorney General's Office (*advocatus fisci*), established by Hadrian, to aid the procurators in contentious cases relating to the fisc. Septimius Severus came of a knightly family at Leptis in Africa, was entrusted with this office by Marcus Aurelius, and soon made a senator ; his successor as *advocatus fisci* was Papinian, who was in the same reign promoted to be head of the Department of Petitions and Grievances, and afterwards praefect of the Praetorium ; he made Paulus and Ulpian his assessors. Opellius Macrinus, after his knighthood, also became *advocatus fisci*, and apparently ascended the official ladder in the usual way up to the praefecture of the Praetorium ; previously he had been procurator of the Privy Purse. Probably in the second century, amongst jurists of equestrian rank, members of the imperial council could be

chosen from amongst former distinguished Attorneys General, and then further promoted. A fragmentary inscription informs [us that a jurist of the third century first became imperial councillor at a salary of 60,000, then held a priesthood; and, after that, received 100,000 sesterces; he was afterwards appointed Commissioner of Food for the Via Flaminia (from Rome to Rimini), postmaster-general, and, at the last, imperial councillor at a salary of 200,000. Law might pave the knights' way to the Senate; e.g. Lucius Fulvius Aburnius Valens: this must have been frequent in the second century.

An edict of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus divided equestrian officials into three classes: the first was the praefecture of the Praetorium, its holder being styled *vir eminentissimus*; the second, all other praefects (including the heads of the Finance and Petitions Departments) with the title *vir perfectissimus*; thirdly, all *procurators*, called *viri egregii*. Beneath them were the knights not in the service, the more eminent of whom were styled *splendidi* or *illustres*. *Viri eminentissimi* and *perfectissimi* down to the third generation were privileged in criminal procedure, in action and in penalty. These titles, unlike the *clarissimate*, seldom, if ever, were hereditary.

Knights often held the principal subordinate post, influential and well-paid, of *scriba* or book-keeper to the aediles and quaestors. Horace, who had been legionary tribune, bought himself such a position, as did Sarmentus, who, under Augustus, played a knight's rôle. Non-equestrian officials of this class were often made knights.

By the Augustan regulations the priesthoods of the *Curiones* and *Luperci* were tenable by both knights and senators: knights had exclusive right to the lesser *Flaminatus*, the *pontificatus* and *tubicinatus* and all Latin priesthoods, of which the *Caeninense* was the most important and the *Laurentinum* the least; this last knights of no standing, and (after Commodus) even freedmen might often hold. These priesthoods were esteemed as imperial favours, and valuable as conferring certain immunities.

Knights entitled to be senators often preferred to remain in their own order, so as to enjoy either the leisure of an unofficial life, the large profits of business, or the reality of

power in office or at Court, rather than have the tinsel glory and burdensome pomp of the senatorial dignities. Thus Quintus Sextius Niger declined the broad purple stripe offered to him by Julius Caesar, to live the philosophic life. The rejection of senatorial rank and precedence was a sore point with these haughty aristocrats. Tacitus the senator characteristically reflects on Lucius Annaeus Mela, the brother of Seneca the philosopher and father of Lucan, that his perverse ambition withheld him from competing for the Curia, so as to have equal influence, as a knight, with consulars; also, to make his imperial office a shorter cut to a fortune. Cornelius Fuscus, in early youth, had abandoned his senatorial rank 'for pelf'. On the other hand, Pliny the Younger praises some knights, unambitious, money-loving, or perhaps merely idle. Minucius Macrinus was raised by Vespasian to the rank of praetorian senator against his will; he preferred the leisure of the knight to the troublesome dignity of senator. Maturius Arrianus and Terentius Junior were of the same opinion. How knights were ennobled (the first instance being 19 A.D.) has been described.

Apart from these gradations, knights differed much in social position, income and family. All self-made men, risen through favour or military merit, were looked down upon by those who had, if not long knightly lineage, at least an inherited rank. 'Roman knight and son of a Roman knight', so runs an inscription at Misenum on Lucius Aemilius Pertinax Acceianus. Ovid gloried in his ancestral dignity; his knighthood was no mere personal desert of war or fortune; Persius pronounces it no reason for boastfulness in being able to strut past the censor at the Parade in the *Trabea* (the knight's robe) and being the thousandth scion of an Etruscan family.

The difficulties and indignities of knights too poor for their station, or too idle or incompetent for work, are dealt with in Martial's poems: he owed his elevation to his tribunate. He was always being referred to the favour of rich patricians, and never stickled at begging from them or the Emperor: his wishes were modest, he requested a good cloak and a fine *toga*: this last he received from Parthenius, the imperial chamberlain, and he sang his gratitude in two poems, to celebrate its newness, and mourn its shabbiness. To earn

his daily bread, year in, year out, he condescended to the lowest cringings of a client. His Muse was suborned to every man ; one of his most belauded friends, Pudens the centurion, never even attained his aim of knighthood ; Martial also wrote epitaphs for other centurions. The 400,000 sesterces scarcely supported life. Juvenal says they were a living wage and no more ; but, if double or treble the sum did not suffice, then the wealth of a Croesus or Narcissus would not. Some Roman knights had to live on bran-bread and sour wine ; and the many, who under the Julian Emperors disgraced their order by public acting and combats, can scarcely have so done, save under hardest pressure of need ; amongst those knights who appeared in Nero's spectacles, only a few were reputable and rich.

But there was also great wealth, in the provinces, the *municipia* and in Rome ; thus Persius the poet, of a Roman equestrian family at Volaterrae, left 2,000,000 ; Columella, probably a knight, of Cadiz, possessed land at Caere, Ardea, Carseoli and Alba. Vedius Pollio, the friend of Augustus, and owner of the great estate of Pausilypum (Πανσυλπιον), now Posilippo, was descended of freedmen ; his vast palace at Rome, 'larger than many cities', was, after his death, demolished to construct the Colonnade of Livia. Generally, the Emperor's equestrian friends were very wealthy. The bankers also belonged to this class—Augustus once as censor admonished them for borrowing at low rates and lending at high—also merchants (mostly engaged in sea-trade and shipping), manufacturers, tax-farmers, purveyors, directors and partners in companies and mercantile enterprises (e.g. the providing horses for the Circus). Seneca speaks of a 'splendid' knight, Cornelius Senecio, whose ability in business had enriched him, and whose death cut his career short : his money was invested on land and sea ; he found no industry amiss, and also farmed taxes. But investment was mostly in land. According to Quintilian, most of the jurors were landowners. The advocate must not seek terseness at the cost of intelligibility, or they would not follow his arguments.

Men unqualified often posed as knights. At the Court of Augustus one Sarmentus, an Etruscan, a freedman or a slave (according to Horace, of a lady, according to others of Marcus Favonius, who died at Philippi), gained so much favour with

his wit that he could appear as a knight. Once, when sitting at the games in the equestrian benches, the populace sang jeering songs at him. A trial for unlawful assumption of the title ended, thanks to his supporters, in an acquittal. In 23 A.D. Gaius Sulpicius Galba, as aedile, complained in the Senate that even publicans wore the golden ring; this was forthwith forbidden and the prohibition sharpened next year by the *Lex Visellia*. During the censorship of Claudius (47 A.D.) the knight Titus Flavius Proculus prosecuted no less than four hundred persons, freedmen having their property confiscated as well. Under Nero few freedmen dared so presume: Trimalchio, in Petronius, wears a ring half-gilded on one side, and on the gold set with iron stars. Martial never mentions such proceedings: but often speaks of Domitian's Edict (circa 89), prohibiting unqualified use of the equestrian benches, a practice condoned up to then. But richly dressed men, loudly commending these ordinances, would still intrude in these seats; they were recognized, and removed, and 'knights could at last sit at ease, and in their proper dignity, free from the pressure of the vulgar'. Martial and Juvenal use the expression *vernae equites* for such false pretenders, and they must have been a standing feature of Rome. Martial wrote an epigram on a barber who was decked by his mistress with a knight's feather, was accused, condemned and fled to Sicily.

IV. THE THIRD ESTATE

§ 1. RICHES AND POVERTY

Rome was mainly peopled by the 'third estate'; in this class the proletariat formed the majority; it lived on the '*panem et circenses*', the generous distribution of which was ever inflating its numbers. The great distributing of corn gave only the majority of the male freemen the barest livelihood, and thus in the over-big over-rich city, there was also poverty and need. The poor man, says Martial, may well be a Stoic, and despise his life; it was no merit of his. Their dark rooms, two hundred steps up, were not as high as a man's stature. Their hearth was cold, a jug with a broken handle, a mat, a heap of straw, an empty bedstead, was their furniture; a short *toga* by day and night their only

protection against the cold ; vinegar-wine and black bread their food. Bread, beans and turnips (the workman's lunch), lentils, onions, garlic, peas (one *as* bought a good meal), and fish, were their diet ; leeks and a boiled sheep's head, or a smoked pig's head, was luxury. On July 1, the usual day for moving, many poor families might be seen, driven out by the estate-agent, after he had taken all their best property in distraint ; with what was left they were sent into the street, 'a first of July disgrace', says Martial. A pale-faced man, exhausted with frost and hunger, the 'Irus of his day', and three women more like *megaeras*, dragging a bedstead one leg short, and a table two legs short, and other rubbish, a horn lamp and lantern, broken crockery, a rusted coalbox, a pot stinking of fish, an old wreath of black fleabane (esteemed a cure and hung up in bedrooms), a piece of Toulouse cheese, string to support the absent leek and garlic, a pot filled with a cheap depilatory. Why should they seek a dwelling ? the poet asked ; they could live free on the bridge. Bridges, steps, thresholds, inclines, were, as in modern Rome, the beggars' resorts : there, and in the *fora*, their picture of woe, their rags, and their maims and wounds (blind men led by a dog), sought to awaken pity : their hoarse voices intoned petitions for alms. Their refuge in the cold rain of December might be an open archway ; their dog their sole friend, and their food dog's bread (bran-bread) ; their wealth a staff, a blanket or a mat, and a knapsack ; their salvation solitary death.

Not all the poor were so poor. Some might be well off, by some vicissitude, such as raised slaves. Clesippus, a hunchbacked ugly slave, who had learnt fulling, was bought by Gegania at auction as part of a lot with a Corinthian candelabrum ; he became his mistress' lover, and her heir. When a rich man, he worshipped, as his god, his saviour candelabrum. Such careers were not rare under the Emperors. Licinius Sura, the friend of Trajan, had a love-boy Philostorgos, whose wealth irritated a friend of Epictetus ; the philosopher rejoined that Fate was not to blame, but he would not purchase wealth at that price. Juvenal had to see his former barber become owner of many country-houses, and be as rich as a lord ; and Martial look on at a freedman shoemaker, who used to pull up old skins with his teeth, living in luxury on his former patron's Praenestine estates. Former horn-players

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in gladiatorial touring companies often themselves came to give gladiatorial games, as also did, under Domitian, a shoemaker at Bologna, and a fuller at Modena. (Modena was a centre for fulling and wool-making). Such pieces of luck were few: but often did dirty dealers or auctioneers make more than advocates. 24,000 sesterces seems to have sufficed for a modest livelihood for one. Juvenal's Naevolus wishes for 20,000, and a little silver, not finely wrought, but not too simple, two strong Moesian slaves, to clear his way to the Circus, and two skilful artisans, to earn him something. This poverty would be bearable.

§ 2. INDUSTRY: CRAFTS AND TRADE

There was no unemployment at Rome for the willing worker, however poor. There was no export trade, and little manufacture, except perhaps of some military articles: a union of such catapult-makers is known of. The imports were enormous, and Rome was the principal exchange of the world. Transporters of wares on the river, which Pliny calls 'gentlest bearer of the world's traffic', stevedores, warehouses and their staff, the many middlemen, employed thousands as sailors, divers, weighers, clerks, agents, commissioners and porters; and in the exchange, besides the great bankers, there were many little money-lenders. The usurer flourished in Rome. Ambrosius' description may well literally be antedated: in him, usurers systematically fleeced rich young men; either by loans, or by inducing them to purchase valueless goods: they would lend on old family estates, and dun hard, if necessary, exacting newer and severer terms.

The underlings in trades and crafts were mostly slaves and freedmen working for their master, possibly on commission. The rich supplied many of their own needs through their slaves. A Yorkshire inscription in a tavern runs: 'Hail, oh god of this place; slave (*servule*), be zealous at your goldsmith's work in this inn'. But the need of providing the huge population with the necessary living wage, and the various and exigent luxuries of the rich, kept many independent handicraftsmen and dealers at work. But most of these even must have been freedmen, as the slaves would live

for themselves on what they had learnt for their masters, and as the poor free contemned such employment.

Scanty as the sources are, the crafts and trades of Rome may be reconstructed. The gazetteers of the early fourth century mention 254 bakeries (fifteen to twenty per *regio*, and twenty-four in one) and 2,300 oil-shops. Foodstuffs gave employment to thousands: and there were special markets for cattle, pigs, corn, vegetables, fish and delicacies; clothing-trades, dwellings, furniture were also amply catered for.

The complex division of labour incident to highly developed industrialism entailed a large populace engaged in the trades and the crafts. Many such workers of single articles formed guilds. From the ancient guild of the shoemakers, dating back to Numa, there had seceded the bootmakers' guild, which Alexander Severus reorganized. Sandal-makers there also were sufficient to name a street, slipper-makers, ladies shoemakers and other specialists in this craft, all similarly organized. Trajan reorganized the bakers' union, and, besides this, many special pastries had their proper guild. The copper-smelters were specialized into potters, makers of candelabra, lanterns, weights, helmets and shields: the ironmakers into fabricants of locks, knives, axes and hatchets, scythes and swords. Under Augustus a guild of ladder and stepmakers (*scularii*) had been formed. The restoration of works of art in metal busied modellers, founders, polishers, gilders, sculptors, chisellers and machine-workers; jewelry workers in pearls and diamonds; besides the guilds of gold and silversmiths, there were ringmakers', goldbeaters' and gilders' unions. St. Augustine compares the lesser gods, with their very limited power, to the craftsmen in the Streets of the Silversmiths, where every completed work has passed through many hands, where the mastery of the whole is hard to learn, and the special part easy. As in the nineteenth century, colonies of similar workers congregated at Rome and elsewhere in Italy in special districts.

The division of labour was most complex in art: the enormous demand for the unique products resulted in a large manufacture of them. The mural decorations of Pompeii, as also at Rome and elsewhere, point to decorators' guilds, in which painters of houses, of arabesques, flowers,

animals and scenery worked together. In the sculptors' yards of Rome (mostly in the ninth *regio*, between the *Porticus Europae*, the *Circus Agonalis* and the *Via Recta* ; also perhaps near the marble-wharves) statues were often transformed, even new heads put on : in the Pandects it is observed that a legacy of a statue held good, though an arm had been substituted before the testator's death. Tombstones were a special branch of work : in Petronius Habinnas is a stone-worker, of whom Trimalchio orders his monuments. In the Pandects a partnership for restoring gravestones is mentioned, one member giving the capital, and the other his ability. Some workers specialized on *genii*, their yards stood behind the Temple of Castor ; and others in eyes of some coloured material. This manner of production, together with the frequent employment of slaves, led to a great cheapness of statues, portraits ranging up from 3,000 sesterces. Similarly, expanding trade caused specialization : thus, lupine-sellers were a special branch of vegetable-dealers : in drugs, colours, salts, essences, toilette accessories, there were many special guilds ; and so, too, amongst the tailors for cloaks, mantles, summer garments, etc.

These very heterogeneous industries were carried on in the most frequented parts : at the end of the first century the nuisance of the shops which projected from the house-fronts had to be inhibited. Streets were named after their occupants, e.g. the streets of the corn-merchants, harness-makers, sandal-makers, wood-traders, glaziers, salve-dealers, scythe-makers. Such congregation was no doubt involved by the specialized labour, as St. Augustine observed. The *Via Sacra*, one of Rome's principal highways, was the Bond Street of Rome, containing, according to inscriptions, besides purveyors of luxury, jewellers, metal founders, and sculptors, a dealer in colours, a flute-maker, and a writing-teacher. Ivory dice might there be bought, and ' Caietan ' cord (really from Gaul), crystal balls, peacock feather fans, and other ladies' articles, fruit for dessert and crowns for the toppers at banquets. Rome's best shops, however, at about 100 A.D., were in the markets, surrounding the *Saepta* of the Campus Martius. There fine slaves were to be had, large citron-wood table-tops, ivory, banquet couches inlaid with tortoise-shell, ancient bronze statues, crystal and *murrha* vessels, silver beakers of

antique design, collars of gold set with emeralds, big pearl earrings, as well as less expensive wares. Other shops for luxury were in the *regio Tusca*, and in the arcades surrounding the Circus.

The shops and taverns in all their breadth opened on to the street, and were closed in with linen curtains, covered with notices or paintings: they also had signboards. Some tablets in relief have been preserved, which were either signs, or they may have decorated the shopkeepers' tombstones. On a ham-dealer's sign, there are five hams ranged arow. Two of these advertise two branches of a tailor's firm for men and for women; the design is a man or woman and their retinue examining proffered articles. One such sign represents a hare, two wild boars, and several large birds hanging on the wall; and a young girl bargaining with the mistress of the shop; both figures' costume, bearing and execution show the refining influence of Greece, like other examples, such as funeral monuments, which testify 'how much more general than in modern days, even in later antiquity and the lower ranks, was the need of beautifying life by art, and leaving posterity some record and remembrance'. Thus workmen would have tombstones depicted with scenes from their lives; there is one relief, a well-known group of the three Graces, and a matron fully clothed, her dress drawn over her head: the inscription is '*to the four sisters*'; it must have been the sign of a shop or inn, or, maybe, bawdy-house. A Greek-Latin book of dialogues contains the following: 'I am going to the tailor. How much does this pair cost? One hundred *denarii*. How much is the water-proof? Two hundred *denarii*. That is too dear; take a hundred. Impossible; I have to pay so much for it wholesale. What shall I then give? What you like. [To the slave or attendant] Give him 125 *denarii*. Shall we go to the linen-merchant?' Bargaining was customary, as Juvenal witnesses: a schoolteacher must expect a deduction from his salary, like a dealer on his rugs and bed-linen.

It is almost only from such reliefs and inscriptions that we get some insight into the lives of these many workers. They remind us how little we know: one inscription at Hierapolis in Great Phrygia of the second or third century, records a society of purple-workers founded for mutual support,

another in Sardes, 459 A.D., a quarrel—such as frequently arose among the Mauri in the Eastern Empire—between men and masters (*ἐργοδοῦναι καὶ ἐργολάβοι*): the former had discontinued a building-operation. The Roman *mimi* and *atellanae*, which borrowed their scene from these social strata, are unfortunately lost, and Petronius' *bourgeois* are South Italian only. The extant literature is entirely from a sphere which had more contempt than interest for the lower orders, the men who, day by day, tucked in their tunics behind the counter, or stood in apron and cap by their bench in the workshop, where nothing noble could be made, only the daily bread earned—where cheap goods were sold at 50 per cent. profit, be they hides or fragrances; for them profit was the best of scents. People of higher standing were no more connected with even the uncleanest business (e.g. the letting of houses and property for brothels) than are Russian grandees with the cheap spirit-stills; the transaction of such affairs by slaves and freedmen left them untainted: little tradesmen were taunted for their innocent cupidity. Pliny says that tailors watched the sinking of the Pleiades, on the 11th November, to see if it were cloudy—a sign of a rainy winter—or bright—a sign of a rough winter; and to judge whether to raise the price of cloaks or underclothing: he sees in this a cheating disposition. Workmen received, if satisfactory, a small extra wage called *corollarium*.

Workmen and small tradesmen were the most conservative class, as every revolution, riot, or civil war spelt their ruin. Cicero, enunciating a sempiternal truth, says: 'Most of the innkeepers desire peace. Their livelihood depends on their custom, which involves calm: every time they are closed, they lose, and what if they are burnt down?' This was what happened in street fights. In the combat between the people and the Praetorians, 237–8, the latter, pelted from the roofs, set fire to the closed doors of inns and houses. It was usual to see in inns, shops, workshops and offices badly executed busts, almost caricatures, of the reigning Emperors. On the imperial birthdays and festivals in the Emperor's honour, and other occasions, taverns were decked with laurels and lighted up: on days of imperial mourning they were closed.

The medieval guilds had their patron saints; the Roman

their tutelary gods with their holy days. Most general was the 19th March, the foundation day of the Temple of Minerva, protectress of all craft and art guilds, on the Aventine : later on, the festival was prolonged till the evening of the 23rd March. According to Ovid, spinstresses, weavers, fullers, painters, shoemakers, sculptors, doctors, schoolmasters (and their pupils had holidays) took part in it. The 9th of June (the Day of Vesta) was celebrated by millers and bakers ; donkeys were wreathed with flowers and loaves, and mills were garlanded. The guild of musicians (especially flautists), who played at acts of public worship, had their feast in the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, and, on the 13th June, crossed Rome in masks and disguised (generally in female garb), intoxicated, singing parodies set to ancient tunes. At such industrial festivals processions were common : one picture at Pompeii represents a procession of carpenters, and figures of men sawing, and others similar were carried about by the younger men. At Rome and elsewhere the guilds had a regular part in great processions, such as triumphs and imperial arrivals, and flaunted their flags bravely : no doubt they had their own banner bearers. A marble tablet found at Ostia contains a monthly list of members of an association (one a woman), and their contributions, the interest on which, at 12 per cent. went towards a common celebration of all their birthdays. One general festival of the common people (March 15) was the day of Anna Perenna, a goddess of the year, held in an orchard at the first mile-stone on the *Via Flaminia* (not far from the Porta del Popolo). The girls sang very free satires of ancient origin ; men and women lay down together on the grassy shores of the Tiber, in the open, or in huts, or improvised tents of reeds covered with their *togas*. There they had drinking-bouts, and prayed for as many years as they drew spoons from the bran-pie ; sang theatrical ditties, capered about, and returned home, riotously supporting one another, the mockery of all who came their way.

The guilds also provided for funerals : but most of the poor, who could not raise the money for their own burial, contributed monthly to death-funds, which admitted free-men, freedmen and slaves, and assured the members proper exsequies, generally in the *Columbaria* : these were huge vaulted buildings with rows of pigeon-holes. Such associations

also had their standing festivals, and celebrated the birthday of their patron deity (the dedication-day of his idol) with a banquet. Amongst the extant statutes of such associations, those of the 'Adorers of Diana and Antinous' at Lanuvium ([Città Lavigna]) of 133 A.D. give an interesting glimpse into the nature of these mortuary guilds, and an idea of their festivals. By way of preface is the warning: 'Do thou, novice, first read the statutes, and have heed not to encumber thyself or thy heirs'. New members paid an entrance fee of 100 sesterces, and an *amphora* of good wine: the annual contribution of fifteen sesterces was paid in monthly sums of five *asses*. 300 sesterces were allowed for individual funerals, except for suicides, fifty being reserved for the procession and distributed at the pyre. Grievances were to be dealt with at general meetings, so as 'on feast-days to carouse at ease'. Carousals were organized by four members appointed for every year; they had to provide covers or pillows for the couches, hot water and dishes and four *amphorae* of good wine, and a loaf of two *asses* and four sardines for every member. The expenses of the meals were probably met out of the interest of a capital sum given by some benefactor: wine could scarcely have been insufficient, as besides initial contributions, slaves on manumission had to give an *amphora*. There were six drinking-bouts a year; at the two principal ones, the birthdays of Diana and Antinous, the president, who was elected for five years, and received double portions, had to distribute oil at the public bath before the banquet. He also had to offer wine and incense at all feast days. At the end of his term, if he had administered well, he received one and a half times his share. Any one, who, at a feast, quarrelled and left his seat, was sconced four sesterces; any one guilty of abusive language, twelve; any one who insulted the president, twenty. When Christianity made inroads among these small tradesmen, many would not immediately renounce the benefits of these associations. In the letters of Bishop Cyprianus of Carthage, one Martialis is accused of 'frequenting the disgusting banquets of an association and by its means burying his children in heathen fashion in unhallowed graves'.

Indications are to hand of social and intellectual culture in this class, naturally not over great; as the bad grammar and spelling of their inscriptions show. In Gellius, a gram-

marian calls an unknown word 'plebeian and vulgar'. Yet lines from Virgil, whose popularity perhaps exceeded Shakespeare's, were in every one's mouth, 'abused and misused. A sign of a venison-dealer is inscribed from the *Aeneid* :

Whilst shadowy mountains
Rise to protect wild deer and stars circle still round the Pole-star,
Ever shall live thy name, thy honour, thy glory, eternal.

They also attempted original verse. One inscription laments the loss of a thirteen-year-old slave, the darling of his master, probably a goldsmith :

Skilled was his hand in the art of finishing necklaces finely,
And to enclose in hand-wrought gold bright glittering jewels.

Their manners, no doubt, left something to be desired. Hucksters in salt-fish were said, by a Graecism, to snuffle with their elbows, and their boys were unusually vulgar. Masters not unfrequently abused their disciplinary powers against their apprentices, even if free; one such clumsy pupil had his eye knocked out with a last. In the civic life of Pompeii, apprentices were not insignificant. Amongst the city election placards posted on to the walls, there is one written by the apprentices, and another by one Saturninus, '*cum discentes*' (sic). Some inscriptions on graves faithfully record the good qualities of the deceased. One freedman goldsmith, 'a master-maker of Clodian jars', is eulogized by his patron, as one 'who insulted no one, never thwarted his patron. He always had a mass of gold and silver and was never avaricious'. The tombstone of a freedman pearl-dealer on the *Via Sacra* begs the passer-by not to injure the grave where the bones of a man rest who was good, merciful, and a friend of the poor. One Lucius Nerusius Mithres, according to the hexameters on his tombstones, which are an acrostic of his name, was well known in the Holy City for his conscientious business habits as a goat-skin dealer, and for having, as a contractor, rendered all his dues to the fisc, and made equitable bargains. He had prospered, built himself a marble house, helped the indigent: and his great desert he deemed his building a burial-place for all his freedmen and freedwomen and their heirs.

Workmen often made an extra income by rearing and

training birds, though necessarily in competition with professional rearers. Manilius mentions trainers who traversed the town with caged birds, all their possessions being one sparrow. In these accounts, few as they are, workmen are several times mentioned as owners. A poor shoemaker had trained a raven to congratulate Augustus: the purchase was declined, as Augustus had sycophants enough already: but the bird repeated at the right time his master's complaint: 'All my trouble's gone for nothing', and was bought at a high price. A barber on the Forum had a magpie, which imitated musical sounds and men's and animals' tones: one day a stately funeral procession stopped in front of the barber's house, and the *tuba* blowers played a long piece. The magpie was silent awhile; envious magic was suspected: then she sang the whole of the funeral music from beginning to end. In the reign of Tiberius a raven flew out of a nest in the Temple of Castor into a shoemaker's opposite, and the master taught it speech. The raven learned to fly every morning to the rostrum, to address Tiberius, Drusus and Germanicus by name, to greet other passers, and was the wonder of all Rome. The owner of a shop near by killed it (on the pretext of anger, as it had dirtied a pair of new shoes), and the enraged people drove the murderer out of the district and afterwards murdered him. The bird was solemnly borne by two Moors to a pyre on the Via Appia, followed by a multitude with wreaths. Pliny, on the authority of the *Acta diurna*, dates this on the 28th March, 35.

§ 3. MISCELLANEOUS CRAFTS, ARTS, AND PURSUITS

(i) General

Not only handwork and shopkeeping, but many other, often profitable, businesses were considered ungentlemanly. The poor free-born man of liberal education spoke contemptuously of men who grew rich by the undertaking of funerals, bakeries, bathhouses, the farming of river and harbour dues, public works, the clearing of the *cloacae*, or as auctioneers of rubbish or priceless wares, and through other businesses.

Two employments were so vile as to disqualify (by a law of Caesar's) for election to city offices: those of undertakers and public criers (*praecones*). *Praecones* were used for all

purposes of publicity, e.g. to proclaim lost articles, runaway slaves ; but their main function was auctioneering, and the close connexion of this business and that of the public jesters may have caused their disrepute. But this fact made it very profitable : for public auction in Rome included, in part, our commission-agencies, which effected the sale of the superfluities of an inheritance, or the raising of a sudden loan. In the stead of the business-man, a professional middleman came in, the *coactor argentarius* or *exactionum*, so called from his having to dun for single demands : a profession in general disesteem. For his trouble and risk he received 1 per cent. on the price : and the quantity of the work explains the lowness of the rate ; it might be more in especially troublesome business. Horace's father had been a *coactor*, and profits were then as low as those of a public crier ; but by about 50 A.D., in consequence of greater facility and promptitude in transfers, both made larger profits. Strabo says houses were constantly changing hands. Arruntius Euaestus, an auctioneer who angled successfully in the troubled waters after the murder of Caligula, was (according to Josephus) as rich as the richest, and powerful then and after. In Martial a maiden is wooed by ten poets, seven lawyers, four tribunes and two praetors, and, without further thought, espoused to an auctioneer. Nor foolishly. A boy, if he is to make his way, ought not to study or poetize ; rather should he ply the cithar or flute, or, if long-headed, the hammer or architect's rule.

Architecture Cicero collocates with medicine as a useful art, and of all arts the most respectable : it was also the most profitable. Under Augustus (according to Vitruvius) even the profession was so overcrowded that they had to advertise themselves, and many were incompetent. The demand increased owing to the numbers of erections, public and private, necessitated in part by fire and collapse, in part by the building mania of the rich : the smallness of the city was compensated by the endless possibilities of the country.

Excepting for some famous and highly paid artists, little is known of the despised sculptors and painters. Musicians might make much : the economical Vespasian paid Terpnus and Diodorus the citharists 200,000 for their performances at the rededication of the Theatre of Marcellus. Teaching

was profitable: and the salaries of distinguished singers and citharists awoke the envy of the learned. 'Learn', says Juvenal to the rhetorician, 'the fee Chrysogonus and Pollio make for teaching rich children the cither, and you will tear up Theodorus' manual'. Nero and Domitian patronized music more than any others. Under Domitian Martial wrote as above, and that he was going to return from Forum Corneliai to Rome, as a citharist. Art, too, like music, paid well, if popular, especially acting and dancing, and also fencing and circus-driving.

The learned professions were relegated, like the arts and their appliances, to the third estate, or to slaves. Galen selects, as noble departments, medicine, rhetoric, music, geometry, arithmetic, accountantship, astronomy, grammar, and law; to which sculpture and painting may be added. The last two, as employments, brought in the quickest returns: hence Lucian was apprenticed to his uncle, the sculptor. The learned professions required laborious and unremunerative preparation for years, and 'hard it was, for men in poor circumstances, to rise' (Juvenal). There is some information as to their position in life.

(ii) *Teachers, Rhetoricians and Advocates*

During the first centuries, the teaching profession had no assured position, nor the esteem of an official security. Education was in the Early Empire not regarded as a matter of State, and, in the second century, to a very slight extent, being, if anything, municipalized. Up to then education was a private concern, and only fostered by the immunity of teachers from town rates. This is confirmed by a communal decree, recently discovered, in South Portugal; there a school was maintained or being proposed. Elementary schools must have existed even in small provincial towns; only the larger cities had secondary schools in the sciences, or in the highest subject, viz. oratory. Hence children were sent to a larger town or to Rome for a good education. The school, kept by the elder Statius at Naples, received pupils from Lucania and Apulia; the school of one Flavius in Venusia, to which the big boys of influential centurions daily went with their slates and pencases, could not satisfy the paternal care of Horace's father: despite his poverty, he sent his son to Rome

to be educated along with knights and senators. In the first years of Trajan, Como, having no teachers of rhetoric, had to betake itself to Milan, until Pliny the Younger proposed to contribute one third, together with the families interested, so as to pay a teacher at his native Como. He could not quite consent to promise the whole amount to the town, as municipalized schools were often in the gift of electioneering committees. As in this case, applicants used to go to Rome to gain practice, and, armed with letters from the great men of Rome, give public exhibitions of their ability to speak and to teach, in competition for the post. Gellius was present at such a probationary recitation at Brundisium of a Roman-trained orator. He read out a passage from Virgil very badly, and asked the listeners to question him. One of Gellius' questions completely nonplussed him.

Antoninus Pius assigned salaries, payable by the communes, to rhetoricians and philosophers in all of the provinces, and enacted their immunity from civic burdens in a decree; nominally applying to the League of Cities in Asia, but really to the whole Empire. In the larger cities there might be ten physicians, five rhetors, and five grammarians; in the smaller, seven, four, and four respectively, and in the smallest five of the first, and three of the two last. This allowance was obviously marginal, and wholly insufficient for cities, like Ephesus and Smyrna, two of the largest in the Empire; hence in rhetoric and grammar alone, these few official teachers must have been largely privately supplemented. Gellius often speaks of grammarians, in great repute at Rome as teachers, and never refers to the official teachers: were there any such in the *Athenaeum* founded by Hadrian, they must have been incommensurably few in comparison with the private tutors. And the public positions in the other cities were much sought after. The tombstone of a Latin grammarian at Tritium Magallum in Tarragonese Spain mentions as an extraordinary fact his official appointment by the city at the age of twenty-five. Teachers might also receive decorations, as did a Latin grammarian at Verona, a knight who was given the *insignia* of a *decurio*.

The grammarians, or teachers of the two languages and the poetical contents of each, often took single pupils and resident posts, or kept private schools, as the more prominent of them

usually did ; as Quintilian says, they deemed themselves worthy of a larger theatre, and left mere pedagogy to the weaker brethren. But, for high fees, they would also take private pupils. Marcus Aurelius was ever grateful to his great-grandfather for his never having been to a public school, and for having had such a tutor, on the true calculation that, for this purpose, no expense could be too great. It was always men of lower standing who took up the teaching profession ; and at Rome, freedmen, *peregrini*, provincials, who, consequent on Julius Caesar's grant of the franchise to teachers, flocked thither. Many of them came from Greece and the East, as Greek was eagerly learnt at Rome.

Most of the teachers followed no inner call, but only the need of bread, as may be gathered from the fact that, of the most famous and learned grammarians or philologists of Rome in the first century, several (on the authority of Suetonius) only chanced on this occupation, or came to it as a makeshift. Many built up their knowledge, as slaves or freedmen in the service of erudites, or as pedagogues accompanying a boy to school. The famous Orbilius had been servant to a magistrate, and then served in the foot and the horse. Marcus Valerius Probus of Berytus, who was even more renowned, only took to linguistics after losing every chance of a subaltern's post. A third had begun as a prize-fighter, a fourth as a clown. Pertinax, the future Emperor, however, the son of a freedman wood-dealer, exchanged this profession, unsuitable to him, for military service.

It was universally held that a teacher's bread was hardly won. Ausonius says that no grammarian was ever happy, and that an exception to this rule would be an offender against grammar. The work and conditions were severe, the gain scanty ; few were those consolable by the feeling that it was a lofty and royal calling ' to instruct the witless in good manners and holy knowledge '. The lessons began at or before day-break : the teacher had to be up and about, long before the smith or the weaver, to breathe air sullied by the boys' lamps, which begrimed the busts of Horace and Virgil in the schoolroom. The number of school hours varied, but, with the authority of Ausonius, was usually six. Galen tells a tale of a grammarian Diodorus, who was subject to epileptic fits, unless he took nourishment during this time, and, on his advice, took, at the

third or fourth hour, bread soaked in wine, which restored him. But, in Greek-Latin schools, the pupils at midday went home for their early meal, changed and came back for the afternoon. The usual entering age, according to Paul of Aegina, whose rules more or less define the practice in the early centuries and in the West, was six or seven; geometry, grammar and gymnastics begun at twelve; the years from fourteen to twenty given to higher mathematics and philosophy and the severer exercises. The teacher's worst task was to keep discipline among the excitable and fidgety boys, whose moral education he had to supervise like a father. St. Augustine repents, in his Confessions, his schoolboy sins: his fear of making a mistake was greater than his endeavour to rid himself of envy of those of superior social standing. He was always deceiving his pedagogues, teachers and parents, loved playing with nuts, balls and birds, seeing pantomimes and acting them.

Many schoolboy scrawls have been found on the walls in Pompeii. We also have a schoolboy's Will of Sir Jack Porker (Marcus Grannius Corocotta), a great favourite with the 'curly-haired legions'; the victim before immolation at the cook's knife-blade leaves his father Sir Boar-Larding (Verrinus Lardinus) thirty measures of acorns, his bristles to the shoemakers, his ears to the doves, his tongue to advocates and babblers, and so on: his tombstone is to be engraved in golden letters, 'Sir Jack Porker lived 999½ years; one half more would have made him a Millenarian'. As now, so then; school-wit is the same, the same little wars between boy and master, the same boyish gibes. A Greek collection of anecdotes has preserved us the following schoolboy story. An elementary teacher tells one boy: 'Dionysius, attention! No fooling!' The boy replies he wasn't doing anything: the master rejoins, 'take it for next time'. Quintilian says one of the reasons of the preferability of school to home teaching is the formation of friendships and the incentive of equal rivalry. Others maintained that school-life corrupted morals, though boys of good family were accompanied there by their pedagogues: the reputation of the teachers was also often impugned. Discipline was enforced by the cane and the whip: only a minority (one of them Quintilian) took a humane view, condemning corporal punishment. The hardships of the teacher

were often aggravated by the pretensions of the parents, over whose unreasonableness and over-fondness of their boys Orbilius wrote a whole book of complaints. School-dust, at least, was a curse from which teachers in Rome were free, as they taught in spaces open or half-open, on flat roofs, or in the courtyard adjoining the street, separated from it by a curtain. The summer holidays lasted three to four months, for, in the summer, Martial says, boys, if healthy, could learn enough of themselves. There were, besides, many festival days. Private tutors, especially Greeks, complained, often not unjustifiably, of all kinds of maltreatment and humiliations, and that they scarcely earned enough to pay shoemaker or tailor: whilst Romans asserted that, in the houses of the rich, these foreigners were preferred to them, and intrigued and wormed themselves to the effective sovereignty of the home.

Grammatical instruction at Rome was poorly paid. Juvenal gave 500 sesterces (5 gold pieces) as the fee for a year of eight months' work: but even thus the earnings for thirty scholars was only 15,000 sesterces (£163 2s. 6d.), without deductions for rent, etc. Good teachers were, no doubt, better paid: some may have had more pupils, some less: Martial makes one petition the Emperor for the Privilege of Three Scholars, instead of Three Children. In Diocletian's tariff the monthly fees for reading and writing are fixed at fifty, for arithmetic or shorthand seventy-five, for Greek and Latin and Mathematics 200 denarii (then worth less than 4s.). The competition was great; at the close of the Republic, there were twenty schools at Rome. Many schools were held in partnership, and older teachers (e.g. the friend of St. Augustine, Verecundus at Milan) employed assistants. Schoolmasters, generally, as Ovid says, but for a few great exceptions, drew very small incomes. Marcus Verrius Flaccus and his whole school was taken in by Augustus into the Palatium, and he received 100,000 sesterces (or £1,087 3s. 0d.) for teaching his grandchildren. Remmius Palaemon derived an income of 400,000 from his school, and no less from his private property, built in the first instance on his profession, and increased by a tailor's business and agricultural profits. Thus he, with the help of an expert, made a neglected vineyard at Nomentum (which he bought for 600,000) realize in less than eight years 400,000 on the vintage, and sold the

estate in ten years at four times the price of purchase to Seneca, who was a zealous cultivator of the vine and often mentions this estate. Epaphroditus of Chaeronea, a teacher in Rome from Nero's reign to Nerva's (he died at the age of seventy-five) owned two houses at Rome and a library of 30,000 volumes of great value and rarity. Grammarians received no other official posts, save as librarians in Rome and Alexandria, the higher places in the Correspondence Department only very exceptionally.

Professors of oratory were, to some extent, in similar difficulties. They, too, had to endure the whims of parents and the indiscipline of pupils, who often preferred dice or tops to the dying speech of Cato, and rubbed their eyes with oil, so as to malingering. Quintilian finds pleasure in recollecting that teachers arranged the class according to the work done; the value set on being top boy proves they were all still boys. Some few may have been older, e.g. Gellius, who attended as a young man. Martial calls Quintilian, as professor of oratory, 'the noblest guide of irresolute youth'. The rhetor Verginius Flavus was banished at the time of the Conspiracy of Piso for his influence over his *iuvenes*. Juvenal mentions that Rufus the rhetorician and others had been beaten by their own pupils. St. Augustine found the Carthaginian boys so wild that he abandoned his school of oratory there and settled at Rome, where discipline was less lax. And, at Rome, he fared so ill that he applied for a post at Milan. Libanius generally received nothing, as his pupils were too poor, or gambled or debauched away the moneys given by their fathers to pay the fees. But rhetoricians received more than grammarians (Juvenal mentions 2,000 sesterces, £21 15s., as the fee): their position was more assured and in greater esteem; the course was higher, taken by adults, and of practical necessity, as choice and flowing speech was the first requisite of culture, and indispensable for many situations and all the higher offices. Professorships of Greek and Latin oratory were then, in Rome and elsewhere, the only municipally paid posts: at Rome the salary was 100,000 (as much as a procurator of the third rank received, and four times as much as a military tribune). The first holder of the State Chair, founded by Vespasian, was the Spaniard Quintilian; he gained great wealth, and, as tutor to the princes, consular *insignia*.

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Nero's avowed passion for oratory enabled many teachers of oratory to rise from the lowliest beginnings to senatorial rank and the highest honours. In the first century even, and yet more in the second, some might become imperial secretaries, and thereupon hold the higher offices. One anecdote makes an astrologer soothsay of a boy he would become a rhetor, a praefect and a provincial governor. Hence, this profession would be embraced by knights: Blandus, under Augustus, is the first instance, freedmen having, up to that time, been the only givers of an instruction deemed dishonourable in an acquisition held in highest repute. Rhetors would often be knighted by the Emperors: thus, Dionysius of Miletus was knighted by Hadrian, made procurator in several provinces, and awarded the honour of the public meal at the Museum in Alexandria. Philostratus also mentions a sophist, Heliodorus, who with his sons was given the *civitas* by the Emperor (? Severus). No such tales are told of grammarians. After the second century, not only Rome, but nearly all the other cities and towns appointed rhetors, and the number of students at Rome increased considerably; for, being armed with recommendations from the famous teachers of Rome, they could most easily gain official posts in Italy and the provinces. Pliny requests Tacitus to select from his many admirers young men suitable to teach rhetoric at Comum. Fronto applies to his son-in-law Aufidius Victorinus for a recommendation for Antonius Aquila the rhetor to a public professorship in Gaul, in the cities of which teachers of Greek rhetoric held public appointments at the time of Strabo. Lucian boasts of being one of those, who held a highly paid post.

The Courts of Justice afforded a more profitable theatre to the rhetorician than the lecture-room; not every capable teacher could be an advocate, but many, like Quintilian, combined both, or passed from the one to the other, selecting the profession of teaching as a more peaceful occupation for old age. The great qualification for advocates was then eloquence, the special object of the jurist's ambition, to which the study of the law was subservient. Most of the professional *advocati* were simply rhetoricians, and employed *pragmatici*, or legal advisers, on both sides. Of these *pragmatici* mention will be made.

Advocacy was the obvious road of success to plebeians with brains and ambitions : ' the *toga* was the means of advance ', and worn by advocates and clients : Quintilian is called by Martial the ornament of *togati*. In Italy and the provinces this was the profession of the talented and ambitious (e.g. Lucian and Apuleius) : in Petronius the freedman will make his son an advocate, if not an auctioneer. Advocacy and law were the most honourable civil callings, and the only ones accessible to the third estate and reputable to knights and senators ; the former was the only ladder to success for low-born talent and fortune ; by it Eprius Marcellus and Vibius Crispus attained the Consulate, the Friendship of the Emperor, and great power. The authors of this epoch, Seneca, Suetonius, and the elder Pliny, were knights and began at the bar : Pliny the Younger, who pleaded in his nineteenth year, and Fronto, as senators, still remained true to advocacy.

Famous advocates lived in great state ; their roomy and decorated *atria* daily crowded, their names in every one's mouth, courted by the rich and the mighty, sought for by strangers from districts whither their fame had penetrated. In their houses and the vestibules stood their statues (mostly erected by grateful clients), and even equestrian figures of them. Their steps and their portals were decked with laurels commemorative of forensic victory. A great crowd would follow the triumphant pleader home, whilst the acquitted parties shaved their heads, as a sign of a danger escaped, and repaired to a temple to thank the gods. And what if advocates gained neither rank nor office ? Their doors were besieged by parties, and guarded by janitors, and they gained wealth, in no dishonourable fashion. Besides these great advocates there were, of course, many small ones, too glad to deliver four speeches for a piece of gold, with a commission to the *pragmatici*, scarce able to pay their rents. Country clients generally paid in kind. The rows of jars of fruit in the storeroom of a great advocate would be the gift of some fat Umbrian defendant ; hams and casks of salted fish a recollection of a Marsian client ; in Martial a Picenian sends his advocate a little box of olives for the Saturnalia, a set of seven glasses in coarse Saguntine work, and a red striped napkin : Juvenal mentions as fee five bottles of country wine, and so on. On the other hand, Martial implores clients to spare his friend *Restitutus*

the advocate such gifts on his birthday ; for a boastful shopman by the Porticus Agrippae would send him purple cloaks ; a defendant in a suit for a drunken fight, dinner costumes ; the young woman, who has just divorced her husband, would herself bring genuine jewels, and the old connoisseur a fine piece of marble.

The profession was very overcrowded, and advocates had to resort to advertisement of all sorts. To attract attention through an air of prosperity they always walked about with big bundles of documents, richly dressed, with retinues of slaves and clients round their sedan-chair ; they hired valuable rings to put on during the interview, so as to extort higher terms. They would bid their clients retail the facts to their assistant, or meet them 'only on the day of hearing', thus to seem pressed with work, or to make a show of instant perspicuity'. For their speeches they would demand a very generous measure of water, wander far afield with much irrelevance, in an action for a lost hen mouth and intone and gesticulate about Marius and Sulla, the wars with Carthage and Mithridates, and their hoarseness would involve much alleviation. They did not stickle at hiring applause, and secured a fine escort home. Yet, even thus, fortune sometimes could not be bought : many had to suspend payment and betake themselves to Gaul or Africa. No few prostituted their eloquence to any and every cause ; many, piratically (in Quintilian's phrase) settled their fees in advance. Martial specifies 2,000 sesterces (£21 3s.) as such a fee, the client to pay half if he lost. Philostratus mentions that the famous sophist Polemo undertook an action in Sardes, on which the entire property of a rich Lydian depended, and exacted two talents (£472 2s.) as his fee. But the judges, too, occasionally sold their decision ; as actions might be prolonged even twenty years, and survive the original parties, besides consuming their property, Martial recommends payment as cheaper than litigation. Often, too, advocates 'prevaricated', i.e. were bribed by their opponents to present a bad case ;—though the penalty, if discovered, was disbarring. Hence advocates were abused as a 'venal race', and their wives said to derive from their husband's greed for pelf, a greed for food. A further cause of disesteem was their habit of abusing not only their opponents (often at their clients' request), but their opponent advocate as well. Lucian

stigmatizes advocacy as indissociable from deceit, lying, impudence, and pushfulness. The picture Ammianus Marcellinus draws of all who live by litigation is even more lurid. Pettifoggers and wranglers were so many that their enemies compared their oratory to the yelping of dogs. Their lively gestures were mocked at: a dumb jester of Tiberius boasts, in his inscription, of having been the first imitator of the advocates.

(iii) *Jurisconsulti*

The *jurisconsulti* ranked as high as the advocates; Quintilian mentions, as a favourite school-essay, 'which of the two, a lawyer or a soldier, is of higher standing?' But law, whilst offering knights and senators a road to the highest positions, offered lesser folks something inferior to advocacy. Quintilian says jurisprudence was practised mainly by disappointed barristers; Libanius says only the slow-witted took to poring over the heavy parchments of juristic lore. But it was profitable enough to attract many of the third estate. One of Petronius' *bourgeois* gives his son a collection of red-backed books (*codices*), to 'learn a little law for home use', as 'it spelled money'. Juvenal says that in the lowest classes men were found capable of unravelling knotty points of law: in one of his satires, a father, goading his son on to work and earn, gives him a choice of advocacy, study of law and a centurionship.

Jurisconsulti also made money as teachers, as only few young men can have been introduced to the law by high professors of it, and been able to dispense with paid instructors. Very many took up this study; provincials, Greeks even, flocked to Rome for this purpose. Most of the great jurists were provincials. Gaius came from Little Asia, Papinian from Syria, Ulpian from Tyre; Cervidius Scaevola, Modestinus, Callistratus, Marcianus, Tryphoninus, were all from the Greek Orient; Salvius Julianus, and perhaps Tertullian, from Africa. Jurists of lower rank took fees for their courses; but Masurius Sabinus (under Tiberius), who began poor, and was knighted only at the age of fifty, would not accept fees, but let his pupils support him. Ulpian mentions payment as the usual thing: it was preliminary to the course, as it could not be legally enforced afterwards. In Rome jurists were exempt from becoming *tutores* and other burdens, but not in the provinces.

In the first half of the second century, if not earlier, *stationes* were scattered throughout Rome, at which jurists gave public instruction and advice in law. Gellius (it was when he had abandoned the school for the law, about 160) says that the favourite question at these stations was whether a quaestor could be summoned by a praetor. Pompeius Auctus, who, according to Martial, 'sat in front of the Temple of Mars Ultor'—i.e. had his 'station' there—was 'deeply versed in law and skilled in the use of the *toga*'—i.e. both a *pragmaticus* and an advocate—and remained up to ten o'clock. The right of giving *iuris responsa* was first limited by Augustus to imperial nominees, and their written and sealed opinions were binding in Court. Other jurists' opinions had a merely scientific and theoretic significance. But ordinary jurists even could hardly fail to have many clients, as soon as they attained some fame; these would arrive at cock-crow and, no doubt, pay for the opinion. Ammianus, who severely censured the jurists of his day, says they charged even for yawns; and made matricide venial if their client were rich enough. A jurist was essential to any litigation, and he, not the advocate, was the principal person: tombstones bear the legend, 'may pettifoggers and jurists avoid this monument', so much might they tamper with testamentary directions. Claudius liked giving *responsa*, and his reliance on advocates rather than jurisconsults proved his incompetence. In Seneca's pasquil the advocates bewailed his death as the termination of their saturnalia, and the *pragmatici* crept forth again, like resurrected corpses, thin and ghastly.

Sometimes jurisconsults (e.g. Paulus) acted as advocates, but only exceptionally, their usual function was to advise. Quintilian, anxious to degrade jurisprudence and uplift oratory, speaks of these *pragmatici* as mere onhangers of the advocates, the powder monkeys to the real combatants. Libanius says, that in the good old days, before lawyers were so unduly esteemed, they had to wait humbly on the advocate's command to recite the law. This occupation was only taken up by smaller jurists, at low fees, from country clients, often in kind; such as a sack of corn, millet or beans.

Jurists also earned by drafting notarial or other written documents, such as petitions, deeds, contracts and guarantees. They could be punished (in the provinces by the governors)

by exclusion from the Forum or inhibition of legal practice ; specifically they might not draft deeds or petitions or depositions ; or have their register in the public archives of original documents, or sign, witness or draft wills, a large part of their business. Nero confiscated the goods of those freedmen of his who did not testify their gratitude to the Emperor, and punished the lawyers who drew up the offending wills. Non-jurists even would draft wills, as it was a profitable business. A scribe at Venafrum boasts on his tombstone of having made out wills for fourteen years without a jurist's assistance, and a schoolmaster at Padua of proficiency in will-making. A *testamentarius* of Gades, Quintus Valerius Litera, seems to have derived his cognomen from his business.

Finally jurists often held the post of assessors to judicial officers, who, in Rome and her provinces, were, from Republican times downwards, bound to associate legal persons in making their decisions ; and these would often be the determining influence ; Seneca says that Praetors gave the sentences dictated by their clerks. This custom in the Empire, together with the bureaucracy, ever took more defined shape, and long before the third century, judicial magistrates (in Rome the *Praefectus Urbi, Praetorio, Vigilibus*, the Consuls and Praetors, in the provinces the governors) were legally bound to have one or more judicial assessors. Josephus says in his polemic against Apio, of the early second century, that the holders of highest posts showed their ignorance of law in this universal custom. The right of the assessors to some fee (acknowledged as early as Trajan) was expressly legalized in a rescript of Antoninus Pius. Up to the end of the second century, these fees were agreed upon between the provincial governors and their assessors : after the third were directly paid from the Treasury. In Rome there were agencies for placing young lawyers, after their apprenticeship, as magistrates' assessors. At the end of the second century, if not before, it was usual to appoint to judicial offices, only men with experience as assessors, and candidates learnt in the courts from the lowest upwards.

(iv) *Medicine*

Medicine was, up to the last, largely in the hands of freedmen and slaves ; Justinian authorized the maximum price (sixty gold-pieces) for slaves thus trained, eunuchs fetching

only fifty. Jurists constantly speak of the services due from physicians' trained freedmen ; thus, they had to visit their patrons' friends gratuitously. Patrons could also prevent their freedmen from setting up a competing practice, and, with this object, compel them to accompany them on their own visits.

Free-born physicians at Rome were mostly foreigners. If permanent residents, Julius Caesar enfranchised them, as also teachers : Augustus extended this by conferring civic immunity. Romans, according to Pliny, rarely learned this profession. Most of them were Greeks and Orientals, especially Egyptians, and men summoned to Rome to cure diseases endemic in their own country. The principal of these were eruptive (the Bible speaks of the 'boils and blains of Egypt') : Galen speaks of the commonness of elephantiasis. Under Tiberius there was a plague, imported from Asia, and Egyptian physicians were brought to Rome, to cure only this disease : they returned with great profits. Nero summoned an Egyptian physician to cure a friend of a herpetic eruption. A recollection of this condition of things is preserved in an Arabian legend of modern Alexandria, of a spring that cured leprosy, and the King of the Rumi, who searched for it. At Rome patients felt more confidence in foreign physicians, though, especially in the Early Empire, there were no few good Roman practitioners at Court. Scribonius Largus, Claudius' physician, accompanied, as he says, 'our God Caesar' to Britain. Vettius Valens, another of his doctors, was a knight, a dignity conferred on other Court physicians, e.g. the freedman Antonius Musa, who cured Augustus by cold-water treatment, after all other physicians had abandoned the case. Galen mentions several medical men who invented drugs ; some are Roman, such as Valerius Paulinus, Pompeius Sabinus, Flavius Clemens. Such names are common on oculists' stamps, and, in the Western provinces, most of the doctors were not Greeks.

Strabo is the first authority for the communal appointment of doctors for cities outside Rome ; such as Massilia, and other cities of Gaul. Antoninus Pius defined, for the Province of Asia, the number of communal physicians, who were to enjoy immunity, as ten for the large cities, seven for smaller ones, and five in the smallest. This immunity, extended by Vespasian and Hadrian to the provinces, allured many to

medicine. Probably, after the second century, most cities appointed communal doctors, and Galen mentions that, in many places, large, roomy, well-lighted halls (*larpeia*) were assigned to them, as offices. In the larger towns, doctors formed *collegia*, e.g. at Beneventum; these guilds would normally, as at Turin, have a common cult of Aesculapius and Hygieia; and, in Greek cities, they might often be priests of these deities. Inscriptions of two cohorts of police (*vigiles*) at Rome in 210 A.D. record that every cohort (of 1,000 men) had four physicians attached, ranking as the last subordinate officers. If the same proportion held good for the legion, the number must have been twenty-four, all called legionary doctors. All divisions, too, had their special medical officer. To the British fleet, there was a special oculist attached. One Marcus Ulpus Sporus was first physician to two corps of cavalry, and then official physician to the town of Ferentinum. Physicians, as the staff of legions, city and praetorian cohorts, had to be Roman citizens, and Caesar's grant of the franchise to all doctors may have been induced in part by considerations of hygienics. On Trajan's column two physicians appear armed like soldiers, busied in binding up wounds and extracting arrows.

The title of *archiater* (Head-physician) was borne by imperial physicians, the first to be so called being Claudius' physician Gaius Stertinius Xenophon, and Nero's Andromachus: the ordinance of Antoninus Pius may have conferred the title on city doctors in Greece and Little Asia: as also in Italy, where we find a knight of Beneventum, who was also the first official of the commune, and in Pisaurum a freedman, in Aeclanum a Greek, in Venusia a Jew. The origin and bestowal of this title is uncertain, as also when it first became, as it was in the fourth century, an official rank, with its proper emoluments and privileges: in Galen's day it was in some way a superior medical post. A decree of Valentinian I A.D. 368 to the City praefects directs the appointment of fourteen *archiatri* for the fourteen regions, besides the Athletic Society (*Porticus Xysti*) and the Vestal Virgins, to whom doctors had been assigned: they were to receive salaries, treat the poor, but might also take fees. Vacancies were to be filled by the remaining *archiatri* carefully selecting a candidate, and proposing him to the Emperor, 'worthy of their college, their *archiatria* and

the imperial judgment'. A decree of 370 A.D. makes such an election valid only with the assent of the seven seniors of the order: the new officer ranked last, and all were promoted one degree.

From medical writings the methods of practice are recorded with much more detail than the information extant for the other professions: the chief of these is the comprehensive work of (?) Claudius Galen, one of the most prolific writers of all times. Born at Pergamus about 128 or 129, he studied medicine at Smyrna, Corinth and Alexandria, from 156-7 and 161-2 was gladiatorial physician at Pergamus, then passed three years at Rome, from 162-6, when he returned to Little Asia. On the summons of both Emperors, he repaired to Aquileia in the winter of 168-9, refused Marcus Aurelius' offer to accompany him on his German campaign, was physician to Commodus as a boy at Rome, and died in 198 or 199. How extensive his practice was, may be estimated from the fact that in one summer (probably at Rome) he had four hundred serious cases. The number of his free patients, who were not confined to their beds, was about three to four thousand a year.

In antiquity there were no examinations and little responsibility: hence many unqualified practitioners thrust themselves into a lucrative profession, such as shoemakers, carpenters, dyers or smiths, just as unsuccessful doctors became corpse-bearers or professional gladiators: at any rate, Martial scoffs at such, who in their new occupation practised the old one still. Amongst these quacks, makers of salves and officinal wares rank high. Galen says that most so-called physicians of his day could hardly read, and warns his colleagues of the necessity of good grammar in addressing patients: such physicians also would know nothing whatsoever of rhetoric and philosophy. Thessalus, an apprentice of his father, a weaver, as a doctor under Nero gained great vogue, and said all his knowledge had been won in six months. His example inspired others. Physicians were accompanied by their pupils on sick visits. Martial says that, once when he was ill, Symmachus with one hundred students attended him, and their two hundred ice-cold hands gave him fever as well. Philostratus says that Philiscus was attended by Seleucus of Cyzicus and Stratocles of Sidon and over thirty pupils.

Perhaps, too, the large number of practitioners necessitated

many specialists (who abounded in Egypt) apart from assistants, who plucked healing roots, concocted drugs, bandaged, clystered, bled and cupped. No one, says Philostratus, can be a universal physician; there must be specialists for wounds, and fevers, and eyes, and consumption. Most numerous of these were the oculists: over one hundred seals are extant, and there was a branch of operators. Caligula's freedman Gaius Julius Callistus owned amongst his slaves more than one accomplished oculist. Galen boasts of having cured an eye-trouble by ordinary treatment, despite the existence of many 'so-called' oculists. Ear-doctors, dentists and others, too, are known of who treated fractures, fistulae, uvulae. Martial speaks of a number of Roman specialists in the year 95: thus Cascellius draws or stops teeth; Hyginus burns away over-long eyelashes; Fannius treats dripping uvulae innocuously; Eros erases slaves' brands; Hermes is the best doctor for fractures.

There were women's doctors, and female physicians; these were mostly midwives, though they also treated women's diseases. One Valeria Verecunda's tombstone preserves her title of 'first medical wetnurse of her *regio*'. According to Soranus, a good midwife went through a complete medical training. She had to be able to read, so as to learn the theory as well; must not be avaricious, that she might not sell means of abortion, nor superstitious, lest some dream or omen should make her careless. Galen observes that hysterical women called themselves thus from hearing the word on their female doctors' lips. Juvenal makes a fat Lydian woman treat sterile women with a savoury drug; and Galen mentions an Antiochian woman's plasters for the spleen, dropsy and gout.

Surgeons specialized more than any. According to Plutarch they worked with physicians without impinging on the other's territory. According to Galen, at Rome none but surgeons operated: a rule he himself there followed. He also says he was consulted in all interesting cases by the physicians of Rome and Ostia and Portus, so that he saw every extraordinary case of distortion of the shoulder. But surgery, too, was more minutely subdivided. Galen specifies the operations for fractures and stone, and the sewing together of the eyelids. Alcon the surgeon, put by Martial along with Symmachus and Dasius, the principal physicians of Rome,

'mercilessly cut incarcerated ruptures, skilfully treated the bones'. Implements for fistulae operations, and others have been found at Pompeii and elsewhere. Anaesthetics were administered in the form of mandragora juice or atropin (also used as a sleeping-draught). A tablespoonful ($2\frac{1}{2}$ per cubic inch) was a sufficient dose to produce sleep; the mere smell was enough with some men. For the purpose of couching cataract, the pupil was enlarged by *anagallis*.

No exact line could be drawn between theory and practice in medicine, but a distinction was recognized between empirical and advanced study, when professors were called medicinal 'sophists', 'sitting on high chairs and overwhelming their hearers with abstruse lore', but quite incompetent practically. People generally reckoned any one who dealt with curatives theoretically from a book a sophist.

Roman physicians, at the top of their profession, made large salaries. Wealthy men had their own family doctors. According to one tale of Galen, a rich man with an estate near Rome requested him to treat one of his stewards, who was going blind, as the family doctor, as an adherent of Erasistratus, would not consent to bleed. Family doctors received fixed salaries. Quintus Stertinius (the brother of Gaius Stertinius Xenophon), in reply to Claudius, proved his income from private practice as amounting to 600,000 (£6,525 10s.). In the Pandects a legacy is noticed for future annual payment to a doctor after his patient's death. Such fees were paid on the first of January. But special high fees were charged for individual cures. Manilius Cornutus, ex-praetor and legate of Aquitania, agreed to a fee of 200,000 for scab; the same sum was charged by Charmis of Massilia to a rich provincial for a second treatment. Galen received from Boethus, a consular, later on governor of Palestine, 400 gold pieces (£435) for curing his wife. His income was also increased (like other famous doctors') by consultations outside Rome, by letter; from Asia, Gaul, Spain and Thrace for eye-troubles: he answered pertinent questions, sent the drugs, and thus restored to health many whom he never saw. We still possess his advice to the epileptic son of one Caecilianus, framed on consultation with the family doctor, Dionysius. The salaries of Court physicians have been mentioned. Crinas of Massilia left 10,000,000 (£108,750), after spending an

equivalent amount on the walls of his native city and similar projects. Claudius condemned Alcon the surgeon to a fine of 10,000,000, which he earned back in exile in Gaul, and during the first few years of his return to Rome. Possibly, however, modern fees are higher. In 1787 even Hunter took two guineas for a consultation and four for a visit; in Berlin about 1800 Heim made 12,000 thalers a year; the incomes of Brodie and Wright in 1851 were about £10,000, and Billroth's at Vienna, in his first year, 12,000, or 15,000 gulden. In little places in antiquity practice was proportionately remunerative, as the inscription of the freedman Publius Decimius Eros Merula at Assisi, 'clinical doctor and operator of the eye', shows. He paid 4,000 for his manumission, for his appointment as *sevir* to the city exchequer 2,000; 30,000 on statues in the Temple of Hercules, to the paving of the streets 37,000, and owned 520,000 on the day before his death. One Heraclitus of Rhodiapolis in Lycia gave his services free there; his fortune had been built up by practice in Alexandria, Rhodes and Athens; he erected a temple to Aesculapius and Hygieia in his native city, gave the statues and spent 60,000 on the Feast of Aesculapius in doles and bouts. Pliny says competition, and not delicacy, reduced medical fees, which they demanded and got at the bedside, and calls it 'taking rapacious advantage of the imminence of death'. Ulpian says: if an oculist by using harmful remedies nearly blinds his patient, and induces him to sell him his property under the proper value, the provincial governor is to decree restitution for this *incivile factum*. A decree of 370 A.D. recommends the communal *archiatri* 'rather honourably to relieve the poor, than slavishly serve the rich. We allow them to accept what the restored offer them, but not what the sick promise in desperation'. The author of a pharmacopoeia compiled in the first half of the fourth century from Pliny's *Natural History* had fared ill on his travels at the hands of his various doctors. Their greed made them undertake what they could not effect, and sell the cheapest stuffs at famine prices, prolong illnesses, curable in short time, to secure large fees. It was to arm himself against their like, that he put together many of the most usual medicaments.

Galen gives very definite counsel as to medical relations with the patient. His visits should be long or short, as his patient wished, whom he must not irk. Some doctors clumsily

awake and irritate a patient by long speeches or noisy tread ; such things must be avoided. He must show tact, not blurt out the truth, like Callianax the Herophilean,¹ who answered a patient's complaint at his imminent death ' Patroclus also died '. Some made themselves odious for rudeness, some contemptible for servility. The doctor must avoid both extremes, be affable, sensible and dignified. A suitable theme for conversation is Hippocrates' maxim, that the cure depends on three factors, the sick man, his sickness and the physician. If the patient aided the doctor, both would overcome the sickness. Some patients must be enlivened with anecdotes. The doctor must deport himself properly, not be pompous, affected, or cringing. The golden mean must be followed, but the patient should be humoured, if he has dislikes in dress or style of hair : thus short hair was worn at the Court of Antoninus and long at that of Lucius Verus. Doctors should not reek of garlic or onions. One fellow-countryman of Galen smelt of wine, when visiting a rich man who had fever. His patient bade him stand further away, as the smell was overpowering. Quintus brusquely replied that he had to stand the far worse smells of the sick-room. Many doctors acceded to their patient's every wish, giving them cold water, snow-cooled wine, baths, whenever requested. True, they thus found a ready key to many doors. They grew rich, had much power, and often had pages given them as pupils. The rich were the most rebellious patients ; best avoided altogether, says Galen ; but doctors had, willy-nilly, to put up with their whims. Whilst disapproving of mere submissiveness, in special circumstances, the physician might, against his better knowledge, indulge the patient in some comparatively harmless trifle ; doctors, if loathed, are not obeyed.

The patient is docile, said Hippocrates, if he regard his doctor as a miracle or demi-god. At Pergamus, patients consigned to Aesculapius' Temple would undergo the severest orders, abstain from all drink for a fortnight, and do what no mere doctor could have induced. And his best spell was correct diagnosis and true prediction. Galen used to tell the nature of the disease, wherever possible, without questioning the patient. Often, had he, like Erasistratus, felt by the quickening of the pulse that love was at the bottom of the

¹ Follower of Herophilus of Chalcedon.

trouble, if the beloved came into the room, and the same magic helped Galen to discover the bad conscience of a rich patient, who, contrary to orders, had taken certain remedies, and in pills, so as not to discolour the tongue, but stoutly denied the charge. These tales gratify Galen exceedingly, and he claims that, 'thank God he had never once made a false diagnosis or prediction'. He discusses Hippocrates' saying that the physician should help, or not retard the patient, and says he, at least, never took the latter course. But whilst he laid much weight on his diagnosis, others thought they were no doctors, did they not, immediately after entering the sick-room, gird themselves, lay a plaster on, or make a fomentation, or a clyster, or bleed. Such should bethink themselves of the maxim of Hippocrates, not to bare their elbows; even advocates, and doctors all the more, should avoid appearing like prize-fighters.

Medical quackery occurred in all shapes, from the thoughtful frown in trivial cases, to the theatrical operation before a multitude. Celsus says only playactors should prank themselves out. Galen observes that theriac was often of great service, but people who recommended it for weak sight and poor hearing were mere hawkers. A certain amount of publicity was usual in antiquity. Doctors gave advice, sold and dealt out remedies, performed operations, in booths and shops opening on to the street, and treated cases as they came in, put-out shoulders, swelling, headaches and what not. The most incompetent were zealous to deck their offices with ivory boxes, silver cupping-glasses, and knives with golden handles. Epictetus says matters went so far, that the doctors asked their patients to step in.

Probably, too, physicians often gave public lectures, as Galen at Rome in the Temple of Peace; disputations might take place there. Shortly after his first arrival at Rome, Galen quarrelled with several elder doctors of the school of Erasistratus on a case when bleeding seemed to him essential; on the next day, his fellow-countryman and pupil Teuthras read Erasistratus' books out before 'all the philosophers', and proved that his treatment often caused death unnecessarily, and challenged the old school to a public disputation. Their sense of dignity, however, would not let them argue with a younger man. But, as Galen used to give daily lectures on

questions put to him by his auditors, he had to debate Erasistratus' contention. He dictated this discourse, at Teuthras' wish, to a slave: it was published without his knowledge, and converted the Erasistrateans to his views. Galen also tells us of how a theoretician or sophist, after maintaining an impossible position in a lecture, and being publicly applauded, slunk off, to avoid Galen's refutation. Next day Galen handed it in, and it was unanswerable. Even charlatans took to public dissertations on the organs and functions of the body, and their pretended knowledge won them patients.

No epoch lacked its distinguished doctors, and of them many, especially the Greeks, were authors. One Hermogenes of Smyrna in seventy-seven years wrote seventy-seven books (seventy-two on medicine). A Court-physician, Tiberius Claudius Menecrates, wrote 156 books in support of a new logic of medicine. Heraclitus of Rhodiapolis in Lycia, celebrated in his inscription as the first of physicians of all times, wrote medical and philosophical books in prose and verse, and bore the name of the Homer of medicine; he left his works to his native city, to Alexandria, Athens and Rhodes: in Rhodiapolis, besides other honours, he was awarded a statue *τῷ τῆς παιδείας ἀνδριάντι*.

Up to the twelfth century, north of the Alps, and, in ancient days, south of them, the pharmacopoeia had an altogether different meaning, as apothecaries, who regularly prepared drugs, scarcely existed. In Germany, they were hardly found in little towns before the end of the eighteenth century: thus Hufeland in Weimar (1783), 'as then usual', himself made and dispensed his pills and powders. In antiquity dealers in salves, drugs and groceries also sold medicines: the *aromatarii* were a guild at Rome; there were, besides, travelling hucksters and swindlers. From such shops, Pliny the Elder complains, doctors often bought the remedies, instead of exercising their proper profession of making them. The ingredients they scarcely knew, and, should they desire to make up written prescriptions, would be cheated by the salesmen. Many doctors bought plasters and drugs ready-made. Galen also groans at the frauds of those 'cursed dealers', and says they, too, were innocent victims of the collectors of herbs, who brought saps and flowers and fruits and sprouts into the towns. But the ingenious make-ups of these men

would deceive the greatest experts. Galen, in his younger days, had been a pupil under a man who forged balsam, Lemnian earth, white flowers of zinc and other rare drugs to perfection, and earned thereby largely; Galen, however, would not have his methods known, and fall into the hands of the unconscientious; he rather hoped to incite the young, by his writings, to investigate and discover the working of the healing plants for themselves. Any one who would have the command of all medicaments, must understand what are the useful parts of plants, animals, metals and minerals, and be able to distinguish genuine examples and forgeries.

But these important articles were seldom genuine, if merely imported: for security's sake, they should be specially got from the proper regions through reliable friends, and, if possible, a lifelong supply. Galen made several journeys for this purpose, and annually received regular despatches of such stuffs from many provinces, partly through friends, partly through the provincial governors, from Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Cappadocia, Pontus, Macedonia, Gaul, Spain and Mauretania. He once went to Lemnos to get Lemnian earth, and to Cyprus for her metals. In Cyprus his friendship with the imperial procurator of the mines at Soli enabled him to secure copper vitriol, copper vitriol water, cadmia, vitriolic ore, and white flowers of zinc, in quantities sufficient, not only for lifelong practice, but for distribution. Litharge he discovered between Cyzicus and Pergamus. He could not discover the river Gagates in Lycia (whence came the jet), though he coasted all along Lycia. From the Dead Sea he fetched asphalt and certain porous black inflammable stones: he went to Palestine, mainly, to get balsam, which grew in an imperial demesne at Engaddi in Judaea, and was only sold by the fisc. On his return, he had the luck of meeting a train of camels, bearing Indian aloe and lycium to Phoenicia, and of obtaining the latter pure, the impure material being unknown there. Many drugs had to be preserved in oils. But dealers sold not the old oil required, but swine-fat mixed with common oil, a very plausible composition; and the commercial pure oil was usually not old and had not the requisite qualities. Galen got oil from his father, who had kept it stored, and was ever renewing his supplies, which were thus perpetual, even should he live to be a centenarian.

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Physicians, in so far as climate permitted, cultivated the medicinal plants (as also in the sixteenth century Germany). Pliny complains of the experts of his day, who withheld their knowledge, contrasting it with the unstinted spirit of old, that searched every cranny and every peak, marked the nature of every root, and utilized what even the kine would not browse on. In some Greek works the pictures would be inaccurate, or descriptions only, or mere names be given: Pliny, however, had seen, with his own eyes, nearly all the medicinal plants in Antonius Castor's botanical garden (perhaps a freedman of a daughter of Marcus Antonius), the great botanist of his day, a writer on plants and cultivator. He had reached the age of a hundred without a single illness, and showed no signs of senility.

At Rome the imperial house had ample private stores of the curatives from all countries of the best quality. Sicily every summer sent her supplies, as did Africa and Crete (where the Emperors subsidized the collectors, 'who sent their medicinal stuffs carefully packed and labelled'): wicker baskets were there filled with herbs, partly for the imperial apothecaries, partly for sale in Rome. Galen mentions imperial slaves who caught adders, whence drugs were made. All the resources of this store were at Galen's service, as Court-physician. He could select the old Falernian of the proper year, from the long row of clay bottles, each duly labelled, or similarly the honey from Hymettus. The wooden cases of cinnamon dated back to Trajan, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, and among them was a box four and a half yards long, containing a whole cinnamon-tree. Other stuffs must have been there in similar quantity (such as the balsam of Engaddi): Pausanias incidentally mentions that the valuable oil of Thitorea, used for salves, was sent to the Emperors.

Besides being able to get drugs, physicians had to know how to prepare them, and a good collection of recipes was an indispensable qualification, often the only one. Scribonius Largus, the Court-physician under Claudius, compiled such a book at the instance of his patron Gaius Julius Callistus the freedman, who gave it into the 'divine hands' of his master. The author imagined the gift of healing to be knowledge of the means of healing. Even if Asclepiades—as falsely reported—had cured illnesses without the use of drugs; a doctor who

did not possess two or three essential medicines for every evil stood in a very bad way. For medicaments defined medicine, and to excel in this knowledge, no effort should be shirked, and persons consulted, who, unconnected with the scientific study, often succeeded, where doctors failed. Thus Scribonius got one very successful cure of colic from an old hag in Africa, and a remedy for snake-bites from a stuff Sicilian huntsmen carried in their belts. His teacher Apuleius Celsus made up a remedy against hydrophobia, and sent it every year to his native place Centuripae in Sicily, where there were many mad dogs; but it only alleviated. But Scribonius was apprised that in Crete an old man from some barbarian land had been shipwrecked, and received a fee for a thoroughly effective remedy: he learned from Zopyrus, a physician from Gordium (who came to Rome on an embassy and stayed with him), that it consisted in a piece of hyaena-skin wrapped up: he instantly got it; but, he remarks, had fortunately not had occasion to use it. Ambrosius of Puteoli mentions as a remedy against stone a stuff that must be pounded with a pestle that had no iron in it—a superstitious cure he does not vouch for. Most of his remedies—one of them a toothpowder used by Messalina—he approves through personal use, and very few only on the oath of his friends.

A great part of Galen's writings, too, deal with the preparation of drugs. He wanted to enable the practitioner to substitute, if necessary, for the requisite drug, as many were helpless without their stores. Many medicaments were very much compounded, e.g. theriac (which was used until the nineteenth century) was made of sixty-one constituents, dried adders being one of them. The number of supposed medicinal stuffs was incalculable; some were loathly, such as bugs and centipedes. Galen is amazed at the recommendation by Xenocrates of Aphrodisias (circa 60 A.D.) of human brains and flesh and liver and blood as cures, considering the formal prohibition of cannibalism. The same authority prescribed certain secretions from the human body, and from hippopotami and elephants. Roman doctors, like Serenus Sammonicus—and Germans in the seventeenth century—prescribe excrements. Galen loathes such means, but says they may work well, e.g. for dangerous swellings of the throat the excrement of a boy externally applied, provided the patient was not informed

of what was being done. And further such remedies should be reserved for sextons, mowers, and people of no standing, who were no better than donkeys and might be similarly treated.

Medical books also touched on poisons and magic drinks, love-philtres, dream-inducers or means of tying up an adversary's tongue in Court. These Galen disregards, as also deathly drugs, in which experiment is crime. One man had two doctors who offered honey for sale, tasted it, and fled—to die. Some drugs also emptied the body of blood and thus induced death. According to a story Galen tells, in his youth, a man from Bithynian Thrace (near Byzantium) accidentally discovered a herb, which had this effect. He was arrested, and, on his trial, stated he had first experimented on a pig's liver, and then successfully applied it to the next man he met and on many others, and so killed them all. On the rack, he said he had not disclosed it to any one: but it was growing everywhere, and he was led blindfold to execution, for fear he might point it out on the way.

Poisons and antidotes were largely used and a large part of medical experiment. Nero's physician Andromachus, the inventor of theriac, in a long poem exalts it as a panacea against all poisons and for the most various diseases. Hence many took it every day as a preservative, for example Marcus Aurelius, but especially all well-hated men. Scribonius catalogues the effects of most of the well-known poisons, such as hemlock, opium, henbane, gypsum, litharge, whitelead, and their antidotes, one of which was a panacea invented for Augustus by Marcianus.

Many abused their science and dealt in cosmetics: such was the Court-physician, Crito, who wrote four books on the subject: Galen only retails the prescriptions for the retention of beauty. It were unworthy of him to detail depilatories, fragrances for clothes or rooms.

As the opinion obtained that the dearest stuffs were the most efficacious, and the rich, therefore, would have nothing cheap, his apothecary's business was extremely profitable to the practitioner. One rich man, whose slave Galen had cured of a dangerous tumour, asked for the recipe, saw that its ingredients were cheap, and demanded something not fit for beggars. Galen taught him a more expensive one, and he then experimented on free men and slaves, and acknow-

ledged his indebtedness to Galen for his great successes. Of the two kinds of storax Galen recommended the commoner and cheaper as a rule, and the rarer for emperors and the plutocrats of medicine. Laxatives were made needlessly costly and expensive.

The processes of popular drugs were kept secret. Claudianus, a friend of Galen, found in an inheritance, a parchment book containing a remedy for premature baldness, which, he knew, had been highly successful : but it was expressed in symbolic language, which Galen could scarcely puzzle through. Scribonius Largus gives a 'wonderful remedy for pains in the breast'; it was long known but popularized by Paccius Antiochus (a physician whom Galen often mentions) : it was very efficacious and a good investment for a doctor. He prepared it with locked doors, and mystified his assistants by telling them to pound many unnecessary powders. After his death, the recipe was given, at his wish, to Tiberius, who deposited it in the public libraries, just as, later on, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius ordered the like publication of the works of Marcellus of Side.

Drugs used to be labelled with their names, their inventors, and their objects, or even the name of a patient for whom it was intended, or on whom it had worked well. Galen gives some instances. 'A drug of Berytus, used by Strato of Berytus for watery eyes, Instantaneous'; or 'Eye-salve tried by Florus on Antonia, mother¹ of Drusus, after the other doctors had nearly blinded her'. 'For scab. Pamphilus found it very profitable at Rome, when scab on the chin was raging.' 'Ointment for gout, made for Patroclus, imperial freedman,—safe cure.' 'Ointment, by Pompeius Sabinus (called the 'expensive' ointment) for Aburnius Valens (perhaps the famous jurist) for diseases of the hip, gout, trembling and nerves.' Or euphonious names would be given, such as 'ambrosia', 'nectarium', 'anicetum' (*ἀνίκητρον*), Phosphoros, Isis, Galene (the name given by both Andromachi to their theriac), 'parrot', 'phoenix', 'swan' (from its colour). The labels were written on the packets or the skin drawn over them; Galen mentions that adders' poison if kept in a tin box ferments and bursts; or on a string attached. Only *collyria* or eye-salves were stamped, and sent out dry, in

¹ The text of Galen must be wrong: Antonia was the wife, not the mother, of Drusus.

square sticks. About one hundred and fifty stone seals of oculists have been preserved, in England, France, Germany, Austria and the Netherlands, in Italy only three, 'containing the names of the physician, the object, the drugs, the ingredients, and mode of dissolving (in eggs, water or wine)'.

This profession, unreservedly open, exposed to such temptation, must have included bad characters. Martial makes a physician steal the medicine-spoon. Poisoning and adultery were ascribed to doctors, or a 'feverless' murder of the husband. Greed, extortion, the spirit of rivalry between the many schools, mutual animosity leading to abuse at disputations and at the bedside, or to fights, were frequent accusations: they were said to be too cocksure, even as against an Apollo or Aesculapius, and envious to the point of slander, persecution or murder, especially as envy was fostered in Rome by the hugeness of the profits. His colleagues' hatred drove Galen from Rome; it grew in proportion with his patients' admiration of him: Lucius Martius, a fine character, whom Galen cured of melancholy, says his voice sounded like the priestess's from the golden tripod. The worst and most general vices of the profession were quackery, ignorance, and practical contempt of theoretical training.

The chief schools were the Dogmatics, the Empiricists, Methodics, Pneumaticists and Eclectics: besides them there were many others, named after their founders, such as the Erasistrateans. Tiberius Claudius Menecrates, the Court-physician, wrote an 'illuminative work on logic in 156 books, for which many great cities passed decrees of honour on him' and his Roman adherents put a monument up. Or these schools might name themselves after their method of cure, e.g. *οἰνοδόται* (wine-givers), or water-physicians: hydrotherapia became the fashion in Rome under Augustus through Antonius Musa, and under Nero through Charmis of Massilia. Charmis used to prescribe cold bathing even in the winter, and dip his patients in large baths: aged consulars were treated by him, who, as Seneca says, 'made an affectation of their torpidity'. Feuds were severe and vituperative; Galen inveighs against the 'simpleton' Thessalos and 'the asses from his herd', against 'the wooden-headed methodists'. No science, says Pliny, is more variable; Vettius Valens, the Court-physician, founded his new school, to be succeeded by Thessalos

with his absolute innovations, and mad polemics against all former doctors : on his tombstone he calls himself ' tyrant of medicine '. He was the head of his profession ; no charioteer or pantomime had a larger retinue ; yet Crinas of Massilia dethroned him, throwing on medicine a specious semblance of truer care and honesty, by associating it with astrology, and settling meal-times by the planets. And he too gave way to Charmis, so that three incompatible theories of medicine in succession ruled Rome. ' Beyond all doubt ', Pliny continues, ' their craze for novelty was simply ambition ; the patients were their pawns ; the sickbed the scene of their independent quarrellings : the tombstone, which says death was due to the too many doctors, tells the truth. Daily a new-fangled science ; daily are we blown about at the wayward mercy of the talents of Greece. Any voluble person has powers of life and death over us, just as though thousands of peoples did not live on without doctoring, as Rome did for six hundred years ; though she was no inapt pupil in the sciences and hungered after medicine until experience sickened her of it '.

Asclepiades of Bithynia, a talented man, in the latter days of the Republic, took up the teaching of rhetoric, and, finding it unprofitable, all at once turned to medicine. He inculcated a new diet, mainly based on expediency, but very adaptable to the patient's mood, and what with the grossest quackery—he revived the dead—brought it about that nearly all obeyed, as Pliny says, his laws, to fill his coffers, as though he were descended from on high. His fame even reached King Mithridates, who summoned him to his Court. Asclepiades declined, but sent a copy of one of his works on medicine. He won his bet with Fate ; that, were he ever ill, he would no longer deem himself a physician, and died, at a ripe old age, of a fall from a ladder. Magic was a great part of his success. He asserted he knew of herbs that could dry up rivers and lakes, open locked doors, put armies to flight and provide a purse of Fortunatus.

Magic and medicine had much in common, and was employed by doctors in good faith. The prodigious superstition which antiquity welded into medicine infected most of the practitioners. The most universal belief amongst all (not only amongst physicians) was in an antipathy and sympathy throughout all Nature ' in the friendships and hostilities

of things dumb and unconscious'. According to Pliny, medicine was the science of these antinomies. Thus Nature had created remedies easy of discovery and abundant; but expensive rarities and their mixtures had been begotten by human fraud and greed. Dioscorides too recommends sympathetic remedies: his pharmacopoeia obtained for sixteen hundred years as the oracle of medicine, as to this day in Turkey. He also tells of how men, when digging up hellebore, for use in such diseases as epilepsy and madness, ought to stand up and pray to Apollo and Aesculapius, and take heed not to be overlooked by a passing eagle, for this spelt the digger's death. Jasper in any form was serviceable as an amulet, and, tied round a woman's loins, quickened birth. But eagle-stone retarded birth and should be given to women, who desired this, to be tied round the left arm; if taken thence, and bound on to the thigh, birth would be painless. Galen says that jasper was a cure for abdominal pains. A prescription of Nechepsos, King of Egypt, made some engrave on it, a snake with a wreath of stars. But Galen's experience was that the charm worked well, unengraved; he had a necklace so made that the stones touched the pylorus, and this proved successful. He had been an unbeliever in spells, but had been converted, whereas the Pythagorean mystical numbers, as applied to the theory of critical days, seemed to him nonsense. For what should the seven Pleiades, or the seven Mouths of the Nile, have to do with the fact that, on the seventh day, inflammation of the lungs or the chest entered on the critical stage? It happened just as often on the other days. Ulpian says that enchanters, or exorcizers, must not be deemed physicians, though many proclaim the good effects. Exorcizing of demons was an ancient practice in Egypt, and practised by the Jews as well. Sceptics of magic would not easily doubt the astrology which, especially in Egypt, was the foundation of therapeutics, and esteemed indispensable by many doctors, or non-doctors. One physician, Decius Servilius Apollonius, who, according to his tombstone, died at the age of ninety-three, had prophesied this astrologically. Galen too believed the phases of the moon exercised much influence on the things of earth and approved the discovery of the Egyptian astrologers, that the positions of the moon in regard to the good and evil planets determined the condition

of patients. For example, if, at birth, the good stars were in the Ram, and the evil in the Bull, diseases are at their worst, if the moon be in the Bull, in the Lion, in Scorpion or Aquarius; whereas, no danger need be apprehended if the moon is crossing the Ram, the Crab, Libra or Capricorn. Any one who neither observed these phenomena, nor believed others' observations, was one of those blatant sophists, who ask for reasons of the obvious, and do not strive to proceed from proven facts on to unknown ground.

(v) *Astrology*

Astrology was a profession, illegal, often prohibited under severe penalties, but for the most part tolerated, in as far as the Emperor's person or matters of State were not touched. Amongst the teachers subsidized by Alexander Severus, by the grant of lecture-rooms and the appointment of sons of poor free families as scholars, *haruspices* and astrologers were included, besides rhetors, grammarians, doctors, mechanics and architects. Caecilius Argicius Arborius, the grandfather of Ausonius, clandestinely practised his art of astrology: he sealed up the tablets of his grandson's horoscope, but his daughter broke them open. St. Augustine in his youth lent much confidence to soothsayings, but was convinced of their falsity by an older friend, who had chosen star-gazing as his profession, thoroughly mastered it, and then turned to medicine on conviction of its untruth. But Firmicus Maternus (an author of about 350 A.D.), in disgust at the 'currish' quarrelsomeness of advocacy, and its risks, took to research in things divine and heavenly, i.e. astrology, so as to purge his soul from the contaminations of evil society. He, apparently, did not adopt astrology as a lucrative profession, but mentions astrologers in his book as the professional men. The professional tax raised from the astrologers of Alexandria was called the 'Fools' Tax,' because it was the clients who really paid it. Astrology does not seem to have declined in repute during the Empire. Astrologers, mainly Greeks, Orientals and Egyptians, at the palaces of the Emperors or the grandees, were constantly to be seen, intimate confidants, and advisers or inciters in enterprises of peril; hence often involved in cases of high treason.

Pammenes (circa 40 A.D.) was an astrologer of fame, whose

art created him many friendships : in the latter years of Nero he was relegated to an island, and there received messages and questions, and a yearly grant from the Consular Publius Anteius. Another relegate to the same island got hold of Pammenes' secret documents and in 66 denounced Publius Anteius and Ostorius Scapula for their correspondence with him : both anticipated condemnation by suicide. Astrology was the aristocratic form of prophesying, like psychical research nowadays, in comparison with fortune-telling from cards. Artemidorus, the dream-interpreter, despised sooth-saying from the countenance, the form or the hand, dice, dishes, sieves, cheese and fire, and even ghosts, as vulgar, and would only acknowledge dreams, entrails, the flight of birds and the constellations as authorized modes ; he also doubted horoscopes. But horoscopes were the favourite species of prophecy in all ranks of society, high and low : besides the ' holy ' pretentious prophets, in Rome there were many starbook makers, especially in the Circus, who made out horoscopes at a vulgar price. They would also forecast the weather, as certain changes in the wind occurred on certain days, a fact Columella disproves in a pamphlet. They would tell the farmer how his crops would turn out, or a merchant what chance his business stood, or the heir-in-waiting when a rich testator would die. The last would be the most frequent inquiry, and the answers suited the askers' books : Galen says the rich only troubled about astrology as a forecast of legacies. Engaged couples inquired of astrologers what would be a lucky day for a wedding, builders for the laying of the foundation-stone, and travellers when they should start ; the fee for such a consultation on one occasion was a hundred denarii (£4 7s.). To remove every possible doubt, astrologers would demonstrate their absolute knowledge of their clients' past. Trimalchio says his astrologer had recalled things he had himself forgotten, and told him ' your friendships will not prosper. No one will be grateful. Your wealth is great. You are taking an adder to your bosom ' ; but, adds Trimalchio, ' I have still more than thirty years to live, and a fortune waiting '.

Firmicus Maternus in his work on astrology (written at the instance of Mavortius Lollianus the proconsul and dedicated to him 354 A.D.) is at pains to present his science as innocent, elevating and enlightening, and one that none but those pure and holy as

priests should pursue. His admonitions to budding astrologers illustrate their faults and dangers. The initiate into the Holy teaching, he says at the end of the second book, must be like unto the image of God, and ever wear the crown of truth. He must be affable, and approached without dread ; modest, sober, frugal, content with little, that mere self love may not dishonour divine art. He, the priest of the Sun and the Moon and the other gods, who guide the plot of earth, must aim at behaving worthily of his model. His answers should be publicly made ; the questioner should be warned to ask nothing unseemly. Questions as to the condition of the State and the life of the Emperor he must pass by : both are criminal ; the latter impossible, for the Emperor's fate depends not on the zodiac : the lord of the world, his doom is supremely guided ; he is one of the gods set by the One God to perfect and maintain all things. So the *haruspices* confessed that no godhead they could invoke could explain the superior godhead of the Emperor. The master of all ranks and conditions is himself a god in power and station. Should any thus inquire, he should not be objurgated, but gently reproved and corrected. But he need not inform against an impious inquirer ; otherwise he might be implicated in the guilt of treason, and of bloodshed the priest must be pure. He should have a wife, a house, many and true friends, not be a hermit, yet abstain from all dissension and wrongful acts, and be careless of gain, a stranger to savage passion, have no joy in others' enmities, moderate in all things. He should flee from sedition and seek friendship, and always be blameless ; not perjure himself, or practise usury, or make others' loss his gain. He must not accept or promise on oath, not seem to beseech the gods for paltry things. To those astray, and his friends, he must point the right way, and save them from evil. Never should he partake of offerings at night, speak to any one secretly, but in full daylight exercise his godly art. In his horoscopes he must not dwell too closely on men's vices, but show some reason ; not make the hostile stars a personal reproach. He must hold himself aloof from the temptations of the shows, so as to avoid seeming a partisan ; God's priests must not be fond of pleasure. Arrayed in this armour of virtue, let him proceed, and, thus only, study the following books on the stars and the lot of man. No soul prejudiced and seared

with evil passions can embrace the Divine lore ; an impious mind injures itself thereby. Spotless, pure, and true he must do his holy work, and purity avails him more than knowledge. In the proem to the fifth book, Firmicus makes an impassioned prayer to God the Almighty, the ' Father and Mother of all beings, Father and Son in one kinship '. May God regard it kindly, if the author is moved by a higher impulse and a pure will to explain the courses of the stars and their influence : ' For Thy Romans have I written these books, so that, when all things have been rendered in their tongue, this may not be the only exception '. Then he prays the stars, the Sun and the Moon to forgive his intrusion into their secrets ; for no villainous curiosity or spirit of impiety impelled him ; only a spirit strong in the Divine inspiration, whereby he had to uplift to the Temples on the Tarpeian Rock what seers of Egypt had brought to light.

§ 4. AGRICULTURE—THE MARINE—SUBORDINATE OFFICES— MILITARY SERVICE

(i) *Agriculture*

This occupation Columella exalts over military service or the marine, commerce, usury, advocacy, clientship. Land in Italy only paid 6 per cent. ; hence, when interest under Augustus sank to 4 per cent., prices rose and land became a favourite investment. But little poultry, vegetable or fruit-farms, the crops of which were readily saleable at Rome, were rented higher : some fruit-trees near Rome earned 2,000 sesterces a year (£21 2s. 6d.) and flowers also paid well. In 227 A.D. a vegetable gardener on the road to Ostia paid 26,000 sesterces as rent. Such high prices induced many investors, including most of the landowners, to draw ground-rents in the shape of interest on small holdings : the *coloni* under the Empire throughout the realm formed a considerable part of the population, and sometimes (as their inscriptions prove) reached great prosperity.

Small holdings, were then, as now, in Italy, almost universal, and large holdings were only a mass of small ones. But, in the course of time, small rent-holders supplanted both small properties and even proprietary management ; Pliny the Elder, when he said that the large estates had ruined Italy

and the provinces, can only have been thinking of the replacement of peasant proprietors by peasant leaseholders. He was exaggerating even in this point, as usual, as is shown by two bonds, touching on Trajan's provisions for the education of the children of the free poor, for whom lands (at about twelve times their value) were mortgaged, in the neighbourhood of Veleia (near Parma) and Placentia, and near Beneventum. At Beneventum, peasant ownership still prevailed: out of fifty owners of mortgaged lands there are only two large owners (their estates amounting to 451,000 and 501,000 sesterces), nine owners of lands worth from 100,000 to 400,000 sesterces, the rest all having smaller estates (the Roman acre of 252 hectares of cultivable ground being valued at 1,000 sesterces). In Aemilia a far greater proportion of the former small holdings had been monopolized, 'as the rich country on the Po attracted capital, more than did the Hirpine Hills'. There out of 52 owners, half only possessed lands worth less than 100,000, and about as many estates varying from 100,000 to 400,000, and a fifth larger estates, three in this last category owning lands worth more than a million.

Vines were the most profitable form of cultivation. Seven *iugera* of vine-lands with the slave service, vine-stocks and the inventory, together with interest for the two years of waiting, cost 32,480 sesterces (£353 10s.), and Columella says this capital yielded 18 per cent., if well cultivated, not to mention the cuttings from the vines, so that despite bad years, expenses of management and accidents, the capital yielded a good profit, as the earnings of Remmius Palaemon show.

(ii) *The Marine*

Less certain, but more profitable was the Roman commercial marine, the flag of which was seen in every sea. According to Manilius' *Astrology* (circa 14 A.D.), the Crab initiated and favoured sea-trade. Those born under this constellation spread their over-sea goods through city and country, looked out for the accidental destruction of corn, and trusted their fortunes to the winds. The world was their vendor and their purchaser; unknown lands and unseen sunrises served them and their needs. Trimalchio, whose

wealth had thus been gained, ascribes his luck to the Crab. A corn-merchant (from an inscription on a statue erected at Praeneste 136 A.D. by his son) was well known in Rome and respected for his honesty: he made his purchases partly in Etruria and Umbria, but 'used eagerly to visit the safe havens of weary mariners'. The extent and variety of Roman commerce, which went far beyond the boundaries of the Empire, its dangers and its winnings, will be later examined in detail.

(iii) *Subordinate Offices*

The most sought after were the subordinate posts under the magistrates and priests. These were open to freedmen, and by them almost entirely filled. They were paid, and could be permanent, despite the yearly tenure of their superiors. These *apparitores*, on retirement, might sell their position to a successor. Hence, even in the Republic, these practically permanent officials had rights of corporation into *decuriae*, and, under good imperial government, this system of protection won their guild a certain amount of power. Almost exclusively they were the aristocracy of the freedmen. Trimalchio wishes to have it inscribed on his tombstone, that, had he wished, he could have entered any of the Roman *decuriae*.

The most reputed and best paid of them were the secretaries and treasurers, the *scribae*: but only the *scribae* of the quaestors were incorporated (into three *decuriae*) and those of the curule aediles (into one): both bodies being principally engaged in the administration of the *aerarium* (the Treasury and the Record office) and with the public book-keeping. With magistracies of one year, naturally, the substantial control would be with the permanent under-officials; and they could, through their knowledge of the law, of the accounts and the archives, and office regulations, not unfrequently lay under obligation the cities of Italy and of the provinces, which returned the favour in the form of civil rights and decrees of honour. But this high service was comparatively seldom in freedmen's hands: though they were not excluded: their sons were admissible, but knights also aspired to these posts. Just as the corpse of Augustus was borne on the knights' shoulders, the body of Drusus

the Elder was carried by the *decuriae* of the *scribae*. Vitruvius mentions the house of a scribe Faberius on the Aventine in whose peristylia the walls were covered with cinnabar.

Next to the *scribae* among the *apparitores* ranked the *lictiores* of the various magistracies, who formed three *decuriae* with a committee of ten. Sometimes they might be influential. To one consular lictor of the guild of the Divers and Fishermen of the Tiber (whose patron he was) a monument was set up, as he inaugurated a service of boats. Sons of over-lictors (*lictiores proximi*) are often knights. More powerful than the lictors was their fellow-officer and substitute, the *accensus*, whom the magistrate selected out of his own freedmen, to be his personal companion or intimate even. To one Lucius Licinius Secundus, who held this post under his patron, Licinius Sura, the powerful friend of Trajan, during his three consulates (98, 102 and 107 A.D.), at least thirteen statues were set up at Tarraco, by individuals and by corporations.

Lower than the lictors in this progression stood the *viatores* (messengers), mostly freedmen and meaner folk, but some quaestorian *viatores* were knights. The lowest of these were the *praecones* (criers), whose unesteem sprang from their opprobrious office. The inscriptions mention only freedmen and bastard *praecones*. Manilius' *Astrology* assigns an especial constellation to the talents requisite for these various dignities. Any one born under it knows his city, and as *praeco*, acts as broker to the state auctioneers; as *viator* or *lictor* arrests wrongdoers; as *scriba* cites State debtors. Further, *apparitores* of low standing often had a trade or handicraft, such as tailoring, oil-selling, pearl-dealing, or metal-founding.

(iv) *The Army*

Military service was the occupation most preferred by the people. The garrison of Rome, which under Vespasian consisted of nine Praetorian Cohorts, later of ten, and three or four City Cohorts (in all 13,000–14,000 men), was drafted solely from the free, but the militarily organized Fire Brigade (who were the night-watch and police, about 7,000 in all) from freedmen. The rank and file of the Roman garrison had higher pay and standing than the legionary privates. Service in the City Cohorts was for twenty years, at a

denarius a day, the Praetorian Guards receiving two denarii a day. Largess was a matter of right on special occasions. Claudius initiated the custom of purchasing their support, by promising them, at his accession, 15,000 sesterces a man : other emperors yearly, or at intervals of five or six years, used to make distributions.

But not only these advantages, the prospects of promotion and pension, the pleasure of soldiering induced men into the ranks : there was also the increasingly high social position. Like the higher ranks, soldiers were exempt from relegation to the mines or the rack. In a poem written about the beginning of the second century in praise of the army, the excesses permitted to the Guard are mentioned. Any assault by a Praetorian might neither be warded off nor judicially punished, and, in the court-martial of the regiment, no witness or evidence would be obtainable. Pertinax made the Praetorians furious, by forbidding robbery and violence.

In the provinces, the troops were no less arrogant. The legions were mainly raised by levies, but many entered voluntarily, induced by poverty and hatred of a regular life : preferable to them was twenty years of rough camp-life (from 17 to 37, under Hadrian until 42), unmarried, and often in the wilds on the frontiers. This long period of service no doubt hardened and uncivilized them : and the stinting of their pay emboldened them to rob. Quintilian warns the advocate not to censure whole classes at once, or, at least, to add something in extenuation. Soldiers may be greedy, but naturally do not rate their life cheaply ; impudent, as more familiar with military than civil life. The biographer of Pescennius Niger awards him special praise for repressing his soldiers from forcing gifts of oil, wood or labour. A tale in Apuleius' romance illustrates their arbitrariness. A legionary private in Macedonia met a gardener riding an ass, and brusquely addressed him unintelligibly in Latin. No answer was returned, and the soldier characteristically knocked him off his mount, and despite the victim's apologies, was going to appropriate the animal with violence. Entreaties are met with threats : the gardener simulates death, is robbed, and flew to a neighbouring town and shelter. Thither the soldier follows him, and conspires revenge : he and his comrades accuse the gardener of stealing a silver ornament of

the procurator, and the gardener is condemned and executed.

The most coveted regiment was the privileged body of the Praetorians; younger sons of the *honoratiores* and high officials of the *municipia* served in it as privates. But the admission was tardily granted; only the strongest and tallest were selected, and none accepted who was not at least five (Roman) feet ten in height. Any one falling short, be it by four inches, was drafted by Hadrian into the City Cohorts. Into the City Cohorts sons of freedmen were admitted, as were citizens of the City Tribes, who ranked between the full citizens of the country tribes and the freedmen, this class never entering into the legions or the Guard. Augustus gave these *tribules* of the second order no further right than to join the City Cohorts. The Roman garrison, however, was, at first, recruited only from Rome and Italy, under Tiberius from Etruria and Umbria, from the Latin cities and ancient Italian *coloniae*, which were first enfranchised 90 B.C. By the time of Claudius, Transpadanians were also admitted. Next candidates from provinces outwardly latinized were allowed in, such as men from Macedonia, Noricum and Spain, which, according to the tables of the Praetorian Guard, under Severus then amounted to 23, 18 and 13 men respectively, Pannonia contributing 11, Narbonensis 6, and Dalmatia 5. From this select force Africans, natives of the Greco-Semitic East, and the barbarian parts of the Danube, of Rhaetia, extra-Narbonese Gaul, Germany and Britain, were excluded, but such men could serve and the Africans especially in the City garrison, cohorts and fire brigade. In the second century the large majority of the Praetorian Guards were still Italians; the fragments of their lists show, 119/120 A.D., 102 Italians to 10 foreigners; 141/142 A.D., 36 Italians to 4 foreigners; 143/144 A.D., 260 to 12; 153/156, 47 to 2; 172/178, 60 to 15. So, too, with the City Cohorts; in a list of 197/198 A.D. there were only 16 foreigners in 172 men. Severus in 193 A.D. disbanded the Praetorians and reorganized them, and roused great discontent by incorporating veterans from all the provincial legions, thus filling the city with soldiers of savage semblance, rough manners and barbarous tongues. Now the Guard consisted mainly of Illyrians, Africans and Syrians. Their monuments, in bad grammar and poor writing, show how

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little their barbarous nature was affected or polished. 'Here lies Laudator', runs one inscription of a centurion of the Guard, 'a simple, honest man, whom Sassina bore; whom Aquileia lays to rest; who faithfully led a century of a Praetorian Cohort not of a barbarian legion'. The youth of Italy, debarred from the accessible service in the City, turned gladiators and bandits.

A man who started *ex caliga* (from the rank and file) could rise to be centurion, a position of considerable command. The *primipilatus*, or highest centurionate, was only gained by few, by those whose long military career under different suns, assailing the camps of the Moors and the fortresses of the Brigantes (in Britain), had earned them, unkempt, unwashed, this right in their sixtieth year. At this point veterans retired. They were called *primipilares*, and formed a special class, specially privileged and respected, and generally enjoying a fair competence on retirement; if they were not made knights, their sons always were; and, if veteran centurions in the cities of Italy and provinces set the tone, *primipilares* would be even more eminent. Augustus conferred on all centurions in honourable retirement the *toga* with the purple stripe and the rank of *Decurio*. Generally *primipilares* would hold the highest offices in the cities, and be the patrons of the communes, and by the Emperors be selected as civil officers and commissaries to city administrators (*curatores*). Further, as trustworthy men, they would be employed on important messages and services.

Moreover, the centurionate might be the stepping-stone to further advancement, in a two-fold fashion. Young men of the third, or second order even, began their military career, by imperial permission, as centurions, and, after serving three equestrian ranks (the praefecture of the cavalry, the tribunate of a legion or cohort, and the praefecture of an auxiliary cohort, and under Severus a fourth position as well), either left the service with the title of *a tribus* or *a quatuor militiis*, or, as procurators entered the administration, there to advance higher still. Knights, beginning service with this non-equestrian centurionate, temporarily lost knighthood, hoping to gain the honourable and well-paid officers' command, and the highly salaried procuratorships.

Besides this, soldiers who had risen to the *primipilatus* were

encouraged, in the Early Empire even, to enter the officers' career; the legionary tribunate being the next step, and after that the *praefectus castrorum*. Often they were appointed tribunes of the City Cohorts, but seldom praefects of the auxiliary cohorts. Later on the *militiae equestris petitores*, as they were called under Commodus, formed a special class, to which young knights might belong, but which gradually came to consist only of veterans, and these mainly Praetorian. This class, too, if knighted at a comparatively early age, might attain the highest posts of knighthood or even the Senate; though this ennoblement is not found before the end of the second century. No few names have come down, of whom it is known that they rose in one or other of these ways.

§ 5. CLIENTS

During all epochs in the history of Rome, the number of men living by clientship, wholly or partially, must have been very great. Tacitus, in describing the feeling at Nero's murder, emphasizes only two classes, the mob of the Circus and the theatre, and the uncorrupted adherents of the great houses, the clients and freedmen of the banished and condemned. This division may be incomplete, but it illustrates the extent and significance of *clientela*. The *clientela* of old was a *pietas*, a sacred obligation; its later echo a mere relation of master and servant. The ancient client was, as Ennius testifies, the faithful follower and even confident of his patron, who protected him: now he had become a scurvy, ill-paid attendant in his lord's or 'king's' retinue.

In the later Republic, the old relation might survive, as in Horace's description of the Consular Lucius Marcius Philippus, and Volteius Menas. Philippus takes Volteius, for his personal qualities, into his house, acting on information that he was a man of small estate, but blameless and merry, and that his society would relieve the overstrained business man: as a companion, he makes him his daily associate, and gives him a wherewithal to live. But soon this personal relation came to an end, with the increasing number of the clients, and the ceremoniousness of their position. The Republican tradition of every distinguished man having a retinue commensurate with his rank, to fill his *atrium* every morning, to accompany him on all public occasions, and

generally to invest him with splendour, became more and more common, more and more exacting, even on less wealthy men of business : all must have their clients, surrounding their sedan-chairs, refuting any imputation of petty commerce ; and a great number of needy men was at the cheap disposal of the train of a rich or eminent man, or of the Emperor. Each service had its fee, generally paid in kind or in money to buy food. And competition was always lowering the pay. In Martial's day, clients complained of the close-fistedness of the great, and cast envious gazes on the generosity and affability of the Mummii and Pisones, the Cottae and Senecas of the olden times. The spirit of aristocratic pomp and patronage had changed : and, even if antiquity may have been enhanced by regretful memory, at least one contemporary of Martial and Juvenal did find the condition of clients a miserable one.

Besides the regular fee in kind or money, clients received other occasional benefits, such as a casual invitation to an empty place at the patron's table, a rare and valued recognition of long service ; or, perhaps, presents : a worn-out cloak, a shabby *toga*, sometimes a thousand sesterces, or a few acres of land, as a final requital of lifelong attachment (wherever Martial mentions the meanness of the rich to their poor friends, he is thinking of the clients). Such was Martial's little estate of Nomentum, perhaps out of Seneca's property. In one of his last Roman poems, he indulges in comic exaggerations of the diminutive size of an estate given him by his friend Lupus. It was smaller than the flower bed outside his window ; a cricket could cover it with its wing, too short for a cucumber to lie straight in, its harvest might fill a snail-shell, its must a nut-shell. Others found it wiser to appoint old clients to the supervision of their estates, 'fee'd henchmen', says Columella, 'too old to do daily service', and wholly incapable of conducting what they superintend. Sometimes the patron gave his clients and freedmen free lodgings ; but loans, guarantees, legal help and general protection seem to have been regularly expected and received. Paetus Thrasea was impugned for devoting more time to the private interests of his clients than the public affairs of State. But, as a rule, clients made a poor living ; many were fed on great expectations ; 'few', says Martial, 'got much in the *atria*

of the great ; most were pale for hunger '. Yet many again sought the service, even of poor men : ' how much stupidity the Roman *toga* covers up ! '

In Martial's day, clients were paid the wretched sum of 6½ sesterces a day, barely sufficient, with other advantages, to support a client, and this had to be laboriously earned. The most arduous task, and the most essential, was to wait on the lord or king every morning, and to help to supply the social requirement of a full *atrium*. This would be in the first and second hours. But clients had to be punctual, if anything, to wait for admission, however far they had had to come : generally they started in the dark to visit friends on the way, who did not return the call ; often having no time for sleep or digestion. According to Juvenal, ' as soon as the stars begin to dim, or whilst tardy Boötes is still moving in the heavens, the poor client rises from his bed, in haste forgets to lace his shoes, anxious lest the host of visitors have already run their orbit '. And Martial, too, bitterly complains, that, in return for his little poems, he demands little more than to have his sleep out ; and he may not ; these endless troubles in this ill-paid service drove him out of Rome, and, at home, he found repose once more. A further inconvenience was this : the client had to present himself to his patron in the *toga*, the costume of state and ceremony : it was a hot, cumbersome cloth cloak, disused more and more at Rome after the beginning of the Empire, and soon to be the garb of the clients only, and no slight expense, as in summer four or more even would be worn out. In this accursed *toga* they went their ways, before daybreak, in streets empty, save for bakers, who were hawking their goods, their first customers being boys, going lamp in hand to school, or meeting roysterers coming home from a late feast. Wind or hail or snow, no inclemency that deterred others, might deter them. Add to this the dirty streets, the long distances, for many had to pay several visits, and, as the day advanced, the obstruction of the growing traffic, and the dangers in the narrow tortuous streets from the overlaid waggons. These daily inconveniences in themselves made this mode of life intolerable : Martial makes one client plead gout to excuse himself from the daily visit.

This early call, being their principal obligation, gave them

the names of *salutatores* and *togati* ; but many had to work on most of the day, or even all day long, in the *cortège* of their lords, following or preceding his sedan-chair, accompanying all of his visits whatsoever, at the tenth hour repairing with him to the *thermae* of Agrippa ; whilst they had to take their baths at the Baths of Titus, a half-hour's distance. They had to elbow themselves forcibly through the crowd. If their lord was travelling into the country or abroad, they had to be in readiness to take an empty place in his chariot. Were he reciting his poems, they had to give, by gestures or otherwise, the signal for the applause of his audience ; were he pleading in Court, the collective bravoës of the *togati* manifested, as Martial says, the eloquence, not of the orator, but of his scullions. Once an especially patient client was dining with the hot-tempered orator Caelius Rufus, and still found it hard to keep the peace. At last the continual assents wearied Caelius, and he exclaimed : ' Do say no, once at least ; so that people may know we are two people here '. Nor was their work always innocuous. Sometimes they had to be the tools in plots, the discovery of which spelled ruin to all participants. In the year 55 Junia Silana used her clients Iturius and Calvisius to implicate Agrippina in Nero's eyes in an attempt on the sovereignty. The conspiracy failed and brought banishment to Silana, and relegation to the clients. In Pompeii clients agitated in the city elections of their patrons. Sometimes the clients of a great house combined, to set up in his *atrium* a statue of their patron in his honour.

Not only from the lord, but from his slaves as well, clients had to endure bitter humiliations. Columella calls their profession the lying 'bird-catching' of the 'paid visitors', who swarm about the threshold and learn from hearsay how their king has slept. For often the slaves vouchsafe no reply ; often must he be repulsed by a chained porter and lie outside like a dog. If they had some urgent business, and could not afford to be put off by usual pretexts, of the master being out, or being shaved, or busy in preserving the first hair shorn from some favourite slave, then they must bribe the haughty slaves, who thus derived much tribute from the scant earnings of these poorer clients. And, after getting through the half-opened door, once inside, they still

had to face 'the pride of the announcer and the frown of the chamberlain', and make greater efforts still, to gain admission. Usually, the great man received the greetings in a preordained order, and made no return salutation. 'How many', says Seneca, 'still wearied out from yesterday's debauch, will only yawn a haughty half-heard answer to the poor men, who interrupt their night's rest, to wait on a stranger?' It was a condescension to remember the humble visitor's name. But the client had to meet his patron with the greatest reverence, to address him as lord and king, were he not to fall into disfavour, and lose the desired reward. The patron showed his 'friendship' at most, by freedom from restraint in his client's presence. Often lifelong service would change nothing in this respect. The 'happy friends' only understood being enraged, and thereby profited, for hatred is cheaper than generosity: the Roman grandees easily put up with the loss of a client; and clients were often burdensomely officious to their patrons. But the patron who exacted slavishness could expect no love.

Their greatest humiliation was, however, at table. Juvenal's fifth satire deals with this; the general accuracy of his description is confirmed by Martial and others. In many houses clients and other humbler diners were accommodated very differently from the masters of the house and his guests, in food and drink. Their lower standing was made painfully evident. Pliny the Younger warns a young friend against such a combination of luxury and meanness; at one house where he had recently been entertained the wines for the guests, the 'lesser friends' and the freedmen were of distinct brands. Pliny, in the course of conversation, remarked that at his table, all, including the freedmen, fared alike: his neighbour remarked that it must be costly: Pliny rejoined that he drank the same as his freedmen, not his freedmen the same as himself. Martial makes the patron dine off Lucrine oysters, the finest mushrooms, a flounder, a fat dove or thrush, whilst the client had watery mussels, bad mushrooms, poor fish, and a magpie that had died in its cage; the client drank new Sabine out of glass, the master an old vintage out of a *murrha* vessel; *murrha*, says Martial, being opaque and obscuring the liquor. And yet the rich marvel that friendships no longer exist, like those

of Pylades and Orestes—who shared the same food. To have love, they must follow a piece of advice of the Stoic Hecaton, mentioned by Seneca; they must show love themselves. Juvenal paints a similar picture. The patron drank out of costly vessels: but if such a glass were given to a client, he was closely watched and the jewels counted, or he was given a broken earthenware jar. The fairest youth of Little Asia waited on the lord: on the client some African runner, or bony-handed Moor, an ill fellow to meet of nights. Slaves demurred to obeying or tending an old client, and were jealous of his sitting while they stood. They would hand him stale bread; the good white bread was for the master, and the client was repulsed if he ventured to touch it. The lord had a lobster, asparagus and fine oil; the client a Tiber fish, with lamp-oil. The client dare not drink his lord's toast; dare not open his mouth, for fear of ejection, must acquiesce in being the laughing-stock of his lord or his guests. The author of the *Encomium* on Piso says that the poor clients had thus to earn their scant livelihood, and says of his patron's house that there 'nobody's insult would arouse general laughter'. In the fifth century, Valerianus, a Bishop in Gaul, expresses indignation at the giving of broken dishes to poor guests, at their beards being plucked, their chairs being taken from under them, and their being provoked to fight, so as to amuse their host.

Epictetus confirms these descriptions, mentioning the hubbub and morning visits as characteristic of Rome. A client should show equanimity, if not invited to a feast, or being given a back seat. The few honoured paid dear in morning visits, bearing the patron company, and flattery. Any one seeking access to a rich man must expect to be repulsed or shown the front door, or to have to kiss his hands.

Few facts are known as to the *clientela* of the second century, though no change need be looked for, despite the vanishing of the old aristocracy after Nero's reign, and the rise of new municipal and provincial families. In the second and third centuries, the number of noble families was probably undiminished, and, no doubt, these mushroom senators derived no fewer advantages from riches and influence than their aristocratic predecessors. The clients had the same duties. Fronto says that Gavius Clarus the senator, from youth onwards, showed the

same readiness to oblige him as a faithful and zealous freedman. Galen makes out a prescription for the many, whose unquiet life forced them before daybreak to knock at their patron's gates; who often arrived in a sweat, and then took cold, who attended others at their bath, and accompanied them home; themselves bathing and dining in haste. Tertullian repeatedly reprobates the cringing patience of these slaves of the belly, these thralls of rich favourers. Lucian's *Nigrinus* seems to show that the barrier between clients and patrons had broadened, and one side was slavish, and the other domineering: he may be rhetorically inexact. But essentially nothing had altered since the first century. The clients still had to rise at midnight, run about the entire city, be shown the door by slaves, and bear the most unseemly abuse. And the rich still strutted about in purple, poked out their beringed fingers, and were tastelessly, needlessly ostentatious; their accosters had to be content with a stare and a word from a follower. Prostrations even did they demand, like the Persians; when they are near, men must bow to them, and when they are afar, must humiliate their souls and wear lowly garments; and kiss their breast or their hand, and be envied this honour. And the reward was a contemptuous entertainment, the guests being often, unwillingly, forced into drunkenness, and going back home, cursing their host, loathing his stinginess, and hating their humiliation. Then in the street-corners, they would begin to vomit, next day be ill in bed, and have doctors—if they had time at all to be ill.

Most of these willing slaves were men of low standing, 'people with ragged cloaks', as Juvenal says: generally freedmen acted as clients to their patron, or even soldiers. Claudius prohibited soldiers from waiting on senators, but more out of fears for the stability of his throne. Lucian, too, speaks of the crowds of soldiers, who would not wait in the *queue* but elbowed their way through. Many, too, who had been better off, kept up a scanty old age in this fashion. Such were Junia Silana's clients, Iturius and Calvisius; they, after consuming their whole fortune, at their patroness's behest aided the indictment of Agrippina. Even men of education could be forced by hunger to mingle with these rude retainers, such as Publius Egnatius Celer the Stoic, a client, and afterwards the accuser of Barea Soranus,

Martial, a knight, and the youthful author of the *Encomium on Piso*. According to the latter only few houses had literary or scientific men as clients: he was fortunate in his lot. For Piso had no pleasure in crowds of boors, who could only offer mere service, and had only wit enough to precede and make room for their lord. In his house the poor friend was not contemned, and the client not downtrodden.

But, especially in earlier times, when clients were more than paid footmen, patrons, too, had some responsibility and grievance. Many had no leisure from their crowds of clients, or, as Horace says, had to slip out by a back door, whilst they waited in the *atrium*; a course Seneca deemed crueller than refusal. Their requests he had to listen to; they gossiped anywhere and everywhere of his family secrets. They brawled at his table and fought with his freedmen. At the *Saturnalia*, on New Year's Day and his birthday, they brought little presents, serviettes, spoons, wax lights, paper, baskets of Damascene plums, angling thus for larger returns. The poor man, says Martial, is most generous to his rich friend, when he gives him nothing. But the speculation did not always come off: 'the patron's gold was seldom heard rattling'. Instead of his expected rent money, the client might receive a flask of wine, a hare or game. Every slave also claimed his share, or commission on the present he carried. Eight brawny porters, says Martial, on the *Saturnalia*, dragged a number of articles into his house, scarcely worth thirty sesterces in all; one slave could far easier have carried five pounds of silver. And then the poor man had to extol the gift to the skies, whilst his was contemptuously cast aside. At the feasts of the *Saturnalia*, all the clients were entertained at once, and Lucian almost literally reiterates all Juvenal's complaints at their treatment at table, but adds that their behaviour often justified it.

§ 6. THE FREEDMEN

In conclusion it must again be pointed out, that the importation of slaves in masses from every part of the Empire, as well as from beyond, out of whom every year hundreds or thousands were freed and entered the third estate, rendered the population of Rome extraordinarily cosmopolitan. Of the tombs that line both sides of the military roads from

Rome, more than half belong to freedmen. The 80,000 citizens whom Caesar settled in various places beyond the sea, seem to have been mostly freedmen, as was certainly the fact in Corinth. Some indication of the extent of manumissions may be gathered from Augustus' restriction of testamentary manumissions—and he limited them as far as he might—to one hundred. Further, free provincials were always immigrating in masses, especially from the South and the East, and thrusting the original Romans out. Lucan even calls Rome a city filled with the scum of every nationality. Rome, said the Romans of the second century, was Greek, but populated not from Greece, but Little Asia and the East; the Orontes (the chief river of Syria) had flowed into the Tiber. Athenaeus (circ. 300 A.D.) says that the cities in Rome were innumerable; whole provinces, such as Cappadocia, Scythia, Pontus, were there settled. The huge number of Orientals may be gauged by the numbers of the Jews. An embassy of Herod to Augustus was accompanied by 8,000 Roman Jews: in 19 A.D., 4,000 freedmen of military age were deported to Sardinia for 'infection with Jewish and Egyptian superstition'. The volume of immigration increased: the true Roman free-born decreased by commixture; in 24 A.D., a revolt of slaves was anticipated, and Rome felt serious apprehensions at the limitless growth of her slave-class, and decline of the free-born *plebs*. Augustus limited legal manumission and recommended to the Senate and his successors the same advice, 'so as not to fill the city with all sorts and conditions': but freedmen multiplied and Rome's population was heterogeneous and chaotic.

The freedmen foreigners were often very wealthy. Their riches were in part derived from service in great houses, in which Greeks and Orientals ingratiated themselves, or made themselves indispensable or dreaded as acquainted with shameful secrets. In part their opulence came from their Oriental industry and skill in commerce. Juvenal makes one rich freedman, his Euphratian birth-mark betrayed by the pierced lobes of his ears, demand precedence over praetors and tribunes; for he had five shops that brought him in 400,000 a year. Trimalchio tells of how he, as a boy, came from Asia to Rome and was for fourteen years his master's darling, and on a very good footing with his mistress; and

he was not in the habit of boasting. Thus, by the grace of the gods, he became master of the house; he was made co-heir with the Emperor, and a senatorial fortune left to him. But contentment is not human; so he went into business, built five ships, freighted them with a wine, then worth its weight in gold. Unfortunately they all stranded, and Neptune drank up 30,000,000 sesterces. But nothing deterred him: he built bigger and stouter ships; loaded them with wine, bacon, beans, perfumes and slaves: in one voyage made 10,000,000, bought back all the property of his former master; built a palace at Naples; at last owned more than his native city; retired from business, and now let his freedmen earn for him. His tombstone was to be inscribed: 'a self-made millionaire: I have left an estate of 30,000,000 and never heard a philosopher'. His fellow freedmen are 'people to be respected': one of them began on nothing, as a carrier of faggots, and now has 800,000; another's credit is momentarily shaken, but has been worth a million. Petronius does not exaggerate, he draws from life. Demetrius, a freedman, is said to have left 4,000 talents (£943,050); and Didymus and Philomelus, the richest men at Rome in the time of Domitian, must have started as slaves. Freedmen's wealth was proverbial at Rome, even in the Early Empire, as also their tastelessness and impertinence and ostentation. Of Calvisius Sabinus, whose riches were as great as his ignorance (he was consul in 26 A.D.), Seneca remarks he had a freedman's properties and proprieties. On freedmen's tables vessels glittered, 'on which a whole silver mine had been expended'. In their baths, statues, columns, waterfalls abounded, all decoratively useless. The mirrors for their daughters' vanity cost more than the dowries of the daughters of the statesmen of old. In sybaritic luxury they excelled the most eminent: in all the greater contrast stood their vulgarity and ignorance. They, who once had feared the whip, who now plastered weals and brands over, or bribed physicians to silence, to take the marks out,—they were now to be seen in snow-white *togas*, Tyrian purple, scarlet shoes of the finest leather, their fingers gleaming with jewels, their hair scented, and on the front benches of the Theatre of Marcellus. Their predilection was to treat their betters with disdain. The rich freedman

was the type of the common upstart, shameless and boastful. Zoilus in Martial represents him, like Trimalchio : he wears heavy rings, almost as heavy as his former leg-irons ; uses a monstrosly big sedan-chair : malingers to show off his Egyptian bolsters with purple coverlets and scarlet quilts : enjoys the costliest wines and foods himself, whilst giving his guests common stuff and leavings : his snoring at table must be respectfully listened to, in silence : any one happy at such a feast the poet deems worthy of his beggar's bread. The self-complacency of this class was increased by the sight of the power of their peers at Court, and the reflection of that Court-glory on themselves : their sons and grandsons often attained high posts as knights and senators ; even in Nero's reign many such families were of servile descent.

But beside this ostentation of these former slaves, no few showed a nobler pride, the pride of the low-born but able, as against the *fainéant* rich. Cicero, in the heyday of aristocracy, dared only hint at the superiority of the middle-class : 'the nobles in their excess of good and evil quite outdo our potentialities'. Two hundred years later, when the nobles had been depressed by monarchy, Juvenal accentuates the value of the lower orders. 'Catilina and Cethegus, with all their blue blood, aped the Gauls in attempting to fire the Capitol and had to be curbed by the ignoble new man of Arpinum, who, at Rome, had been only an obscure knight before ; free Rome hailed him *pater patriae*. And another man of Arpinum it was who had earned his daily bread in the Volscian mountains, when weary of working on others' soil ; and he later swung the centurion's whip on to a soldier entrenching but idly. And he, as consul, checked the Cimbri and saved the panic-stricken city. Hence his noble colleague was only awarded the second laurels, when the ravens flew over the battlefield, and fed on the gigantic Cimbri. The Decii, in name and soul plebeian, were the accepted sacrifice of the Nether Gods. The last good King of Rome was the son of a slave ; the sons of Brutus the consul traitorously opened the gates to the banished tyrants, and were loyally betrayed by a slave. However far your family-tree go, your first ancestor was a shepherd or a robber, one who found refuge in Romulus' camp. In splendid palaces indecent Andalusian songs and dances are found seemly.

Dice and adultery are the shame of the humble, the sport of the great ; the guilt of the cobbler and glory of the noble. From the depths emerge the eloquent, who defend the ignorant nobility, who solve the riddles of the law, and the martial youth who, under the eagles, guard the Euphrates and the Rhine : the nobles are as useless as the armless busts of Hermes, with only an ancestry to boast of, and devoid of sound sense.'

But how strength arose from out the lower ranks, and the weaker upper orders sank and decayed : how the three orders of societies, to a certain extent, regularly interchanged in constant succession, this fragmentary account from few and scattered sources can give no sufficient idea.

CHAPTER IV

ROMAN SOCIETY

THE interaction of Society on Court and Court on Society has already been mentioned, but can only be imperfectly described, in part only conjectured. *Clientela* corresponds most closely to the Court ceremonial of visits. And the *officia* or social obligations were very various and could not be disregarded by any one in Society, and least by the prominent members : ceremony, developed and extended, became subject to stricter regulations.

I. As in great houses, receptions were held in the early hours of the morning. The Roman day assigned all business to the daylight, and in the afternoon brought it to an end at the principal meal ; hence the dawn only was left for most social obligations. Every morning, then, the Roman palaces re-echoed to the sound of many feet ; the clients, in dirty *togas* and cobbled shoes, clattering up even earlier, in such numbers even as to cause an obstruction in the street. Sedan-chair carriers, in red mantles, like soldiers, would hurriedly carry a rich man along ; he would be enjoying some sleep behind drawn curtains, and his clients walking all around him. The well-known cry of the lictor would be audible, making room for a consul, and, to the lictors with their *fascies* and the servants who knocked at the doors, preceding the high dignitaries in purple *togas*, the crowd would give way. Or a needy Greek applying for the position of teacher in a noble house, and overdressed—beyond his income—imitating the costume and tastes of his patron, would come by ; or, in the days of Marcus Aurelius, a Greek philosopher in a rough cloak and long beard, anxiously trying through a slave to secure an invitation to the table ; or a senator, ambitious for a consulate, a knight soliciting a

legionary tribunate—all, as Plutarch says—like a swarm of flies round the coveted honey. Seneca remarks, no doubt from experience, that many seldom visited men to whom they owed gratitude, and, to avoid seeming clients, succeeded in being ungracious. At the door stood the porter with a long stick ; his goodwill generally had to be bought ; sensible men, says Seneca, regarded him as a toll-collector on a bridge ; others forcibly broke their way in, answered him gruffly, or begged his master to give him a whipping. People of lesser standing were simply shut out.

The *atrium*, where receptions were held, was a columned hall with an aperture in the ceiling, and, in noble houses, very capacious. There were benches for those who had to wait : on New Year's Day, 31 A.D., a sofa in Sejanus' palace broke down under the weight of the multitude that came to congratulate him on his consulship ; it was taken as an omen of his imminent fall. The rooms were gorgeous, lofty, and huge, shining with marble ; ancestral portraits covered the walls ; the lackeys in magnificent livery : a mass of splendour, likely to dazzle the unsophisticated stranger. The principal slaves and freedmen had to be managed or bribed : the *Nomenclator* or announcer required long written lists, despite his selection as a good memorist. As at Court, visitors were divided into first-class and second-class : inside there were many doors open, but to the few, friends or favourites ; fewer still could enter the reception-bedroom and be at the levee : most were greeted in the *atrium*. When Plautianus (Cassius Dio says) summoned his friends before the rest, one Coeranus followed them to the last door : this was shut in his face, but he secured the desired impression. Court-receptions were very similar. The door of Sejanus was as thickly beset as the palace : no one but feared he might come late or not be seen : senators paid homage to his clients, and courted his freedmen and porters. Plutarch says that one who has a great crowd to greet and attend him is deemed rich in friends. In 62 A.D., Seneca, to disarm Nero's suspicions, abandoned his splendid manner of living, and the morning-receptions. Great advocates enjoyed this satisfaction of seeing the most eminent visit them. When the reception was over, a great wave seemed to roll out of the palaces.

The custom of patrons holding morning-receptions and going out accompanied by their clients continued until the end of the Empire. Tertullian (circ. 200 A.D.) says that competitors for an office used to assure themselves of a place in all the *atria*, by waiting during the night. Firmicus the astrologer (circa 350) speaks of people who visit every house they can. St. Jerome in his letters from Rome (382-385) says: 'I am ashamed of the many visits we make or receive', and Symmachus (about the same time) also speaks of the nightwatches outside the doors of the rich. St. Orientius describes (circ. 450 A.D.) how an applicant gets up before daybreak, waits outside the rich patron's portals, falls asleep, or is moved on forcibly by the lictor, unless he bribe the porter. Sidonius Apollinaris praises two distinguished consulars who always went out with a numerous following of clients, because access to them was easy and inexpensive. Paulinus of Périgueux in a poem (A.D. 460) describes his honourable escort of humble clients.

Not only formal visits, then so many more than now, but a number of festive occasions, requiring the presence of guests, took place in the early morning. Such were the assumption of the *togâ virilis*, betokening a boy's maturity physical and political. The Emperor Claudius, who during his boyhood had been persistently slighted, celebrated the usual sacrifice on the Capitol, and was carried there at midnight without the usual company, to avoid publicity. At weddings, too, the houses of both parties swarmed with guests before daybreak. Thus, too, betrothal feasts were celebrated in the first and second hours of the day, so that those invited lost the night's rest needed for digestion. But the rule requiring all who had any connexion with a new magistrate, to attend on his day of inauguration at daybreak was especially strict; the solemn procession of the friends, relatives and clients to the Capitol attending consuls or other dignitaries is often mentioned. Hadrian used to attend his new consuls and praetors on such occasions; and Verginius Rufus, the great patron of Pliny the Younger (he was thrice consul: his death occurred in 97 A.D.), used to come to town on every new elevation of Pliny, though he generally refused such functions. Corellius Rufus (died circ. 97 A.D.) also used to accompany Pliny the Younger on such occasions.

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Pliny formally apologizes to Valerius Paulinus for his absence on the day of his consulate: the letting of his estates was occupying his personal attention. This letter shows what a slight non-appearance was considered. Many, too, says Martial, took pleasure in these duties, and were seen in the retinue of any and every new consul or tribune; and Ammianus Marcellinus observes that pedantic critics of history thought all the names of persons should be catalogued, who formed the new City Praetor's retinue.

Other multitudinous functions, such as funerals, took place later in the day, and persons with many social ties found these obligations very consumptive of time, whilst to fulfil all was impossible. Plutarch says, the many friends of any one man may each demand assistance as advocate, or assessor, or commercial advice or presence at a wedding or funeral, all at the same time. Want of memory or knowledge is a better excuse than necessary praetermission of one duty by another, e.g. neglecting a sick-bed visit for a banquet. Martial had to be about before the dawn to pay visits and offer congratulations, none of which were returned. Then he had to witness a document with his seal at the Temple of Diana, had appointments for the first and fifth hours, was claimed by a consul or praetor, or had to listen to poets' effusions all day long. And no one dared refuse to attend the addresses of an advocate or grammarian or rhetor. At the tenth hour (the second before sunset) he came tired to the bath, having no time over to compose. 'It is curious', says Pliny the Younger, 'how in Rome one's account to oneself of every day seems fully made out on every day, but never after that day. The ordinary day is filled up with such functions as the taking of the *toga virilis* by a friend, a betrothal or wedding, a sealing of a will, assistance in Court or Session; all inevitable on that day: all seeming a waste of time on consideration, especially after leaving Rome'. These 'sessions' are judicial: magistrates, praefects, aediles, used to invite their friends to sit as honorary assessors. Pliny also mentions social engagements sufficient to occupy the day. Plutarch and Martial specify other promises, more exacting still, such as the witnessing of wills and deeds. Pliny tells of how one Aurelia put on her best on making her will, and one witness Regulus actually asked for her garments

as a legacy. 'Why', asks Seneca, 'are these dandies invited to seal the will? In order that a man may not deny receipt of what he has received'. The legal making of wills and manumissions required the presence of many witnesses, who were ranged in order of their standing, social and personal. A most rigorous *étiquette* governed the order of guests at table. Seneca calls those fools who get angry at a lower seat being given to them. This order of the semicircular dining-sofas lasted down into the Middle Ages.

Birthday congratulations were another frequent social engagement, as also sick visits and condolences: Regulus, a well-hated man, had all Rome on his heels to condole with him on the loss of his son. So, too, a new official had to be congratulated, or a new provincial governor escorted. An assessorship might last for days, and canvassing for a candidate whole weeks. But recitations by authors were the most wearisome and prolonged obligations: in spring or summer they might take weeks or months: Juvenal puts them in the same category as fires and collapses. On such occasions, clients, friends and the most distant connexions had to attend. Cicero says that to accompany the sons of the least considerable men to the forum to assume the *toga virilis*, men would come from afar, and similar obligations obtained, though perhaps in a less degree, under the Empire. From the desire of assembling very many at such festive occasions, and showing proper gratitude, the custom arose of making monetary gifts, which was established by the beginning of the second century.

In this social whirlpool, self-life became impossible: deeper natures fled into the country to have solitude and freedom; but not all might thus rescue themselves: Seneca is eloquent on the unprofitable and vain life he must lead at Rome. No one, says Martial, has control of his own time in the wayward currents of City life: life is fruitlessly passed away. But busy leisure here found its greatest joy. In the Early Empire even, very many passed their lives in useless ceremonies; as a conspicuous class receiving the new name of *ardeliones*. In his *Astrology*, Book II (temp. Tiberius), Manilius says that those born under a certain constellation will be lively, nimble, indefatigable in rendering services, filling the city like a people, crossing thresholds, friends

of everybody, ceaselessly congratulating in identical words. Another poet under Tiberius speaks of the Roman nation of the *ardeliones*, ever idly busy, ever profitlessly out of breath, useless busybodies, a nuisance to themselves and a bore to others. Seneca compares these men to ants running aimlessly up and down the walls of houses, theatres and *fora*. Their life is one restless inactivity, a semblance of business, devoid of purpose, out of doors by every new dawn, to make the streets more impassable. What they want they do not know; they only propose paying calls, or doing something. One must compassionate them, running about, as though there were a fire, and tumbling into each others' arms. And their object? To pay unreturned visits, to follow a funeral of a stranger, to attend the last suit of a litigious person, or the last engagement of a much-married lady. After these futile scamperings, they come home, not knowing why they have been out, or where; and to-morrow *da capo*. Even old men tottered about Rome, weary and sweating with Rome's kisses: hoary old men, who daily made the circuit of the City, greeted every lady in her chair, every new tribune, every new consul, and ran up and down the Palatine ten times a day, mouthing the names of the favourites of the Emperor. 'Young *ardeliones* have some grace', says Martial, 'old ones have no excuse'. One hundred years later Galen describes the Rome of his day: in the morning every one visiting every one: next, the crowded law-courts in the forum, the tumultuous hangers-on round charioteers and pantomimes; nor fewer who pass the day flirting, gambling, in the baths, toping, and, in the evenings, banquets, not for music and not serious; only for carousals, till dawn breaks anew.

II. At Rome there were many *ardeliones*, but also many genuinely busy for profit, material or otherwise. Pelf was the genius of the noisy, restless striving which daily filled the streets and palaces; one universal chase after money as the original good, whence were derived rank, respect and honour. The complaint was just, that wealth was the sole criterion and the one aim of Rome; for the poor ever sank inextricably deeper (otherwise, says Umbricius in Martial, they would all have emigrated); and, further, Rome was a rigid plutocracy. Hence, says Pliny the Elder, came the downfall of all that lends life real value: turpitude was

the best means of advancement, a goddess served in many individual fashions : but one and all agreed in striving after riches alone : the most distinguished even paid more honour to foreign vices than native virtues. 'Be it', says Juvenal, 'that to Gold the Fiend we have no temples erected, no altars to the jingling coin, yet Mammon is enthroned supreme God'. Galen, too, complains of the loss of all ideals.

No one, not blind or purblind, could not see how, under specious shapes, there lay mere selfishness and materialism. It was an open secret at Rome that the most wide-awake and zealous of the *officiosi*, or dandies, were professional ghouls-in-waiting, flattering their expected testators, anticipating astrologically their decease, bribing doctors to hasten death on—a reproach hurled by Pliny the Elder against medicine. The extent of this professional fore-measuring of dead men's shoes casts a lurid light on the mendacity of the Rome of that day. Not only adventurers and speculators trod this path to fortune, for the upper classes were unnaturally barren. Even in the Republic, marriage was a burden, undertaken only from patriotic motives. The Civil Wars undermined the crumbling moralities permanently : and the remedies of Augustus could only be superficial, not radical, and failed. In vain he fulminated rewards to matrimony, and punishments to celibacy and barrenness. For the childless had too much advantage in the power of ceding an inheritance : to comfort and calm they could add the pleasure of envy and adulation.

As early as Augustus' reign, this reversionary speculation had become a systematic art, with its adepts and novices. Seneca includes in this class the two senatorial orators Lucius Arruntius and Quintus Haterius. Satire dwelt on the relations between the holders-on and grabbers of inheritances. One of Horace's wittiest poems makes Ulysses ask the shade of Tiresias how he might make up for the damage done by the wooers, and is advised how to qualify to put on dead men's shoes. Every feature of the art is found here, and afterwards is only reiterated, how the huntsman ingenuously tracks his quarry down, and the quarry cunningly offers false baits of hope. Little attentions, great personal services—there was nothing they might not exact, presents of delicacies, fruit, pastry, fish, game, wine : it was an expensive specula-

tion. Martial advises one Fabius not to grieve at the failure of Bithynicus to leave him anything, as his death amounted to an annuity of the 6,000 sesterces he had been every year spending on him. The health of the rich was narrowly observed. If ill, they were sure of the kindest nursing, even of being washed and having their noses blown. If they recovered, prayers and offerings, ex-votos on the temple walls, horoscopes that were cast, and, says Juvenal, sacrifices of elephants and men. If a friend's house suited them, it was promptly given away to them; their losses through fire were amply compensated. Advocates rushed in to defend them in need, and desperate must their cause have been, if they lost. In 58 A.D., Pompeius Silvanus, the proconsul, was indicted for maladministration in Africa. Despite his many accusers, his wealth and childlessness bought an acquittal, but he survived his interested friends. The verses of rich old men were panegyricized: their recitals crowded: such as Annaeus Cornutus (banished by Nero in 68), whose philosophy lectures were packed by students of his material wealth. Their most patent lies were credulously swallowed; at dice they always won; their every frailty was subserved. Ladies never refused their offers. Their *atria* every morning hummed with the most prominent men. Martial specifies as one of the clients' duties to accompany his rounds to ten old crones. A praetor, says Juvenal, in early morning hurries his lictors on, to forestall any competing colleague at Lady Modia's or Mme. Albina's. Difficult as it was to outbid all rivals and vouchsafe a rich man's every whim, it was still harder to keep up a specious disinterestedness. Keen were the wishes for a happy return and a long life, for the birth of an heir; legacies were given, in the expectation of similar bequests; the number of these provisions provoking a law for their invalidity. Many suddenly stopped their benefactions, after ascertaining, from the will, that their object had been gained; but, as Martial says, the meshed-in boar might burst his thongs, if the fodder were withdrawn.

All these despicable servilities might be frustrated by the schemers' own predecease or their being outwitted. The owners wanted to feed the hopes of the hankerers without satisfying them, to prey on their officiousness, and withhold the booty. Ever and again, the promise of a will: wills

were made twenty or thirty times a year. They would pretend illness, cough; Pliny tells of one Julius Vindex—the man who very ably undertook to rid Rome of Nero—who did not hesitate to attract his would-be heirs by using a drug for artificial paleness. 'Tongilius', says Martial, 'has fever every other day: but he really is only hungry and thirsty, and simulates diseases, so as to hook in fat thrushes, pike and barbel; to be able to reckon on supplies of good Falernian and Caecuban'. A past master, even if poor himself, might sometimes secure these advantages of the childless rich, and make a great show of huge estates in Africa, ships coming in from Carthage or somewhere else. Many sanctioned the morality of seeing the biter bit. On the other hand, any one unwilling to have the slur of fortune-hunting cast on him, had almost to avoid the childless rich, and, at any rate, says Pliny, must not offer them gifts.

Writers of every epoch portray the frightful extent of this industry, incredible but for reiteration. Only in one passage is childlessness deplored, in a congratulatory poem of Statius to Vibius Maximus the knight on the birth of a son: 'childlessness, assailed by hostile heirs' avarice, and buried unmourned'. But the numerous pictures of happy barrenness are all tainted with rhetorical exaggeration, then often merely habitual. 'In this city', Petronius (under Nero), transferring the habits of Rome to Croton, writes 'neither science nor oratory is practised, nor can honesty or purity flourish, but all men whatsoever belong to one of two sets, the anglers and the angled. In this city, no one acknowledges children; a man who has heirs is ostracized, and leads a shamed and lonely life. But bachelors without kin are honoured and deemed model men. It is a city, like a field during a plague: corpses and carrion-birds'. The story breaks off at the point when a will is read out, in which the legacies are made conditional on the legatees' publicly carving the testator's body up. And that this condition was not impossible is shown by a fragment of a speech, for, if one close one's eyes, it is easy to see, not the human flesh, but ten millions. And beleaguered men often ate human flesh, without this incentive. That Petronius was only caricaturing facts, is shown by the contemporary complaints before the Senate (A.D. 63) at fictive adoptions by which the childless

secured the rights of fathers: 'for the childless already gained enough by their freedom from cares and burdens, and their popularity'. Seneca even, who often attacked this legacy-hunting (and was often accused of it), could write to a mother who had just lost a promising son: 'One consolation bold but true you have in the fact that with us that childlessness gives more power than it takes away, and solitude confers on old age, whilst depriving it of its support, an influence which will make many simulate hostility to their sons, and even abjure or disown them'. Pliny the Elder says that fortune-hunting was the most profitable occupation, and that a childless condition was a great honour. Tacitus says that it was equally influential in times good and evil, and held up Germany, where this view did not obtain, as an example of uncorrupted morals. Pliny the Younger testifies to one of his friends' great civic virtue in having many sons and being a grandfather even, 'when most deem one single son a burden'. Plutarch witnesses to the same advantages of barrenness. Juvenal, in one of his satires written under Hadrian, expresses lively joy at the rescue of a friend from the sea, and orders a thank-offering: this might, he says, seem suspicious, were the man not the father of three sons, and unlikely to be offered a sick hen or a quail. Under Marcus Aurelius, too, this profession was one of Rome's most obvious perversities. Under Severus, Tertullian describes 'one of the kinds of patience the Devil taught the heathen (in competition with Christian endurance), as that which in snaring the childless endures with pretended affection the labour of a forced complaisance'.

This long list shows how the practice impressed all contemporaries in all epochs, and characterized and illuminated existent social conditions, ceremonies and their object.

Modern Italian custom is paralleled by the ancient habit of meeting in public places, for amusement or business even, in the 'stations', public squares and walks, baths, temples, libraries, book-shops, or barbers' and apothecaries' shops; only in ancient Rome this fashion prevailed much more, in consequence of the mode of life and the multitude and splendour of the public buildings, which were open to one and all. In the later hours of the day, after business was over, men went for walks, into the public paths, lined with

box-trees or laurels and planes, or in the richly carpeted colonnades of statues and paintings. By inscriptions the length of the walk might be estimated. On the green sward of the Campus Martius, all Rome practised gymnastics, ran, rode, played at ball, drilled and wrestled, swam in the yellow Tiber; and success was rewarded with cheers. Just before the dinner-hour the daily bath assembled thousands in the lofty and gorgeous *thermae*. The public spectacles were also social occasions, where select groups of acquaintances met at special places in circles (*circuli*). Martial mentions a poets' resort (*schola poetarum*) and the colonnade in the Temple of Quirinus where his poems were read out, when the listeners were weary of chatter and the Circus. A more leisured company could not be found even in the colonnade of Pompey, of Europa or the Argonauts. In these circles novelties of the day or of literature were discussed. If Caesius Sabinus liked Martial's poems, the poet felt no fear, for 'feasts and *fora*, temples and public places and taverns would soon resound with them, and a copy sent to one man would be universally advertised'. Ulpian, the great jurist, according to Athenaeus, got a nickname which almost replaced his own from the learned questions he volleyed forth anywhere in the streets or shops. If he could live his own life, says Martial, he would choose the Campus Martius, with its colonnades and shady parks as his home, and his baths in the cool *Aqua Virgo* (the conduit, which now feeds Fontana Trevi), and as his occupation, talk and read in the *thermae* and walks.

The only social gatherings of invited guests were the banquets; no others are mentioned, and these banquets took up all of the free afternoon and night. At banquets, entertainments and pleasures as diverse as possible (though varying according to the culture of the host) were given to the guests. Vulgar delights, such as rich freedmen mostly gave best, the clumsy stupid jokes, which made their banquets the mockery of the more refined, have been painted without overcolouring by Petronius, though he transplants his scene from Rome. For guests of taste and breeding Plutarch specifies the best means: the dialogue takes place at Chaeroneia, but is dedicated to the Consular Sossius Senecio, and represents Roman or Roman-Greek customs.

Plutarch also mentions a few unusual entertainments: such as actions of Platonic dialogues, instantaneous artists or moulders of little figures as presents for the *Saturnalia*. In cultivated Society, too, there were various forms of entertainment. At carousals gay Andalusian girls used to dance to the tune of castagnettes and flutes, and accompanied by doubtful songs: clowns and fools indulged in obscenities; children from Alexandria, and trained at Rome, amused the guests with their impertinences; mimes acted in parts that would dishonour the slaves of the honourable. Where decency was more regarded, pantomimes danced, scenes from tragedies and comedies, especially of the newer school, were acted. Plutarch says that there was no need to join in the applause at a banquet if the citharist sang badly, or an expensive actor murdered his Menander. The most usual entertainment consisted in recitals, literary and musical solos and chorus-singing, lyre and flute-playing, often *ad nauseam*: the best party, says Martial, is one without loud music. But the most modest banquets would have their music or declamation; recitals from Virgil or Homer were common. There existed professional declaimers and anecdote-tellers. One Tiberius Claudius Tiberinus, an imperial freedman, in his inscription (which he composed) mentions that his jests made the life of long-drawn banquets, and that he was an expert reciter of the epic poets, and performed publicly in the Forum of Augustus. That the dramatic recitation of scenes from Homer by so-called Homerists in Homer's verses often took place at feasts, is fairly certain. Often the host recited his own compositions.

After the meal, gambling usually followed: the habit often amounted to a dangerous vice, (according to Juvenal) in Trajan's reign, especially in the ranks of the aristocracy, against which he aimed his barbs. There, in front of the statues of the august sires, the descendants gambled all night long and went to bed, when their father's trumpets sounded the *réveille*. Battles were formally waged, the weapons being dealt out by the croupiers; enormous fortunes were won and lost; 100,000 sesterces disappeared, whilst new tunics for the freezing slaves were forgotten. Many, says Galen, devoted as much zeal to dice, as earnest men to science, and showed Stoic endurance in this pleasure-

seeking. St. Ambrose paints the *aleatorum conventicula*, and the applause and laments as men lost or won whole estates. There was a special code of honour in these circles, unflinching obedience: a judgment of the *aleonum consilium* was more feared than a judicial sentence. Suetonius records a letter to Julia, the daughter of Augustus, enclosing 250 denarii: Augustus was an ardent lover of dice and played, not only on the *Saturnalia*, but on other feast days and ordinary days as well: he says he had given each guest so much, in order to play at Odds or Evens. Claudius, too, adored dice, and wrote a book on them.

The conversation at banquets and in society was no matter of indifference to the Emperors, for it was here that public opinion shaped itself. 'I know very well', says Tiberius in a speech to the Senate in 22 A.D., 'that complaints are raised at banquets and in society at the prevalence of luxury, and measures of restriction are being clamoured for'. Society had more importance in many respects in ancient than in modern Europe, as the only vent for publicity, and largely replacing our written and printed divulgation of news. 'There is in Rome', Count Champagny (1804-1882) writes, 'a sort of publicity, unknown to our Northern sedentary habits; which loses power with greater distance, filters but slowly through the provinces, but operates very speedily in the City. Perhaps Rome was every minute better informed of its own doings and thinkings than Paris of to-day. The journals of conversation were not subject to stamps or censors, or police or arrest'. Rome had a written paper; but it was a government organ: the *acta diurna* published what the Emperor thought fit, and no more; disguising fact and abridging reports: Court news, family events in the highest circles, and City reports were also included. Public opinion, as in modern Rome, occasionally found expression in placards on the statues or the walls: or in quick apprehension of the bold insinuations of actors on the stage: or in popular demonstrations at the Circus, where greater licence prevailed. But these scanty inklings roused desire and could not satiate; and forcible suppression in the one spot, whither the news of the whole world flowed in, and where the fate of the world was decided, could only augment guesses, and rumours and surmises and fiction in this 'talkative and interpreting city';

could only foster curiosity and conjecture. Tacitus, even, thought city rumours worthy of inclusion in history. Thus, in 54 A.D., he mentions that, on the eve of a Parthian War, the inexperience and instability of the seventeen-year-old Nero filled some with anxiety, whilst others trusted to his counsellors, Burrus and Seneca: or again, in 70 A.D., that reports of the revolt of the German legions under Galba became more and more frequent, and, in consequence of the popular acceptance of all melancholy news, the Senate despatched an Embassy northwards. In the same year Vitellius entered on his pontificate on the 18th July, the anniversary of the defeats on the Cremera and the Allia, an evil omen to the 'all-interpreting city'. Vitellius' prohibition of conversation on the war only increased it, and spread more disquieting rumours: publicity would have allayed and shown forth the facts. Martial has depicted the professional newsmaker, who knows what King Pacorus is doing in the Palace of the Arsacidæ, knows to the last man the exact strength of the forces on the Rhine and the Danube, can tell the contents of the unsealed despatch from Dacia, and sees the laurel before it has arrived. He knows how often rain has fallen in Upper Egypt, how many ships have sailed from Africa, and the next laureate on the Capitol. 'Spare thy craft', the poem closes, 'and dine with me to-day: on the condition thou tell no news'. Women, too, there were, who knew everything that was going on: caught the last rumours at the City gates, or set them in circulation; were the first to see (November, 115) the comet adverse to the King of Parthia, and could detail all the floods and earthquakes in the farthest East.

Conversation on these topics was allowed: but the absolutism of Rome prevented any mention, save the most cautious and distant, that even touched on home or foreign politics. In one poem of Martial's, six friends are asked to a frugal meal at which any freedom, regrettable next day, was to be avoided: 'my guests may talk of the Blues and the Greens in the Circus, and my cups are not to bring any one to the defendant's dock'. This poem is included in a book published under Trajan, to show that the best government is still despotic: 'freedom of thought and word' was never realized in imperial Rome. This enables us to gauge the

frightful oppressions in the imperial Terrors, when not only the confidential phrase, uttered without malice in the exhilaration of wine, might testify against the speaker, but the destined victims were surrounded with spies, and their every look or sigh or murmur noted down, their thoughts filched from them, so as to punish their guiltless trustfulness with death. Eavesdroppers then made converse almost impossible: 'memory even', says Tacitus, 'would have been lost with speech, could we have silenced our mind as well as our tongues'. In his picture of the trials for high treason, which connect the facts of this period, Tacitus only condescended to brand the higher and more obvious *delatores*, who, by their shameless profession, aimed at pre-eminence: the baleful secret spies and eavesdroppers he passes over with contempt.

Only scattered indications of the scheme of the secret police have come down. Perhaps, as in other imperial institutions, the Persian monarchy provided the model. According to Dio, Maecenas advised Augustus he should have throughout the whole Empire spies to report what should be averted or prevented, but should be cautious in his credence of them. Dio ascribes the same warning to Livia; for spies often denounce the innocent from spite or for bribes, or being disappointed of their blackmail; and often not for overt acts or intentions, but mere words, mere silences, or expressions of feeling. Claudius instructed his spies to inform him accurately as to family circumstances (presumably amongst the knights and senators): they had been remiss. For people, informed against as being childless, unmarried or poor, frequently proved the contrary. One man accused of an attempted suicide, stripped and showed he was unwounded. Nero utilized the brothels and their inmates, to discover who were the visitors: Pliny, in his bombastic manner, says that the result was barbarous, and the City filled with the ghosts of the victims. Soldiers in civil dress as secret police are first mentioned under Otho (69 A.D.); they frequented the houses of the noble and the rich and spread a general panic. 'Precipitate confidence', says Epictetus, 'gives the incautious over to the soldiers. A soldier in civil dress sits by you, and begins to abuse the Emperor: his simplicity allures you to equal frankness,

and chains and prison follow'. Hadrian organized a special corps, the *frumentarii*, as police and then as spies, and maintained a surveillance in his friends' houses. In his reign, this vicious system reached a fearful height. Aristides, in his eulogy on his successor, says that the entire Empire had been oppressed with servile fear; everywhere spies were on the alert; no one dared utter his thoughts; freedom, intellect, and justice were dumb; every one feared his shadow: but the reigning Emperor had banished this horror and restored freedom in full and ample measure. It was in the capital that spies abounded most. Tigellinus caused Apollonius of Tyana to be watched with the Argus eyes of Empire, standing or sitting, silent or speaking, or eating; and noted with whom he ate, and when he made sacrifice. Apollonius himself calls Rome a city all eyes and ears: no reform of state might be dreamed of, unless by a man yearning for death: even in things licit the wise were not too free. Lucian, in his satire on a self-made man, who wished to recommend himself to Marcus Aurelius by the purchase of a library, says he was deceiving himself: the Emperor had many eyes and ears. The upper classes were the most surveyed. Caracalla made the soldiers thus employed answerable to himself alone; only he had jurisdiction over them: they informed him very thoroughly and tyrannized over the senators. The biographer of Alexander Severus says that he appointed competent secret spies, for the hope of the spoils depraved society. In the fourth century, Diocletian reorganized the secret police over the entire Empire: they, intent only on their own ends, persecuted the innocent, and concealed crimes, such as false coining. The comparison Libanius makes of these informers to dogs who have an understanding with the wolves, and the many and passionate complaints of the writers of the day apply equally to the first century. The evil was true to its vile nature, and new only as ramified.

The power of these spies in the milder reigns, as under the Antonines, may have been less: but never, in imperial Rome, was political conversation, in assemblies or public places, permitted. Dread of the lurking informers made caution in conversation essential: Tacitus calls Rome a city in which all is learnt and nothing hushed up. The spread of dangerous secrets was not always evilly intended; impor-

tunity, curiosity, incaution caused a great deal of harm. Seneca attributes this to the many busy idlers of Rome. 'Hence', he says, 'this frightful vice of spying on affairs public and private, and the knowledge of things, neither to be heard nor told with safety'. Seneca's reticent words are noticeable: he never refers to the subject elsewhere. The huge numbers of the clients and domestics of the great houses furthered this gossip; clients and, still more, slaves were said to be chatterers. To blurt out a secret of their master was a greater delight than to steal and drink his Falernian; there was no crime they would not attribute to them, out of spite at some punishment. 'Even though his slaves keep silence', says Juvenal, 'his horses and dogs and lintels and walls will speak: closed windows, stuffed-up chinks, extinguished lights, solitary sleep,—nothing will prevent the nearest publican from knowing what he did at cock-crow'. Martial says one coachman received 20,000 sesterces, for being deaf.

Hence, knowledge of personal doings quickly spread abroad and furnished new matter for gossip. Besides informers, scandal-mongers were active. Cicero even said that in 'a city so full of evil talk' hardly any one could escape calumny; the experience of St. Jerome five hundred years later, who says that each absent guest in turn had his character and habits pulled to pieces. Especially relations between the two sexes were thus treated. Propertius called this the fee women pay for beauty: he and other poets of his day complain at this persistent gossip. Statius, in his poem on the marriage of Stella and Violentilla, says that Rome can at last see the embrace she has been talking about. In this branch the women were especially happy. And, beyond these topics, all these busybodies knew the secret faults of every man; what one man paid for his mistress, and how another man feasted till daybreak, that Titus owed Lupus 700,000; and the luxurious loved having their luxury common talk. Any intestate death of a rich man, or great banquet of a poor man, provided the banquets and *thermae* and theatres and stations with endless matter. Pliny the Younger tells a friend of the death and will of Domitius Tullus, who had outwitted expectation by thinking of his relatives rather than the leeches who were awaiting his decease, and gives

the various opinions held, how some admired his evading his expectant flatterers after all. He concludes: 'This is all that Rome is talking about'. Or new palaces and villas might be the topic, a new tragedy with bold passages, or a celebrated pantomime's last dance, and, above all, the Circus. The Emperors made every effort to divert the people, and the greater the preparations, the greater the success. Passion for the stage, the arena and the Circus was an endemic at Rome, affecting the upper classes as well: gladiators and racehorses (according to an author about 100 A.D.) left Rome no time to think of culture. Remarks on the Circus and the weather (the usual method of beginning) were the stopgaps of the cultivated even. Epictetus recommends little conversation, and no small talk on gladiators, chariot-races, athletes, food and drink, and, least of all, on persons. These were the fop's interests; some of them are touched upon in Martial's description of the dandies of his day. 'You are a good fellow, Cotilus. So they all say. But what is a good fellow? One who has his hair nicely curled, and smells of balsam and cinnamon; who can hum the tunes of Alexandrian and Spanish dances, and sits all day long between the ladies, whispering, writing and reading *billets doux*; who also hates being jogged by his neighbour, and knows also every one's lady-love; one who runs from one party to another, and knows the pedigree of the best racehorse by heart. Is this right, Cotilus? Then it is no easy matter to be a good fellow.'

The principal duty of a host was to see to the guests having pleasant topics of current interest to talk about. Plutarch has enlarged on this art of leading conversation, as the main constituent of social intercourse. He gives examples of proper questions, where an office has been successfully held, an audience had of the Emperor, or the sons of a man have been progressing well, or in unpleasant things, on the defeats of a guest's personal foes. He thought that explorers suffered most from the megalomania of retailing their own experiences; Epictetus cites the boring iterations of an old campaigner in Moesia: 'as I said, I was climbing the escarpment, when . . .' Sportsmen loved questions as to their hounds, athletes on athletics, religious men on the success obtained through dreams or sacrifices by the grace

of God, and the aged were indulged in the liberty of narrating any reminiscence they would.

The art of conducting a lively intellectual banquet was amongst Greeks and Romans in high repute, and important writers tried to inculcate the methods of it. The gorgeous banquets of the rich were held in halls of thirty tables and three hundred guests, where one man might be alone, not knowing any one there : Varro advises the numbers should only scale up from that of the Graces to that of the Muses, and should be chosen with a view to general sociability. Small parties of witty and educated men made confidential conversation thoroughly a delight and a restorative. Cicero said that the Latin *convivium* was an apter word than the Greek *συμπόσιον*, as eating and drinking did not comprise life in common. The pleasure of such a party concealed the immanent self-culture.

But Romans were rather incapable of a heartfelt friendship ; Fronto says, in all his life at Rome he never enjoyed this *φιλοστοργία* which he could not translate into Latin, and his imperial pupil Marcus Aurelius includes among the truths learnt from him, that distinguished men were cold-hearted (*ἀστοργότεροι*). But just as Italians of to-day, with all their reserve, are charming, amiability in Rome was common. At banquets especially the southerner displayed his gifts—ready speech and wit, the true Roman salt, specifically ascribed to Rome as ‘urbanity’. Cicero thought the old Roman wit was saltier than the Attic ; its rarity in its genuine form made it the more valuable, as the old Roman grace was almost merged in a flood of Latin, foreign, and even trousered Transalpine elements.

A born entertainer was eagerly sought after in every portico and theatre. True, conversation was often interrupted by a plethora of recitations, music or theatricals, and the banquetting hall tended to become a stage or lecture-room ; and Pliny the Younger says the bored guests were not at fault in leaving early or lounging in wearied attitudes. But, in apt measure, entertainments could direct the conversation ; thus recitations from poets bring about aesthetic appreciations, such as women adored. The custom of varying banquets with intellectual sweetmeats must not be condemned by its exaggeration. It rather indicates how this epoch under-

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stood the refining of its pleasures. These cultured extras of intellect to a feast were almost universal : even the Trimalchios had them. The pleasant dessert for a society of education and good taste was talks on science, art and literature ; even the rude, says Plutarch, felt and satisfied this want by propounding and solving riddles. Plutarch's conversations, partly at the board of the Consular Sossius Senecio at Rome, partly in his Greek circles, cover a very wide field ; some dealing with the banquet, whether the host should assign his guests their places, or leave them free to select, whether the so-called consular place is the highest ; whether the sea or the land give better food ; whether simple food or made-up dishes are better. Or in philosophic circles, acuteness was tested by such questions as, why A was the first letter ; or which came first, the hen or the egg. Or they might be scientific : why the aged are long-sighted, why snow is kept under blankets and chaff ; whether new diseases can arise and how. Or literary problems might be discussed : why Homer calls salt divine, and only the liquid oil liquid : which hand of Venus was wounded by Diomedes. Or in aesthetics : why anger and sorrow on the stage afford pleasure, and in life even the news of them pain ; how to avoid the degrading effect of ignoble music. Or notable facts might be handled : the birthdays of great men, or Pythagoras' prohibition of eating fish ; whether Jews forbade eating swine out of respect or disgust ; who was the god of the Jews ; why the days named after the planets were in reverse order ; the effect of the evil eye. Learned men might not withstand the temptation of giving an over-exhaustive dissertation on their subject. Lucilius, a Greek poet under Nero, complains of the philologists of the dinner-table, and begs his host not to immolate him to the pedants and word-sticklers of the craft of Aristarchus ; could he be excused to-day from hearing *μήνιν ἀειδε θεά* ? Philosophers, too, would, with their severely abstract speculations, torture their fellow-guests, who could not follow them, and relieved themselves with songs, and anecdotes, and things common and trivial. Varro had deprecated such table-manners. Some people, too, wanted to appropriate some impressive philosophic snack for exhibition at the Emperor's table, and studied philosophy and attended lectures, so as to impose

on senators who might be their neighbours ; or they would dazzle the guests with a catalogue of monograph-writers on a particular form of syllogism.

Such habits may then have been laughed at, but must have been more usual than they are now. For, in ancient society, culture and intellectual advancement were far more than now the objects of personal intercourse ; 'in living exchanges of ideas and gay companionship', and thus the many banquets of learning and philosophy were a kind of academic session. But the consideration of them is not in place here, where only the nature of cultured society has to be considered.

CHAPTER V

THE POSITION OF WOMEN

ALL these dissertations have necessarily been fragmentary, as the sources of information are only occasional: of the life of women also, and then only of those of the upper classes, very little is known.

Roman maidenhood did not last long; as soon as puberty was reached, betrothal and marriage followed. Identical with modern times were the anxious care of mothers, relatives and nurses, the words of endearment (such as birdie, little dove, little crow, little mother, little lady) and the lisping childish language and the lullabies ('sleep, my child, or suck'), rattles and other means of soothing (such as beating the stone that had hit the child), and the many superstitions, at all ages: such as binding on teeth of horses and boars to alleviate the teething, and old wives' simples and amulets against the evil eye. As a preservative against the *strigas*, or vampires, garlic was wrapt up in the swaddling-clothes and hawthorn planted in the windows. A mother, who was passing a temple of Venus, would mumble a prayer for her daughter's beauty and make a vow. The figure of the girls was made artificially perfect. They wore tight stays from early childhood, so as to raise the hips into relief, and nurses' carelessness often produced rounded backs or unequal shoulders. This practice could not have been confined to Pergamus, where Galen observed it most. Terence, in a passage pointing at Roman customs, blames the mothers who made girls weak, with low shoulders and narrow breasts. Any one not thus crippled the matrons call a pugilist, and starve her: thus even the finest natural figures are all as like as peas.

Many mothers gave the whole care of their children to

nurses, slaves and often barbarians. Wet-nursing was the general rule in Greece and Italy, however deplored by philosophers, such as Favorinus and Plutarch; Plutarch's wife certainly did not give suck to her own daughter (who died in infancy). Physicians wrote, giving full directions as to the selection of a nurse: her milk ought to be tested by three senses. And Soranus of Ephesus, a physician in Rome under Trajan and Hadrian, advises the employment of Greeks, so that children may learn the most beautiful of languages, and receive the utmost attention, lack of which so often caused bow-leggedness.

Little girls had, as toys, flowers, coloured stones, shells, amber, balls and nuts (with which in modern Italy many games are still played), and are thus often represented by artists: and dolls, of ivory and terracotta, with movable limbs; examples have been found in the tombs. Plutarch, in a letter to his wife on the death of their daughter Timoxena (she had already lost four sons), mentions an instance of her sweetness, that she used to bring her toys to her nurse to give suck to.

When sated of play, little girls would sit at their nurses' feet, and listen to fairy-tales. Roman fairy-tales began like ours: 'There was, once upon a day, a king and queen . . .' and led the child's mind into the same bright realm of wonder. Roman princesses, too, were 'too beautiful for words': the fairest of three sisters was envied and pursued by intrigue; and, in the end, she too married the fairest prince, whilst the two ugly sisters were consigned to a shameful death. We, too, know the suspense on the child's face, when the princess must perform the three labours, and the sigh of relief at their accomplishment by supernatural aid. When, at the evil mistress's behest, she had to pick out the millet from a huge heap of grain from morning to evening, the ants came and did the work for her. The reeds whispered to her how to pull out tufts from the wool of the wild golden-fleeced sheep, and the eagle fetched her the miraculous water from the dragon's well.

Next came the years of lessons. They were taught womanly work. Embroidery, as a general rule, was a man's occupation. Varro only requires girls to be taught painting, so as to be able to judge carpets and curtains. Spinning and

weaving was the principal subject: for, in old-fashioned houses, clothes were still home-made. Even Augustus' daughters and granddaughters spun and wove, and he wore the work of the hands of his wife and sisters. Quintus Lucretius Vespillo (consul 19 B.C.) in the inscription on the tombstone of his wife Turia praises her above other women for her especial virtues as a spinner. Naturally this obtained less in the aristocracy, and more in the lower and middle classes; even the Cynthia of Propertius, and the Delia of Tibullus, who were not matrons, spun and wove. Tibullus consoles himself, on parting, by imagining the next meeting, how Delia, late at night, by lamplight, will be listening to the tales of an old nurse; how all the maids will have fallen asleep, but she, at the sound of his step, will spring up, with bare feet and loose hair. Columella's grievance that most women were too luxurious and idle to look to the spinning and weaving of the home, shows that the custom was obligatory, though already in decay. Musonius Rufus and Tertullian both specify this duty of women. Inscriptions, belauding women as good spinners, or depicting a loom as their emblem, prove the continuance of this custom, and very late evidence of it is found. Ausonius in his poems on his mother and his nephew's wife did not pass over their 'busy spindle': Symmachus thanks his daughter for a dress sent from Baiae, a fine example of her homely work and her affection.

Daughters in the higher ranks received learned instruction at home; only the smaller people sent their girls every morning to early school, to be disciplined by the master, 'so hated both of boys and girls'; and both sexes were (perhaps up to a certain age only) instructed together. Martial asks: 'is it a poet's ambition to be read out by a hoarse and pompous schoolmaster to an unsympathetic crowd of boys and girls?' The tomb of a schoolmaster at Capua depicts an elderly man on a high seat, on his right a boy, on his left a girl. According to Paul of Aegina, reading and writing should be taught in mixed classes at the age of six or seven. The higher instruction of girls is seldom mentioned, but seems to have been the same as the boys', reading and explaining poets in both languages. Boys and girls, says Ovid, read Menander, though he is nothing but love-stories. Martial

mentions epics and tragedies as poems read in such schools : Claudianus praises Honorius' bride Maria for going on with Greek poets (such as Homer and Sappho) and Roman poets under her mother's guidance. A late Christian poet says that Christian teachers are at fault for letting Virgil, Horace and Terence be read instead of St. Paul and Solomon. Quintus Caecilius Epirota, a freedman of Atticus, and a known and learned man, taught his patron's daughter after her marriage with Marcus Agrippa ; he was suspected of an intrigue and dismissed. The pupil in this case was already married : thus the danger involved in private tuition of boys (according to Quintilian) must have been as great in the case of girls.

Music and dancing formed an important part of girls' education. Catilina's friend Sempronia, who knew the two literatures well, 'danced and sang better than an honest woman should'.¹ Famous musicians, such as Demetrius and Tigellius, in the time of Horace, spent a great part of the day by the easy chairs of their pupils. In an elegy on his fascination by feminine charms, Ovid calls a well-trained voice irresistible, as also an adept lyre-player, or the graceful movements of a dancer. Hostia, the lady of Propertius, was skilled in both arts. Statius praises his stepdaughter as well-trained : she, he tells his wife, will soon find a man, and her excellences deserve it, her playing on the lute, her improvisations of native songs, or her white arms swaying to the dance. But her talent was nothing in comparison with her taste and virtue. On inscriptions the cither sometimes typifies the maid, and the scroll the youth ; the continuance in heathendom of music as the principal female education is vouched for by St. Jerome, who says Christian maidens should have no ear for organ, flute, lyre, or cither. The art of dancing consisted in rhythmical movements of the upper part of the body and the arms ; and then, as now, no little of the grace of the women of Rome was attributable to the national dances. A good carriage was a woman's especial charm, as Ovid testifies, and, as a Republican inscription runs : 'Her speech was fair, and her gait noble'. Of the stringed instruments played by girls, and of some Greek dances, some were condemned as sickly and exciting. Girls used to exhibit their powers of singing. On days of fasting

¹ Sallust.

or festival, choruses of thrice nine noble maidens used to sing in the procession ; many a lady, Horace hoped, would remember learning and singing his *carmen saeculare*. At the funeral of Augustus boys and girls of the highest families sang the dirge. At the apotheoses of emperors a chorus of noble boys and women sang encomia, set to mournful and solemn themes, by the hearse in the Forum. In addition, facility in improvising to the lute songs to poetry was common amongst girls and women, as in the case of Statius' step-daughter and Pliny the Younger's wife.

Thus occupied, thus supervised by nurses and pedagogues, the child became a maiden. Pliny the Younger portrays a pleasant, well-educated girl of a great house in his laudation of the daughter of Gaius Minucius Fundanus (consul 107 or 108), who died shortly before her marriage. 'She was not in all fourteen years old, and had the sagacity and dignity of a woman, with maidenly charm and virginal purity. She used to cling to her father's neck ; lovingly and simply embrace his friends ; love her nurses, pedagogues and teachers, each after his right. She was zealous and intelligent in her studies. She played rarely well. What patience and strength she showed in her last illness.' Twenty years ago, the marble cinerary urn of a young bride was discovered behind Villa Mellini on Monte Mario. She is inscribed as being twelve years, eleven months and seven days old. Pliny puts his date too high.

At an early age, parents sought to assure a daughter a happy and suitable marriage. The lowest age was at the beginning of the thirteenth year ; the inscription on the grave of a twelve-year-old child says that she was just ripe for marriage. Often they were introduced to their bridegroom even earlier, but attained the rights of wives only at the end of their twelfth year. A rescript of Severus prevented them from being accused as wives (though they could as *fiancées*) for a previous adultery. Between the ages of thirteen and sixteen they were usually married. Rufus, a physician under Trajan, followed Hesiod in considering the normal age eighteen, but said it was too late in modern days. A woman who was twenty years old, and had not been a mother, became liable to Augustus' provisions against celibacy and childlessness ; nineteen full years were the

utmost. The will of the parents was absolute, as it must have been, in view of the *patria potestas* and the inexperience of the young girl. The girl's consent was necessary, but assumed, unless she refused it; which she might do only if the father chose a notoriously disgraceful or unsuitable bridegroom.

Generally marriages were matters of family convenience. A letter of Pliny the Younger indicates the considerations that governed the greater houses in selecting a bridegroom. Junius Mauricus, his friend, had begged him to find a husband for the daughter of his brother Arulenus Rusticus. Pliny suggests a younger acquaintance of his, Minucius Acilianus, who was over thirty, as he had been praetor. Acilianus was born at Brixia in Northern Italy, a conservative district. His father had been prominent among the knights, his grandmother had been a sternly moral woman, and his uncle an excellent character. Mauricus could find no fault with the family. Acilianus himself was a very energetic person, and very modest, of noble countenance, good complexion, handsome, and of senatorial rank. 'Such a man must not be despised; such are the prizes for virtuous maidens. Perhaps, I ought to add, the father is very rich. Perhaps not, considering you and the proposed bride; but yet our modern habits, private and public, are based on wealth, and it should be mentioned. And, of course, if one think of the children, and of a large number, the husband must be in a position to provide for them.' It scarcely needs actual proof that money often determined the selection of the husband. Amongst the boons procurable for cash, Horace counts a richly dowered wife: Juvenal asks, was ever a son-in-law acceptable, if poorer than his bride? Both sides certainly took account of rank and lineage. Agricola married a daughter from the equestrian nobility, and thus gained influence and support.

Generally, men married before Pliny's ideal age. Augustus penalized childlessness for males at the age of twenty-five. Ummidius Quadratus might have become a father at the age of twenty-four; Agricola was one at the age of twenty-three; when Tacitus married his thirteen-year-old daughter, he was scarcely twenty-four, whilst Lucan was twenty-five, when he married Polla Argentaria; Ovid was a 'mere boy' at his first marriage. In Apuleius' romance, a bride is only

three years younger than her husband, to whom she had been engaged from childhood, and grown up with. The few facts extant make marriages of men in the middle and lower classes under eighteen or twenty, exceptions; this accords with Augustus' law. Nowise authorized is any idea of a custom of marrying off half-grown boys. In the senatorial ranks, the holding of the quaestorship (the first step), generally reached at the age of twenty-five, may have been a preliminary condition. Helvidius Priscus was made Paetus Thrasea's son-in-law as a quaestorian. Junius Avitus, who died as aedile designate, had been married one year, and had just had a child.

Often daughters were betrothed in their childhood: these betrothals being negotiated by intermediaries; there is no Latin corresponding to the words 'woo' and 'court'. Marriage-brokers at Rome seem to have had a regular business and their own offices. The spokesmen or young men applied to the parents or guardians of the girl. The betrothal was solemnly and festively celebrated. Pliny the Elder once saw Lollia Paulina (a former wife of Caligula), at a betrothal festival in a not very prominent family, standing under the lamplight sparkling with emeralds and pearls worth 40,000,000 sesterces (£435,000), as she was only too eager to prove by the bills. At the betrothal the principal question was the dowry. According to Artemidorus' *Dream-book*, dreams of children always mean trouble, for to bring them up is troublesome: to dream of a daughter is worse than to dream of a son: for a daughter means a dowry and is a kind of creditor: 'And the daughter's claim is absolute; however great the labour of rearing her, she leaves you with her dowry, like a dun with the amount of the loan.'

A betrothal, however long, did not affect the relations of the pair. They still did not know each other, unless the bride was given to her husband before reaching puberty. Any animal or slave, says Seneca, or every article of clothes or dish is tested before purchase, but never the bride by her groom. Any vices she may have of passion, stupidity, misshapeness or evil breath are learnt only after marriage. The conception of bride with its hallowed associations was unknown to Greece and Rome. The betrothed, besides other bride-gifts, gave an iron ring without a stone (iron

rings were worn in earlier days as seal rings), and afterwards a gold one as a pledge of faithfulness, but received none in return. When the wedding-day drew near, the *trousseau* and household of the young wife set the house in a bustle. Pliny the Younger sent one Quintilian (not the author), to provide the service and *trousseau*, a present of 50,000 sesterces (£543 1s. 6d.), as he regarded himself as the bride's second father, and Quintilian, though not very rich, was marrying the daughter of a high official; remarking that his contribution was small only in view of Quintilian's reluctance to accept anything larger. Any rich bride must have ornaments and jewelry included in her outfit, generally the gift of the bridegroom. The maiden took leave of her childhood, consecrating her toys and dolls to the patron deities of her younger life; and, at last, came the day on which the mother decked her daughter for the great procession. The principal part of the bridal robes was a square flaming headdress, falling down to her sides and leaving her face exposed.

At dawn the homes of both parties filled with friends, relatives and clients, who also acted as witnesses to the contract. Both homes were festively lit up, especially the *atria*, in which the ancestors' cupboards were opened wide, and decorated with carpets, wreaths and green twigs. The woman leading the bride brought the couple together: they went up to the altar and sacrificed, and offerings were also made in the temples: the streets, through which the bridal procession was to pass, was thronged by the curious, for whom stands might be put up. In ancient days, the bride only entered her husband's house at the rise of the evening-star; but this custom had died out, though torches were always used: bonfires were also lit in the streets. Flutes were heard amid the joyous songs. The bride was lifted over her new threshold, and, in default of a banquet at the bride's home, there would be one, to crown the day, at the bridegroom's, his bride sitting beside him. Augustus endeavoured to restrict the luxury of these feasts; no more than 1,000 sesterces should be spent on the wedding and the after-feast; this sum is too small for the law to have been regarded. The expenses were great, what with the large numbers entertained, the doles to the clients, and the moneys given to the guests in recognition of the honour they

were doing the house. Those desirous of marrying less extravagantly celebrated the rite in the country, and thus, incidentally, escaped the many invitations sent to the young couple. This was how Apuleius and Pudentilla were married at Oea (in Africa); but we may without hesitation assume similar customs in all the provinces and in Rome.

To such young wives marriage must have been a sudden release from surveillance to freedom absolute, and an awakening to an enlarged horizon: for, then as now, girls must have been very much secluded in old-fashioned families. Ovid, it is true, excuses his frivolous poems by saying they are much less bold than the mimes whom ladies and their grown-up daughters go to see; but such can hardly have been in good families. These daughters were almost always, in ancient days, refused access to the dinner-table, to spare their young ears. And, actually, girls left the nursery for the married state, as Pliny's letters to Minucius Fundanus show. From that narrow sphere, they were suddenly transplanted to a dazzling world of splendour, with all its enjoyments and distractions, all of which they might share in for good or for evil.

In their own home, they had great authority. The old Roman paternal family autocracy had broken down at last, and the legalization of women's proprietorship in their dowry was their final emancipation. In the so-called free marriage, usual under the Empire, the husband received only the dowry, and that not absolutely: all the rest of the wife's property she had control of, the husband not having even a usufruct. Probably wives utilized this power to make their husbands knights or senators. Martial praises one Nigrina, who divided her paternal inheritance with her husband Antistius Rusticus (who afterwards died in Cappadocia) for showing more affection than Evadne or Alcestis. This unassailability of the wife's property occasionally became the bankrupt's resource. An insolvent would assign his property to his wife, and so cheat his creditors. Apuleius asserts that the father of his accuser Herennius Rufus made such a conveyance when bankrupt, and, thus sheltered by his dishonour, could leave his son 3,000,000.

The stewards of rich ladies, who had charge of the jewels and gold and wine and favourite slaves, were generally proven

freedmen. Often, too, they had their own *procurators*, if possible, lawyers, who would also be counsellors and confidants. The tomb of one Paulina at Sestinum, in Umbria, is erected by her friend and procurator Petronius Justus. Pudens, a learned freedman of Marcus Lepidus (consul 6 A.D.) was procurator to his daughter Aemilia Lepida, the wife of Drusus, Tiberius' adoptive grandson; in 36 A.D., she committed suicide, to escape conviction for adultery with a slave. Pudens, in his inscription, asserts, that, as long as he lived, he watched over her conduct, and kept her as the consort of the prince. Cicero, in his *Pro Caecina*, jeers at Aebutius, who managed the widow Caesennia's affairs, and made her believe him to be indispensable. His real past was known from his daily life, as a great ladies' man, and protector of widows and litigious defender of them: amongst men a silly fool; amongst women a learned, cunning lawyer. It was more suspicious when the procurators were mere dandies. 'Who is that curly-haired mannikin', asks Martial of a cautious husband, 'who never leaves your wife's side, is always whispering into her ear, and supporting her chair? Her business manager? He looks a reliable and stern procurator. In acuteness he would rival Aufidius Chius [a notorious adulterer and jurist]. And he is her manager. You fool, he is managing your business'. And in the mock-trials of young rhetoricians, the 'pretty procurator' was a frequent exercise—as probably in reality. The following case was given for debate under Augustus. 'A man has a son by his wife. She dies. He marries again and has a second son. There is a pretty procurator in the house. The stepmother and stepson often quarrel, and he turns the latter out, who takes a house next door. Gossip tells of adultery between the procurator and the wife. One day the husband is found in his room murdered, the wife wounded, and the intervening wall broken through. The relatives decide to ask the five-year-old boy, who had slept with his parents, who was the murderer. The child points to the procurator. The son and the procurator accuse each other of the crime'. Seneca describes in his book on marriage the young wife's proper retinue, which includes a curly-haired procurator, or rather, lover. Firmicus Maternus the astrologer repeatedly mentions these procurators of rich

and noble ladies, and St. Jerome cautions his Christian friends against going out with curly-haired procurators.

Hence wives so independent—especially when of noble lineage—often lorded it over home and husband. Horace describes the Scythians as originally not giving the rich wife mastery of the husband. 'Why have I not a rich wife?' asks Martial; 'because I do not wish to be my wife's maid'. He found that the foppishness and overweening ways of spoiled boys were an easier burden than a dowry of a million. And Juvenal thinks nothing more intolerable than a rich wife. To both Greeks and Romans the slipper symbolized the rule of the woman.

Fictitious marriages, too, entered into by poor men for a fee, were not rare, so as to allow the woman to evade the laws against celibacy and enjoy absolute freedom. Seneca mentions this in his book on marriage, and Martial jeers: 'Your Laelia, your wife within the law, is a very law-abiding wife, Quintus'. Tertullian speaks of the patience such mercenary husbands showed to their rivals, and St. Jerome, of poor men, called husbands, and divorced at the slightest demur. On the other hand, senatorial women sometimes lived in concubinage with freedmen whom they might not marry without losing rank, as senators did with freedwomen. Callistus, bishop from 218-222, authorized such alliances amongst the women in his parish. For women in other ranks to marry their freedmen was less common than for slaves to be freed and made the mistresses of the establishment; the former practice was only legalized in the third estate at the beginning of the third century. A freedman, Tiberius Claudius Hermes, who married his five-and-twenty year-old mistress, and for two-and-twenty years lived with her 'happily by her favour', says on the tombstone of his 'patroness and true wife', that he owed her his station and repute for all his life long. But an inscription in Aquileia of a slave freed and married by her master runs: 'I was Anicia Glycera, freedwoman of Publius Anicius. Of my life I have said enough: I secured myself well and won the contentment of a good man'. Augustus' prohibition of slaves married to their patron getting a divorce against his will was re-affirmed by Justinian.

In society, too, women were independent. In Republican

days, too, they had been free, unlike Greek women, whose highest commendation was 'to occupy their husbands' thoughts, as little as might be, either for good or for evil'; whose frontier was the threshold, crossing which meant risking their position. In early Rome, though domestic virtues were valued in the wife, she had never been secluded. Cornelius Nepos, in the preface to his biographies, contrasts Greek and Roman customs: in Rome any wife could properly attend a banquet, or live in the front of the house and be seen, and watch the spectacles. The gradual breaking up of the family, the cessation of the ancient stern morality, accentuated the tendency, and, under Augustus even, wives were socially almost unrestricted.

The rank and standing of a lady and her titles, privileges and distinctions, were as closely gradated as those of men. Generally they shared the husband's station; but sometimes the Emperors would give women consular rank, with the *insignia*, if relatives and not married to consulars, and might, on rare occasions, leave them with this honour if they remarried a man of lower standing; thus Elagabalus acted with regard to his aunt Julia Mamaea when she married Gessius Marcianus, a knight (she became the mother of the future Emperor Alexander). He also raised the mother of his favourite Hierocles, a Carian slave, to consular rank. The privileges of these ladies consular—according to Ulpian, the wives, not the mothers of consulars—were very great: Ulpian is uncertain whether even a man of praefectorial rank had precedence over them.

When a woman entered the senatorial order, the *conventus matronarum* held an assembly. It was an ancient guild of religious origin, and became the Empress's maids of honour. Agrippina, Nero's mother, after the death of her husband Domitius, had so publicly set her cap at Galba, the husband of Lepida, the future Emperor, that she was arraigned by Lepida's mother at a meeting and beaten. All night, says Seneca, a husband must listen to his wife's reproaches: 'She appears in public richly dressed, and is held in honour: at the *conventus* I am a nobody'. There is scarcely anything known as to the constitution and competence of this guild. It had—like similar bodies in other cities, such as the Ladies' *Curia* at Lanuvium, with its double tables on public festivals,

or at Naples, with its temple and priestess—a *curia*, or meeting-place, on the Quirinal, another in Trajan's forum, where inscriptions have been found; 'Empress Sabina to the Ladies: Restored by Julia the mother of Emperors (Caracalla and Geta) and the troops for the ladies'. Elagabalus had a new building erected on the Quirinal, and enlarged the power of the feminine Senate, and had a number of inquiries on points of etiquette set on foot; what costume befitted women of various ranks; which had precedence, and which had the right of the kiss; what kind of carriage and equipage each should have; which ought to have sedan-chairs, either with silver or ivory, which might have golden or jewelled shoes. [Elagabalus' biographer calls these *senatus consulta* ridiculous: Aurelian's biographer says that the latter restored the women their senate, on condition of priestesses having pre-eminence in it, and perhaps the permission given to women to wear red, yellow, white or green shoes, is referable to such a *senatus consultum*. Under Augustus a special dress of honour was allowed to mothers of three children, a special form of the *stola* to all blameless women; and, when the *stola* in the first century went out of use, it lingered on in the title of *stolata femina*, not only granted to mothers, but honorarily as well.

Girls of the higher ranks left the silence and dependence of the home for the full freedom of married life. There they were exposed to every breeze of public influence. The young wife was greeted, even by her husband, with the honourable name of *domina*, equivalent to *donna* or *madame*. At their back, hundreds of hands had to serve. In the microcosm of a great house, with its scattered properties, legions of slaves, and retinues of clients and subjects, her will granted or withheld fortune or even life. Youths and grey-haired men, the learned and the brave, the veterans and noblemen, all sought her favour. Whatever claims to admiration she might have, beauty, wit, talent or education, her position ensured her success. In her new sphere, vanity and urbanity and intrigue were thoroughly at home, passion and flirtation had full play, and temptation was there strong enough to overthrow the strongest. 'Anything assailed by countless desires is insecure', says Seneca; 'one brings his beauty, another his wit, a third his intellect or generosity

to the attack, and a fortress attacked on all sides must give way'. And feminine ambition had a wide field. Very many noble women had, later on, married an emperor.

To estimate the moral condition of women there is no lack of illustrative facts or general criticisms in the successive epochs. Towards the end, pessimism has full sway; but the writers generalize and exaggerate too much. The complaint of female immorality at Rome was of ancient date: 154 B.C., in the censorship of Marcus Messalla and Gaius Cassius, according to Lucius Piso Frugi (consul in 133), Roman modesty was dead. At the time of the last Civil Wars, which caused an utter disruption of moral relations, Velleius testifies irrefutably to the honour of Roman women; he says the sons of the proscribed in the second Triumvirate were faithless, their freedmen somewhat better, but their wives models. Hence the rather incongruous reports of the next generation can be taken with a grain of salt. In 18 B.C. Augustus was legislating against celibacy, and the Senate declaimed against the looseness of morals, and was reinforced by Horace's pathos and Propertius' melancholy and Ovid's impudent jeers. 'Ages rich in sin', says Horace in one of his solemn odes, 'were the first to taint marriage, and family. From this source the evil has overflowed'. 'Sooner', says Propertius, 'will the sea be dried up, and the stars reft from Heaven, than our women reformed. In the East, women are loyal, and widows vie for the funeral-pyre of their husbands. Here wives are faithless, and we have no Evadne or Penelopes'. 'Pure', says Ovid, 'are only those women who are unsolicited, and a man who is angry at his wife's amours is a mere rustic'. Similar dependencies are reiterated in the succeeding ages, and State regulations were devised to curb the increasing vice. In 19 A.D. a Praetorian woman Vistilia registered herself at the aedile's as a prostitute. She was banished to a rocky island in the Archipelago, and a *senatus consultum* was passed, prohibiting the prostitution of women, whose grandfather, father or husband had been a knight, and making women guilty of immorality indictable by the relatives as of old, if a public prosecutor were lacking. Seneca the Elder held that the corruption had proceeded so far that no credulity could be too great in tales of adultery. Seneca the Younger exalts

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his mother for having exceptionally kept conjugal faith. Any one, he says elsewhere, whose amours have not become notorious, and who does not pay a married woman a yearly fee, is despised by women as a mere lover of girls; in fact, husbands are got as mere decoys for lovers. Only the ugly were loyal. A woman content to have only two hangers-on is a paragon. Ladies' days are divided up between their various lovers, and are still not long enough. A relation with a single lover, they call marriage; with none, old-fashioned simplicity. Suetonius says, that when Vespasian came to the throne, laxity had exceeded bounds owing to the lenient administration of the law: the Emperor proposed in the Senate a law, making ladies who had relations with their slaves, themselves slaves. 'Everywhere in the city', says Martial, 'I ask if one woman says no: not one says no, just as though it were a crime or dishonour. Is no one true? Some there are; those who say neither yes nor no'. Tacitus commends the Germans for not laughing at vice, and not making seduction the spirit of the age. Juvenal's sixth satire is a caricature, but, at base, accurate. Marcus Aurelius was obliged to regulate the indulgence of women and noble youths: Cassius Dio discovered that Severus' laws against adultery (passed in his consulship) provoked 3,000 cases, and this only among the consulars and senators in the consular-senator Court.

In the year 211, when Septimius Severus made peace with the Caledonians, the Empress Julia jeered at a chieftain's wife, because of the community in wives: the latter rejoined, that Caledonian women selected the best men publicly, Roman women the worst and clandestinely. The name of an ancient cuckold was a 'horned beast'.

These expressions of opinion may be violent, unconsidered, and harsh; or rhetorically over-coloured, but the facts are significant, and some symptoms show the extent of the vice. Thus great frivolity, due to the arbitrary divorces, was shown in making and abandoning marriages. Under Julius Caesar's Dictatorship, a Praetorian married a woman, unsuspected of any adultery, but divorced two days before: Caesar separated them. Tiberius deposed a quaestor for divorcing a woman the day before the taking of the lots, he having wedded her the day before in order to rank as a married

man, In Martial one woman leaves her husband at the beginning of his praetorship, in January : it was no divorce, but a good speculation. Seneca says, some women counted their years, not by consuls, but by their husbands ; and Juvenal, that some divorced, before the green bays of welcome had faded on the lintels, and they might have eight husbands in five years : Tertullian, that women marry, only in order to divorce : these exaggerations must have a foundation in truth. Quintus Lucretius Vespillo (consul 19 B.C.) erects this stone to his wife Turia (who died 8-2 B.C.) : 'Seldom do marriages last until death undivorced : but ours continued happily for forty-one years'. But even in this marriage, after the death of her only daughter, Turia had proposed a divorce so that her husband might have children by a second—for childless men were under a disability in inheritance. She herself would seek him a new wife, and be a second mother to his children, and a sister or mother-in-law to him, whilst their properties should remain undivided. But the husband passionately refused. Trimalchio, too, congratulates himself on declining the divorce, proposed for the same reason, because of his good nature and love of a Stoic reputation. But most men were less fastidious : Ovid and Pliny the Younger had three wives ; Caesar and Antony four ; Sulla and Pompey five : such cases must have been frequent. A tombstone recently unearthed mentions a seventh wife ; there is no exaggeration in Martial's epigram : 'Phileros, you are burying your seventh wife on your estate. No estate has ever been more profitable'. Women remarried as often. Cicero's daughter Tullia married three times, and Nero was the third husband of Poppaea, and the fifth of Statilia Messalina. Martial speaks of a woman who made six or seven attempts at marriage ; of one who marries eight husbands ; and of a third suspected of murdering seven.

Further, slavery, as everywhere, left its track of immorality very visible in Roman conjugal life, and made the standard of a man's fidelity too lax. Plutarch even says, advising a cultured newly married couple, the wife must not take it amiss, if the husband resort to a *ἑραι'πα* or slave, but be grateful for his working his passions off on another woman, out of respect for her : just as the Persian kings used to dis-

miss their wives from the feast, and call in harlots and music-players for their debauches. And the women, too, took their share of male liberty as a right, or a pretext. Juvenal makes a woman detected in the arms of a slave or knight keep her complexion and say, 'we agreed we should each do exactly as we liked'. And ladies were certain of secret and submissive lovers amongst their slaves, and rarely resisted the temptation. 'Your wife', Martial says in an epigram, 'calls you a lover of girls, and is the darling of her sedan-chairman: you are both in the same boat'. Elsewhere he reckons up the seven children of a certain Marulla, whose faces betrayed as many slaves as their fathers, namely, the Moorish cook, the snub-nosed athlete, the blear-eyed baker, the nice boy of her husband, the narrow-headed long-eared *crétin*, the black flute-blower and the red-haired steward.

A further deleterious effect of slavery on women was the habit of cruelty, increased by the bloody amphitheatre. Juvenal's satires paint, how the moody mistress has her female slaves mercilessly flogged, without interrupting her work, till the floggers drop for weariness, and she harshly commands them to go out: Ovid, too, begs ladies not to scratch the maids who are adorning them, or prick their naked arms. Hadrian relegated a woman for such cruelty to an island for five years, and was the first to forbid slave-murder: until then women might at any time crucify their slaves.

Other corrupting influences for women there also were. The demoralizing effect of the letters of the day can hardly be counted as a cause (such as Ovid's *Elegies* and *Ars Amatoria*) though for flagrancy they could hardly be exceeded, but rather as symptoms of a not universal degeneracy. And with the wholly different standards of decency among women, much was proper, that is now impossible. Leibnitz even could send one of Hoffmannswaldau's most disgusting poems to Sophia, the widow of the Elector of Hanover (the mother of the first Queen of Prussia), and she could copy it out for the Dowager Duchess of Orleans (Elizabeth Charlotte), and every one was delighted with the 'amorous' verses; thus Roman women might well read Martial and Petronius, and stand on a higher moral footing. Martial dedicates his tenth book (which is not lacking in obscenities) to Polla

Argentaria, who was then about forty or fifty, the widow of Lucan, asking her not to be too severe. And the evil effect of immoral art is hard to estimate. Propertius reviles the wall-pictures that shocked the eyes of women and girls, and such pictures are elsewhere mentioned. But moral women seldom were thus exposed : in Pompeii even, a carnival of license, obscene pictures are only found in the brothels. In Paris of about 1750, profligate manners were far worse than in imperial Rome ; there the coats of arms on the coaches were replaced, at great expense, by disgusting pictures : a fashion introduced by the women, whose carriages were the more licentious.

In ancient Rome the worst influences were the ' temptations of the spectacles and excitements of the banquets '. Tacitus significantly says that the pure Germans withdrew their women from both.

The passion for the circus was one of the flaws most cast at the teeth of the Roman women of this day, in all ranks. The wife of a senator eloped with a gladiator, and Juvenal was most surprised at her abandoning the circus and Paris the Pantomime. And Statius, whose wife did not cling to the circus and the theatre, could not make out why she would not leave Rome. For women, as Ovid and others say, went there not only to see, but to be seen. Ovid compares the stream of fashionably-dressed women to ants or bees. It was then their toilette was at its height : when Rome seemed most magnificent, and they found most admirers. Tacitus and Dio think fit to mention the mantle of gold in which Agrippina appeared at the naval fight on the Lacus Fucinus (a sight so remarkable that Pliny thinks it worth mention), and this may indicate the zeal, the self-advertisement, and gorgeousness of the women. Often the feathers were borrowed. In Rome the Italian love of *far figura* was most deeply inset, and thousands wanted to seem more than they really were ; every kind of ' property ' could be hired, down to the rings which astute advocates had on to impose on the clients they were defending. Juvenal specifies amongst the things women borrowed, when their purses were empty, clothes, retinue, sedan-chairs (used as seats after the staves were pulled out), an old nurse and a blond maid. In Apuleius' fable, Venus makes Psyche fetch her

the elixir of beauty from Proserpine, in order to fit herself to visit the divine theatre.

The large feminine element at the circus attracted the youth in large quantity. Propertius rejoices at Cynthia's resolve to go into the country, away from the harmful spectacles; and Ovid recommends them as match-making resorts. In the theatre and amphitheatre, after Augustus' regulations, the men could only glance up at the upper seats reserved to the women: but, in the Circus, the sexes were mixed. 'Let such men go', says Juvenal, 'as think well to hallo, to bet high, and sit beside a fashionably-dressed girl'. Acquaintances were easily picked up by the common interest in the performance, and the little politenesses, handing cushions, etc.; and compliments, wishing one were the charioteer the girl admired; was it really hot? etc., etc. To the Christians this assembling of the sexes was the worst feature. 'In the circus', Tertullian says, 'there is nothing more repellent than the sight of men and women in their fineries. Partisanship often caused relations which might grow up into lust: people go there only to see and to be seen'. Clement of Alexandria also found that these assemblies of men and women led to profligacy.

Worse than this was involved in the Circus and the spectacles. There the populace raged madly, but it was more innocent than the theatre and amphitheatre. The *Atellana* and the *mimi* were openly licentious, and attracted the masses, whilst the pantomimic dances represented the most doubtful subjects and drew to them the upper classes: there anything was in good taste, and effeminate minds were tickled with witty obscenities. The Christians had good ground for condemning the theatres; any woman might well leave them sullied. The habit of seeing slaughter and torture in the arena brutalized the soul, and killed its delicate feelings to a nauseous extent.

Women were interested not only in the games, but in the actors personally. Athletes, circus-drivers and gladiators especially carried favour with ladies of the highest rank; the 'ferrum' attracted them like a lodestone, and enchanted fighters, however ugly, into Hyacinthuses: to run away with a gladiator, according to Juvenal, even noble ladies felt no scruples, faced sea-journeys and would even go to the

astounding extent of giving up the games. So, too, stage-singers, vocalists and musicians were beloved of the women, whose passion often led them into the wildest folly: thus, under Augustus, a married lady waited on Stephanio the actor in a page's disguise. Pertinax' wife had a publicly known liaison with a citharist; and rumour said these artists sold their favour dear. The instruments used by famous citharists were bought by their female adorers and worshipped. One noble lady in Juvenal makes a solemn sacrifice to discover whether a celebrated citharist would obtain the crown at the next competition; as much as she could have done for a sick son or husband. Pantomime-dancers, however, enjoyed the most signal favour from both men and women. Seneca, writing in Nero's latter years, says that there were many teachers and many scholars of the art of Pylades and Bathyllus. Everywhere in the city, homes have their private theatres, in which men and women dance, and husbands and wives vie to be the professional's partner. The pantomimes were very beautiful young men, whose art lent them fresh grace. About 22 or 23 A.D., they were banished from Italy, on account of the factions they caused, and their relations with women, who must have been of high rank: otherwise no such ordinance would have been passed. Mnester, the beautiful boy, the most popular pantomime under Claudius, had the favour of the elder Poppaea, the beauty of her day: and his enforced relations with Messalina caused his execution. Paris the Pantomime aroused Domitian's jealousy, and was assassinated in the street; on the spot where he fell, many of his adorers strewed flowers and scents. Rumour connected the murder of Domitian with the passion of his wife for this or some other pantomime. Marcus Aurelius bore Faustina's amours with more tolerance; some of them were said to be with pantomimes. Galen discovered the passion of one Justus' wife for Pylades, as Erasistratus had that of Antiochus for Stratonice. There was no physical reason for insomnia, so he concluded it was mental: her countenance and her quickened pulse betrayed her, when the name of Pylades was pronounced.

Tacitus mentions the temptations of the banquets as well as of the spectacles: but, at the worst of times, the most licentious feasts can never have been so common, that

women could not have avoided them : the spectacles must have created a far deeper disorder. At these extravagant banquets, the same evil influences obtained, as at the theatre ; for music, dancing and theatricals were the usual accompaniments. Obscene songs and plays met the ears of modesty, and the eyes of purity were offended by Syrian and Andalusian dancers, whose depravity could hardly have been less than that of the Egyptian *almés*. Many, says Plutarch, at their feasts present actions and speeches, more intoxicating than any debauchery, and when women and children are present.

Apart from such sensualities, banquets enabled men and women to meet far more conveniently than in the Circus. At them, says Pliny the Elder, greedy eyes are calculating a woman's price, and sodden eyes (of their husbands) sleepily assenting. In one of the most impudent poems ascribed to Ovid, the seduction of the beautiful wife of a simple husband is described ; nominally it is Paris and Helen, but these were current names for such parties ; and the picture is drawn true to the actual life of that day, most realistically. The lover's behaviour at table corresponds to Ovid's advice in the matter. The lady feels the fixed gaze of her admirer, hears his sighs, sees him seize her cup, kiss it where her lips touched it : he makes signs to her with his eyes or fingers, writes in wine on the table, tells love-stories eloquent of his own passion, pretends drunkenness, to make his audacity seem innocent. Further, the old custom of women sitting at table had ceased by Augustus' time ; they lay down, like the men. In the old days, this would have been indecent, but, under the Empire, the old rule was only kept up at the Capitol, when at Jupiter's banquet, Jupiter lay down and Minerva and Juno sat up on chairs. 'It is more important', said Valerius Maximus, 'that the gods keep up the good old customs, than that the women should'.

How far, apart from the banquets, real social meetings of both sexes occurred, we do not know. Men could also converse with women in the public places, walks, colonnades, parks and gardens. In the stead of the page or eunuch, who accompanied his mistress, some lover would hold her parasol. Further, women of the upper classes seldom walked on the black basalt pavements. They were carried about in sedan-chairs, or the huge palanquin borne on the shoulders

of gigantic foreign slaves: the palanquin, especially the covered sort, was the prerogative of the senatorial women, though custom varied and was not absolute. Caesar limited the right of using the palanquin to matrons and mothers over forty years of age, and to certain days of the year: Domitian refused it to women of ill-repute. Sterner custom required thick curtains, so as to baffle the greedy gazers: 'we see nothing blameworthy', says Plutarch, 'in staring fixedly at ladies' palanquins'. But husbands who forbade their wives, 'to exhibit themselves in their chairs to the gaze of any one and everyone', were deemed, as Seneca says, boorish, and tyrannous. With open windows they would peer about in all directions, bowing, and disgracing their position. For in Rome, there were no carriages: in the country, women often drove themselves.

In dress, too, the women of that time showed no more sense of shame, but our information, coming from violent generalizations of such writers as the Senecas and Pliny the Elder, cannot determine the extent of this, especially of the use of the notorious Coan robes; and all the less certainly, as similar complaints were raised all through the Middle Ages and in modern times, e.g. in the tenth, thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The transparency of female clothing under the *directoire*, with its Mdme. Tallien, and at Grodno under Stanislaus Augustus, with Marquise de Lulli, can hardly have been exceeded. Then, in Paris, an especially admired toilette, with all the cameos and gold, weighed only one pound. After her, ladies aimed at lightness, and imponderability of costume. Historians of the first centuries decry the fineries and extravagance of female dress, the oriental stuffs (such as silk, byssus, jewels, pearls and perfumes), which may have been extravagant and not restricted to a section of society, but is outdone by modern luxury.

Independence made Roman ladies seek to cast off the fetters of nature and custom and follow male pursuits. Such abnormalities, as Juvenal depicts, may have been rare: such as the women who drilled in gladiators' armour, challenged men in night-long carousals and vomiting of wine, or the women who pleaded in Court. Such emancipations were, as Juvenal says, the exception. More frequent were women with active

public interests. They knew all that was going on in the farthest lands, caught up rumours at the gates, or originated them; retorted sharply on military leaders, and told any street acquaintance all the world's gossip.

The ambition of others, more cultivated, took higher flights: most women in high position naturally sought to lead, directly or indirectly, in the course of politics. Often, as is known, the fate of the Roman world was decided by women; more than one Emperor was more or less the vicerent of his Empress. Even Augustus, one of the greatest statesmen of all times, often took counsel with his clever wife, a Ulysses in female garb, as Caligula called her; and it was reported that he always wrote down what he was going to say to her. To the good done by Eusebia, the consort of Constantius, Julian adds that 'one man was reinstated in his paternal heritage, another pardoned from a merely legal penalty, a third saved from imminent danger of an information, and many received honours and benefits'. Trajan's widow, Plotina, made Hadrian give the president of the Epicurean School at Athens the right of nominating his own successor, and even an alien. Philiscus the sophist secured the chair of oratory at Athens, through Julia Domna. The influence of the Empresses' Court-ladies must also have been very great. Juvenal illustrates how their favour was sought after. He blames the extravagance of Domitian's favourite Crispinus, in buying a six-pound mullet for 6,000 sesterces: as a present to a distinguished lady in a huge paned palanquin, it would have been justified. In both big and little appointments feminine influence would predominate, in Rome and the provinces. Seneca praises his maternal aunt for overcoming her shyness, and helping him to his quaestorship. Gessius Florus owed his procuratorship of Judaea to his wife Cleopatra, a friend of Poppaea. To the Chief Vestal Campia Severina, in 240 A.D., a statue was erected by a man for whom she worked his knighthood, a tribunate of a cohort, and the lapse of one grade in military promotion; and another statue by a man who thus secured the chief imperial librarianship. In Epictetus a dishonest official hopes to escape punishment, for 'we have friends, gentlemen and ladies, of influence in Rome'. Ladies would, in case of need, exploit their sons for this purpose. Some

of the electoral recommendations, inscribed on the walls of Pompeii, are signed by women.

In the provinces the wives of the governors attended the manoeuvres, and, with a bodyguard of centurions, mixed with the soldiery: e.g. the proud Plancina, daughter of the founder of Lyons, Munatius Plancus, and wife of Gnaeus Piso (A.D. 17 Governor of Syria), and Cornelia, daughter of the governor of Pannonia, Calvisius Sabinus (who died in 39 A.D.). Plancina's ostentation was the main argument in favour of Severus Caecina's motion before the Senate, to forbid (A.D. 21) a governor taking his wife with him. The Senate should remember, that the women caused so much of the extortion, and attracted all the riff-raff of the province. They took up negotiations and the provincials had to attend two courts. Women were more domineering and less restrained than men; they became absolute despots of home and law and armies. The motion was not accepted; but later times record such wives as 'harpies clawing for gold, spreading havoc in cities and diets.'

In literary life, too, women took their share; in the upper classes, in their youth, they were educated up to it. Quintilian, in his *De Institutione Oratoria*, says, both parents should be as cultured as possible, not only the father. Martial's ideal woman is rich, noble, erudite and chaste. Ovid, who in his *Ars Amatoria* assures the reader he is speaking only of libertines, but is nevertheless describing women, says: 'There is a small circle of learned women, genuine or specious'. How intense and general the love of literature was in the first two centuries is well known, as also the habit of poetic dilettantism. In Augustus' home, which constantly encouraged literature, the women had to embrace it. To his sister Octavia a philosophic work was dedicated: Virgil read the sixth book of the *Aeneid* to her and her brother: she is said to have fainted at the prophecy of the early death of her son Marcellus. Crinagoras of Mytilene the poet, who was twice (29 B.C. and 26 B.C.) ambassador to Augustus from his native city, was a close friend of the family. His poems on Marcellus and Antonia, her beautiful and virtuous daughter, the wife of Drusus, are extant: one was the dedication to a volume of lyrics, and the other is a prayer for her happy delivery, and others again, on her son Germanicus

(born 15 B.C.). The wife of the tragedian Varius (whose Thyestes Augustus had acted at his triumph and munificently acknowledged) was learned: Perilla, perhaps Ovid's stepdaughter, was a poet. Lucan's wife Polla Argentaria, according to Statius, was highly gifted. In the later Empire, we only know that Agrippina, the mother of Nero, left memoirs, which Tacitus and Pliny the Elder used; and Statilia Messalina, Nero's third wife, after his death became as notable for her intelligence as her riches and beauty, and regularly studied oratory: of Julia Domna, the wife of Severus, more will be said later. The daughter of Nazarius the rhetorician (under Constantine) was her father's equal.

Women, who did not take any active part in literature, at least shared in their husbands' or friends' work and success. Pliny the Younger lauds his wife, for interesting herself in it out of love for him. She read his books through and through, and learnt them by heart. If he gave a recitation she would listen behind the curtain to the applause. She had a system of couriers to bring messages from the court in which he might be pleading. She set his poems to music and sang them; love being her sole teacher. Apt expression was a common feminine gift. Ovid recommends women to write love-letters in good but not stilted Latin; for a passion nigh to extinction might be revived, or a lively flame deadened, by beauty's bad grammar. Women's works, if not published, were shown to their friends. Pliny says that an author he knew read out his wife's letters: she might have been a Terence or a Plautus. If they were really her composition, her power testified to the influence of her husband who married her as a girl: for girls' education must have proceeded after marriage in many cases. Women also experimented in speaking Greek instead of Latin, or at least interlarding Greek phrases: in Lucretius' time Greek was the lovers' language; Juvenal says in young girls this might be endurable; after twenty-six, it was intolerable.

But in an epoch of teeming poetasters, poetesses were common, in Greek and Latin, who loved being called Sapphos. Ovid applied this hackneyed compliment to Perilla, whose poetic gifts he endeavoured to develop, as her hearer, teacher and critic. Sulpicia, whose love-letters in verse were included

among those of Tibullus, was probably a granddaughter of Servius Sulpicius Rufus, the jurist, and daughter of a friend of Horace's. Hostia, the lady-love of Propertius, was compared to Erinna and Corinna. Persius jeers at these 'poetic magpies' of his day. Of Theophila, the bride of the poet Canius Rufus of Cadiz, Martial, his fellow-countryman, says she was chaster than Sappho and as gifted; he applies the same term to Sulpicia, the wife of Calenus, to whom is attributed a sickly 'Conversation with the Muse'. In those poems of hers which Martial read, she celebrated the joys of happy, unprudish marriage. On the colossus of Memnon there are Greek verses of Caecilia Trebulla and Julia Balbilla inscribed. The latter mentions with pride her descent from Claudius Balbillus (governor of Egypt under Nero, and an author) and a Syrian prince Antiochus; she was of senatorial rank: a statue was put up to her at Rome by the city of Tauromenium, and ascribes to her distinction 'in every virtue and morality and wisdom'. A.D. 130 she visited the colossus in the train of Hadrian and 'the gentle Empress' Sabina, who seem to have liked her verses, and had them chiselled in deep into the hard stone. The honour may have been earned by the plenteous adulation; Memnon is said to have risen before the sun to greet his dreaded master, and much more in this vein. Balbilla's verses show fluency and accurate pedantry in the use of the Aeolic of Sappho, her obvious model.

Ladies, when not poets, were critics, and as such, deemed by Juvenal worse than tipplers. Before they had been five minutes at table, they began to discourse aesthetically on Homer and Virgil, monopolizing the conversation, with a hammer and tong-like effect. They paraded their snacks of knowledge, made quotations from forgotten authors; grammar in hand, corrected their friends' slips. A woman, says Juvenal, may have the encyclopaedia by heart and yet know nothing: Martial, too, mocks the purist woman, and yearns, as his life-wish, for a not too learned wife.

Philosophically inclined women found the greatest hindrances. Old-fashioned Romans discouraged the study, as merely ostentatious (Seneca the Elder, a great conservative, would only allow his wife to read very superficially—a fact the son regrets): and also, as making women impertinent,

and leave the loom and home, to linger on with men, talk learnedly and chop logic. The Stoics held the opposite opinion. Zeno had originally advised the bringing up of boys and girls similarly: Musonius Rufus wrote a monograph on 'whether daughters should have the same education as sons': as did Plutarch 'that women should have a scientific education'. Musonius Rufus wanted to restrict women to moral philosophy, as the indispensable foundation of chastity: Plutarch went further, and, after the Socratic fashion, prescribed astronomy and mathematics as well, as safeguarding a mind filled with the highest ideas from love of vanity, superstition and folly; as making dancing ridiculous for a mathematician, and exorcisms ridiculous to the student of Plato and Xenophon.

As a fact, women often did study these sciences as well, to the detriment of their charm. Plutarch says of Cornelia, wife of Crassus and then of Pompey, that to beauty she superadded the graces of literature, music and geometry; she had attended philosophic courses to her advantage, and was free from the general ill-consequence of becoming a blue-stocking. Cicero's friend, Caerellia, 'fired with zeal for philosophy', made a copy of his *De Finibus* before publication. And spiritual minds might well find consolation in the teachings of the wise, as Livia, at the death of Drusus, in the words of the Stoic Areus. Athenodorus of Cana, another Stoic at the same Court, was privileged to dedicate one of his writings to Augustus' sister, Octavia. Julia Domna, when Plautianus the favourite intrigued her into quarrelling with Severus, devoted herself to philosophy and science. She had mathematicians and rhetoricians all around her; Philostratus, at her instruction, wrote the novel of Apollonius of Tyana. Martial's poetess, Theophila, knew the Epicurean and Stoic systems equally well. In a writing attributed to Galen, Arria, a friend of the author, is mentioned, who was in high esteem with Severus and Caracalla for her earnest study of Plato; possibly the same devotee of Plato to whom Diogenes of Laërte dedicates his *Lives of the Philosophers*.

But, for the most part, it was sheer toying. Horace satirizes the old lady in love, and her Stoic books on silk cushions. In Epictetus' day, Plato's Republic was the fashion, as,

in some measure, laying the foundations of a Utopia in free love and community in women: Lucian asserts some philosophers realized that teaching with their female pupils, but not in Plato's apprehension of it. With Marcus Aurelius the philosopher, ladies took to seeing Greek Dr. Know-alls, rhetors and philosophers, solemn grey-beards, to attend their walks. At table, or at their toilette, they had leisure to be instructed: in the course of a lecture on morality, there were interruptions, a *billet-doux*, swiftly answered by return. These philosophers were taken on journeys as well, kept waiting in the rain, and sent in the last carriage with the dancers, the cooks, and the hair-curlers. Lucian tells of one rich lady who entrusted her Stoic with her Maltese lapdog, which gave birth to a litter under the philosophic mantle.

At all times, most women must merely have played at philosophizing, and some few have discovered a religion in it. The interest of the widow-Empress Plotina in Epicureanism has been mentioned. Plotinus, the founder of Neo-Platonism, stayed in Rome after 244 A.D., and had many devoted female students, some in the higher ranks, amongst them Salonina the Empress; with her and Gallienus' favour, he hoped to found on the site of a lost city in Campania (probably Pompeii) a Platonopolis or Philosophers' State. His opponents frustrated him, and antiquity never had its Icaria. Porphyry, his pupil, married a friend's widow, Marcella, to support her in her struggle with disease and the education of her five children, and because of her great gift for philosophy, into which she had been initiated.

The religious movements of the first century, which increased in the second, and in the third and fourth attained their height, affected women most. These were the last efforts of Paganism to regenerate and oppose the new spirit coming from the East. The old gods gained a fresh lease of their lapsing life, and the new habit of honouring their positive attributes found many votaries, who, in a wild confusion of all religions and cults, sought salvation.

Of these, oriental rites prospered the most. Their pomp and sensual effect, their gorgeous ceremonial impressed the simple; their miracles and mystic initiations were a

revelation, and a road to union with God. These rites especially suited women, and the promise of purity and a hallowed state beyond gained them great vogue. License led to asceticism; the weakness, subject to temptation, sought release through overt atonement.

Thus the yearning of women, especially, to find here a consecration, a cleansing or a consolation, became passionate; unsuperstitious piety (ascribed to one woman on her tombstone by her husband) must have been rare. Plutarch recommends the wife to reverence only her husband's gods, and ban other worships and superstitions, as clandestine offerings would be offensive to any god. These female devotees were blind adherents of the oriental priests. A wandering band of begging priests of the Great Mother might persuade them to offer one hundred eggs to divert the September fever from them to their clothes, or, three times in the early morning, to dip in the half-frozen Tiber and splash about almost naked on their knees for a certain distance. They would make pilgrimages to Egypt to fetch Nile water, if Isis bade them sprinkle themselves with it in the temple. Isis, the goddess of a million names, was, throughout the Roman world, adored as protectress and Lady of Mercy. After 50 A.D. she had many temples in Rome to which pilgrims came in the prescribed linen garb, with dishevelled hair, sang hymns twice a day, were sprinkled with Nile water, observed the fasts, and any other abstention, enjoined by the priests: any default was met with a petition to Osiris and a substantial oblation: a cake or fat goose might assuage the angry gods.

It is no matter of surprise that, when women so frequented the temples of Isis, many abuses sprang up. The whole priesthood, men and women and servants, were accused of being professional prostitutes, and the cult was condemned on this score. An event of 19 A.D. illustrates the happenings inside the temple at Rome. A knight, Decius Mundus, had been wooing a spotless and noble woman, Paullina, in vain. She was a devotee of Isis; the priests of her temple were bribed for 5,000 denarii to persuade her that the god Anubis desired to meet her at night: Mundus appeared in this disguise. Tiberius came to know of the outrage, banished the ringleaders, crucified the priests, demolished the temple

and threw the statue of the goddess into the Tiber. Not only Isis, but any other deity, beloved of the women, saw his temple thus misused : as Juvenal testifies and the Christians also, though they exaggerate in denouncing temples and groves and holy places as places for assignations and criminalities. In the temples, according to Minucius Felix and Tertullian, adulteries are arranged, prostitution practised between the altars, and the incense-laden cells were brothels. Tertullian makes Idolatry thus declaim : 'My sacred groves of pilgrimage, my mountains and springs, my city temples, all know how I corrupt chastity, and magicians and poisoners know, how I encourage vengeance, sweeping the watchmen, informers and accomplices out of the way'. Propertius, too, calls the temples and the circus the main reasons of Cynthia's untroth, and Ovid recommends them and the Jewish sabbaths and the theatre and porticoes for this purpose.

Judaism was spreading more and more in the West, but its proselytes were mainly women, amongst whom was Poppaea the Empress. Josephus calls her a zealous advocate of the Jews, 'for she had religion in her' : for this reason she was not cremated, but, in oriental fashion, embalmed with perfumes and buried in the cemetery of the Julii. In A.D. 19, together with the proceedings against the worship of Isis, the first harshness was shown towards the Jews ; 4,000 able-bodied freedmen, 'infected with Egyptian or Jewish superstitions', were sent to Sardinia to fight the bandits ; the others had to repudiate their practices or leave Italy. The pretext was a fraud, imputed to the Jews, on Fulvia, a noble Roman lady inclined to Judaism, whose Jewish teachers had incited her to send a contribution to the temple at Jerusalem, which they appropriated. Under Domitian, A.D. 88, Martial jeers at the bad breath of ladies who kept the Sabbath.

Christianity, too, inflamed the women, and its emissaries did not underrate the value of feminine susceptibility. At first it affected the lower classes. In the second century, the pagans scoffed that the Christian community consisted of the poor, of workmen, old women, slaves, children and simpletons. Perhaps, however, as in the East, Christianity began to claim feminine votaries in the higher ranks as well. But the assumption that Pomponia Graecina, the wife of

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Plautius the consul, the conqueror of Britain, was one of them, rests on very insecure evidence. In 58 A.D., she was accused of the 'foreign superstition', and the judgment left to her husband, who acquitted her. The phrase meant either of the religions persecuted by Tiberius, the Egyptian or the Jewish. She did mourn a murdered relative for forty years and withdrew from society, but pagan women also showed similar life-long attachments. And the ancient Christian tradition knows nothing of her as a convert, whilst the legendary personal relations between St. Paul and Seneca prove on what slender facts they would make distinguished pagans converts. Much more probably she had become a Jewess. It is more possible that Domitian's niece, Flavia Domitilla, became a Christian. She and her husband, Titus Flavius Clemens, were accused of 'atheism'; a charge which had brought to many death or confiscation, for Jewish practices: he was executed, and she relegated to an island. Perhaps, as Renan presumes, many of these victims of persecution were Christian Jews. The hagiologies (composed not before 500 A.D.), which make St. Cecilia (the patroness of music) a senatorial woman, are entirely untrustworthy.

From the death of Marcus Aurelius to the great persecution of Decius was a time of peace for the Church, in which she flourished exceedingly. Under Commodus, whose mistress Marcia was, probably, a Christian, whole noble families were converted: Septimius Severus, in his first years, took senatorial men and women, who were openly Christians, under his protection; Mammaea, the mother of Alexander Severus, is said to have been finally converted by Origen's lectures. These great proselytes created many difficulties for the Roman Church, and even the zealous Tertullian permitted them the gorgeous clothing due to their rank. Callistus the bishop (218-223) allowed girls and widows of senatorial rank, who did not wish to lose it through an inferior marriage, to enter into concubinage, even with slaves, and publicly showed his preference for these illegal and anti-social marriages to alliances with infidels. The monuments in the catacombs contain the names of many noble Roman lady converts. In the crypts of Lucina, the sarcophagus of one Catia Clementina has been found, the wife of Jallius Bassus, a high official under Marcus Aurelius, as also of her daughter, Jallia

Clementina, and her sister or daughter of the same name : inscriptions are also found there of Annia Faustina, Licinia Faustina, Acilia Vera, who belonged to a family related both to the Antonines and to the Pomponii Bassi.

Even though no word had come down of the broken hearts and family divisions, the centuries of conflict between paganism and Christianity would assure them. Origen says that the Christian emissaries ventured to interfere with the most intimate family relations ; that Christian slaves, as the pagans alleged, would seek to convert their master's wife and family, and incite insubordination against fathers and teachers. One incident, narrated by Justin, a Christian author under Antoninus Pius, must have been a common type. One married couple lived very loosely, and the wife became a Christian, but all her new-born zeal and preachings of Hell could not convert her husband : at length, fearing, as his wife, to be tainted with his godlessness, she obtained a divorce. In this case morals, as well as religion, jarred : in most, the diversity of belief, and the pangs of conscience were sufficient to dissolve a life-long alliance ; the number of Christian women who could manage to be 'Christians among the Christians, and heathens among the heathens' (as an inscription runs) could never have been great ; too often 'love and troth had to be weeded out'. Christian writers naturally attribute all the guilt of such partings to the pagans. But the harshness with which Tertullian stigmatizes mixed marriages as improper and irreconizable by the community, indicates that the divorces were often enough led up to by the Christian missionaries. Sometimes an equal fanaticism of the pagans might withstand them. Porphyry gives the answer of an oracle of Apollo to a man who asked how he should deflect his wife from Christianity, and what god he should implore : 'Sooner couldst thou write on water, or fly in the air, than change the mind of thy guilty, godless wife. Let her have her will, remain with her empty falsehoods, lament to her god with her faithless lips ; her God whom just judges condemned to an evil death.'

But women then, if religiously the 'leaders in belief', were as obstinate adherents of every old faith as they were susceptible to every new superstition. Of the variegated and innumerable superstitions of these changeful centuries,

men were only influenced to a very considerable extent by one very influential form, astrology. This was also very popular with the women : it was practised more than elsewhere in the upper classes. No astrologer, says Juvenal, is of repute, unless at least once condemned : the star-readers became most celebrated, if they had been involved in some political action, and had lain in chains for long, and been amnestied and relegated to a barren island. Some women, too, were expert astrologers themselves, and consulted the calendar at every turn. Many, too, when they were confined, had a Chaldaean posted on some observatory near at hand, to watch the stars, and to be informed by a gong of the instant when the child was born : he was then to draw up the horoscope at once. St. Augustine tells of two friends of his, so devoted to astrology that they noted down accurately the instants of the births of their domestic animals and the ruling constellations. Once the wife of the one and the slave of the other gave birth at the same time exactly, and under the same constellation. Yet the one remained free, and the other a slave : St. Augustine's belief in astrology was finally destroyed.

But magic, in all its departments and hoaxes and barbarities, was fervently believed in by women. Under the influence of oriental mysticism, however, the character of this superstition became wholly transformed in the second century. In the first, witches, loathly and abominable hags, practised doubtful trades, and procuring : they concocted salves and drugs and philtres for beauty, and dealt in poisons, and were very fond of wine. This profession was too proletariate to suit the educated, and yet was sought by women, who believed in love-philtres : Plutarch even in his *Marriage Precepts* mentions them, though his work was intended for an educated couple.

But, when transformed, magic gained greater vogue. After about 150 A.D., when Neo-Platonism was fore-heralded by Julian the Chaldaean, philosophy became more and more contaminated with theurgy and magic. Apuleius says that the populace associated philosophy with enchantment, and that both magicians and natural philosophers drank more and more of the Pierian streams of the East, the Nile, the Euphrates and the Ganges. Now sodden procuresses

were replaced by pious and holy miracle-workers, who either came from the East, or had spent many years in catacombs of Egypt, or the society of Brahmans; who were passion-free, despised earthly nutriment, went about in white linen, venerable, and welcome guests in great palaces. These later conjurers—no mere hags or witches—made their holiness of life the secret of their power; their humanity was conquered, and, god-like, they had divine powers. Their success was largely due to the women, whom they courted assiduously. They took great care of their personal appearance. Lucian describes Alexander of Abonuteichos, as a stately man, with white skin, a well-tended beard, a mystic's eye, and musical voice: he wore a deceptive wig of graceful locks over his own hair, went about in a white and purple vest and a white cloak, carrying a scythe in his hand, to typify his descent from Perseus. The grace of the ladies was assured to him, even, says Lucian, at the wish of their husbands; and their favour was the aim and the foundation of his position. Perhaps much the same would have been said of Apollonius of Tyana, had Lucian written his life. Philostratus mentions that the tale was that he had loved a beauteous lady in Seleucia in Cilicia, and she gave herself up to him, to be blessed with great children, as he was superhuman: thence sprang Alexander Peloplaton the sophist, an extremely beautiful man. But Philostratus scouts the story as incredible.

Literature prefers dwelling on the frailties and vices of women, as being better copy, than on the inconspicuous virtues; and most of this description is thereby limited to the evil side. But some marriages are described in which man and wife 'in mutual love, and alternative submission lived in harmony; in which the merit of a good wife is greater than the guilt of a bad one', or in which mothers and wives 'were the light of the home'. The principal source for this gallery of good women is Pliny's Letters. He tells of the heroic death of a woman from his native Comum, not less great than Arria. He was crossing the Lake of Como, and a friend pointed out to him a villa jutting out over the water. There the husband, who had been suffering from tumours and boils, showed them to his wife, and asked if she thought them curable. She thought them hopeless; encouraged

him to commit suicide, and was not only his companion but his guide as well; they bound themselves together and plunged in to their death.

History, too, records many great examples of feminine courage in the days of the lowest depths of humiliation and servility. In the Terrors, when women were prosecuted for their tears, they often led men on to bravery, faith and self-sacrifice; just as, under the proscriptions, wives were faithful to the outlawed and sons faithless. In the barbarities of the Julian house, women often preferred to die with their relatives, whom their entreaties could not save; mothers followed their sons into exile, and wives their husbands. Tacitus gives a few instances. Annia Pollitta saw her husband Rubellius Plautus (A.D. 62) assassinated by Nero; she embraced his blood-stained neck, kept the stained robe, and lived on the bare necessities of life, in deep mourning. In 65 Lucius Vetus, her father, was also tried for his life: she in vain besought Nero's mercy and decided to share his fate, as did also Vetus' mother-in-law Sextia. Vetus gave all he had to his slaves, reserving only three beds: on these the three lay and with the same knife cut their arteries, and then each, decently wrapped in a cloak, was carried into the bath. 'The father fixed his gaze on his daughter, and the grandmother on the granddaughter, and they on him; and all prayed for a speedy death.' Fate respected their ages; the two elder ones died first, the youngest last. Servilia, the wife of Annius Pollio (banished in 65 A.D.), was in 66 involved in the accusation of her father Soranus, for anxiously prognosticating the issue of the suit by unlawful magic. Each endeavoured to shift the guilt off the other: both were condemned, with a liberty of choosing the manner of death. Seneca's wife Paulina chose to die with her husband, after the discovery of Piso's conspiracy: both opened their veins, but she was restored to life: 'and lived on several years, faithful to her husband's memory; her paleness showing how near she had been to death'. From an inscription on a rock-tomb at Cagliari the following story comes. Cassius Philippus had been banished to Sardinia (a usual place), and his wife Atilia Pomptilla followed him: he fell ill, perhaps because of the climate, and she resolved to die with him in the twenty-second year of married life: she died, he

survived. Perhaps these sacrifices of life by wives were due to the belief that the Nethergod would accept another life in substitution. A Greek inscription speaks of a new Alcestis, Callicrateia, 'who died for her husband, Zeno; the only man she had embraced, and dearer to her than the light of the sun or her children.'

But most famous of all women, whose courage transcended that of men, is Arria, who plunged the dagger into her own breast, withdrew it, and gave it to her husband, saying, '*Paste, non dolet.*' Pliny the Younger records other not less brave and characteristic sayings of hers. Once both her son and her husband lay dangerously ill. The son, the hope of his home, died; Arria buried him without informing Paetus, and simulated calm in replies to his inquiries: he was resting, had taken nourishment. When tears would break forth, she left the sick-room, and returned with dry eyes and a quiet countenance. To play the mother, after ceasing to be mother, was, in Pliny's eyes, a greater triumph than to show Paetus how to die. In 42 A.D. Paetus was condemned to death for complicity in Scribonianus' conspiracy in Illyria against Claudius. Scribonianus was killed and Paetus brought to Rome. Arria in vain sought to embark with him, as the slave allowed to a man of his rank. She wrote to Scribonianus' wife, who acted as a witness before Claudius: 'Am I to listen to you, alive, after your husband died in your lap?' Her son-in-law besought her not to kill herself, asking her if she wished her daughter to die with him, if he must. She replied: 'Yes, if she have lived so long and so happily as I with Paetus'. This answer made her family all the more anxious. She was watched, and said: 'It is useless: you can make my death hard, but not hinder it'. Thereupon she leapt up from her chair and dashed herself against the wall. She was revived, and said, 'I told you I should find a road to death, easy or difficult'. Posterity was to associate Arria with the faithful wives of heroic legend. On the tomb of a lady at Anagnia, the husband begs her and Laodamia to receive her soul among the blessed assemblage of Roman and Greek women.

Arria's daughter, Caecinia Arria, at the condemnation of her husband Thrasea in 60, wanted to follow her mother's example: he persuaded her to remain alive, and not deprive

her daughter of her only help. The daughter, too, Fannia, was worthy of her mother and grandmother. In 66 B.C., and under Vespasian, she shared the exile of her husband Helvidius Priscus, and after his execution in 93, for his sake, underwent the same punishment for a third time. Herennius Senecio, a friend of Helvidius, wrote his life, and was accused on this account: she acknowledged that she had incited him, given him papers, and denied any complicity of her mother: threats and dangers wrung nothing further from her. Herennius was executed, Fannia exiled and her goods confiscated. She took the book, which had occasioned all this, with her into her banishment, in which she joined her mother, though the Senate interdicted it and ordered its destruction: both returned 97 A.D. Pliny testifies to her charm, and her claims to love and reverence, as a model to future wives.

These facts only refer to women of the upper classes, and even of them give a set of merely fragmentary and isolated pictures. As to the middle classes and the lower, literature is almost dumb. Only their tombstones have been preserved, inscribed by their husbands with their virtues: one quaintly truthful widower says: 'On the day of her death I testified my gratitude to gods and men'. But all tombstone virtues of all women must have been similar, as a long eulogium of Murdia, a lady who was not noble, shows (circa 50 A.D.): 'The praise of good women is always simple and the same: their virtues are Nature's gift, which they treasure up, and are not diverse: sufficient if each be worthy of the same good repute: a woman, whose life has few vicissitudes, can gain no new fame: they needs must strive after the one common object, lest one omission spoil their life. My mother was the more famous; she was, like other women, and not less than they, modest, honest, chaste, obedient, industrious, careful and faithful'. Thus, too, Lucretius Vespillo, the consul, on his wife Turia: 'Why mention domestic virtue and chastity, and submissiveness, geniality, the ready loom, modesty in attire? Or your love to your kin, and my kin, of my mother as of your parents? This is all common with all honourable women'.

The sphere of woman was thus conceived in the middle classes at all times: hence these inscriptions may be grouped

together apart from the diversities or uncertainties of place and time and rank and position. Inscriptions, describing the 'rarest, sternest, most incomparable wives', may be generous of superlatives, but only indicate for what woman was prized. One Republican inscription makes the stone speak: 'Short, wanderer, is my message; halt and read it. The loathly stone covers a lovely woman. Claudia her parents called her: she loved her husband; bore him two sons; one she left on earth; the other the earth now covers. She was of proper speech and noble gait, kept her house and spun. This is all. Go'. For women to have had only one husband (the *univirae*) was a merit, rare in those days of early marriages and easy divorces and remarriages. One imperial freedman celebrated the example of his wife's chastity, and herself giving her sons suck: another widower lauds his wife, as the 'nurse of senators'. Often a deep affection may be thus recorded. One inscription runs: 'Here lie the bones of Urbilia, wife of Primus. She was dearer to me than life. She died at twenty-three, beloved of all'. Or again: 'To my dear wife, with whom I passed eighteen happy years: for love of her, I have sworn never to remarry'. One wife who died at the age of twenty-five is made to wish her daughter may learn from her how to love a husband. One monument put up by a widow is inscribed (as are many others): 'What I had hoped my husband would do for me, I have done for him'. One common tomb of man and wife was put up by the widow, who, after thirty-five years of married life, would lie by him in death. '*Vale, consolatio mea*' another widower inscribes his wife's stone. On the monument of a freedman and a freedwoman, the only words are: 'I am awaiting my husband'. The words 'never have I endured aught from her of evil save her death', or 'never have I had an ill-word from her', became a mere form. Elsewhere we find husbands mourning their wives with whom they lived 'without strife', 'without anger', 'unwearied'. An imperial freedman praises the absence of desire in his wife. A widower says that to laud his wife sufficiently, he ought to inscribe her virtues in letters of gold. An imperial chamberlain who had come to Carthage (perhaps in Hadrian's retinue) erected a monument to his wife who died there at the age of seventeen, 'because she

followed him to Africa': a similar eulogium is given to a wife at Rome for a similar proof of faithfulness. A Roman inscription runs thus: 'To a virtuous wife, and careful house-mistress, the desire of my soul, who has been with me eighteen years, three months and thirteen days. I have lived with her without one complaint, but now I complain to her *manes*, and either demand her back of the Nethergod (for she has lived with me in unison up to the fatal day), or I beg of thee, Mevia Sophe, to put an end to my intolerable solitude, if indeed there be departed souls. Stranger, may the earth rest lightly on thee, if thou disturb naught: if thou do, mayst thou be hateful to the gods; the earth lie heavy on thee, and the underworld refuse thee'. Often even the hours, not only the days and months, of marriage, are recorded; in consequence of the habit of carefully calculating the hours of birth for astrological purposes, these accurate figures are very common and prove the enormous vogue of this superstition. Thus Pliny tells of how Verania (the widow of Piso, who was adopted by Galba) fell ill, and answered Regulus' question as to the hour of her birth: he forthwith cast a horoscope for the length of her life. A widower in Lyons begs those who read his wife's tombstone to go to the Baths of Apollo and bathe there, as he had done, and wished he still could. A widow recommends her husband to the Nethergods, and begs them to send his ghost up to her at night-time.

The domestic virtues usually celebrated are their good house-keeping and spinning. An imperial slave, a *dispensator* in Lower Moesia, says of his wife: 'she was the patron-saint of my home, my hope and my life. Her wishes were mine; her dislikes mine. None of her secret thoughts was concealed from me. She was a busy spinner, economical, but generous to her husband. She did not delight in eating, save with me. She was a good counsellor, prudent and noble'. A huge sarcophagus in which another small one was found, is thus inscribed in clear letters:

AMYMONE, THE WIFE OF MARCIUS, RESTS HERE: GOOD WAS SHE AND FAIR:
A BUSY SPINNER, A GOOD HOUSEWIFE, CHASTE, MODEST, AND PIOUS.

Unfortunately these inscriptions have not more individual tone, and thus withhold many a glimpse into women's inner

lives. History records from her conning-tower only those women who rise above the mass ; whilst a history of morals, in seeking to combine disconnected impressions, with the utmost quest of truth, cannot escape being merely subjective.

CHAPTER VI

MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

I. COMMUNICATIONS BY ROADS

(i) HEINRICH STEPHAN (who died in 1897), who was one of the greatest authorities on modern modes of intercourse, has said : 'Most of the realms of the ancient Roman Empire had better connections and conditions than ever afterwards or even now'. This chapter will show how much the ancient world owed, in the matter of facility of intercourse, to the Empire, an epoch 'calumniated rather than known', and how far the Middle Ages, and even modernity, is inferior. Travelling throughout most of the Roman Empire was easy, swift and secure to a degree unknown until the beginning of the nineteenth century ; occasions for changing residence were far more numerous than to-day, and water and land alike alive with trade and travel. 'The deep ruts on the hard basalt Roman ways, even those remotest from Rome, testify to this traffic'. In the North and West of the Empire there was less vigour than in the nineteenth century : in the South and East very much more.

And also the Empire gave two and a half centuries of peace, only occasionally and locally interrupted ; a condition since unrealized. Contemporaries acknowledged these boons of peace, and security and regularity of intercourse. An inscription at Halicarnassus celebrates Augustus as 'the saviour of humanity, whose Providence fulfilled and outbid the prayers of all men : land and sea are at peace, and cities flourish in lawful government, unity and prosperity in all things'. All provinces at all periods raise this paean to the world-peace. The accession of the Caesars to the sovereignty of the earth had stripped Envy of his destructive

power, banned all baleful influences into the farthest deserts, and concentrated all the kindly genii from land and sea within the confines of the Empire. As the shape of the earth had set a term to the anarchy of conflicting atoms, Rome had similarly stayed the endless confusions of incessant warring states; she had united peoples and dynasties into one organization of peace, one unbreakable ring. In the first two centuries after the death of the first Caesars the imperial revenue rose rapidly, and peace secured prosperity. Hill and dale were cultivated; the mercantile marine increased, and trade between all countries. Nowhere were there wars or battles or bandits or pirates. This was the majesty of the *pax Romana*, which made Rome a sacred home, an eternal source of life, a secure anchorage: as though the gods had renewed the life of the world; all peoples prayed for the eternity of this gift of Rome.

More enthusiastic even than these utterances of Philo of Alexandria, Appian of Alexandria, Plutarch of Chaeronea, and Epictetus of Hierapolis in Phrygia, or Pliny, was Aristides of Smyrna in his eulogium on the first Antonine and the world-state. 'Could not every man go whither he would, without fear? Are not all harbours busy, are not mountains as safe as cities? Is there not the same charm in all fields, whence Dread has vanished? There are no streams impassable, no locked gulfs. The earth is no longer iron, but clad anew for a feast. Hellenes and barbarians may wander from their own homes to arrive at their own homes; the Cilician Gates, the narrow sandy roads to Egypt through Arabia present no terrors of mountain pass, torrents or savages: to be the Emperor's subject, to be a Roman is the one talisman. Homer had said, "The earth is common to all"; it was now realized. You have measured the earth, bridged the rivers, and made roads through the mountains, peopled the deserts, and ennobled all things. The world need be no more described; no laws or customs retailed; for you have been the leaders for every one, have opened every gate and given every man his freedom, to see all with his own eyes. You have conferred equal laws on all, and repealed conditions entertaining to the mind, and intolerable in reality; and merged all nations into one family.' The speech closes with a prayer 'that this city

and empire flourish eternally, or until iron float in the water, and no blossoms bloom in the spring.'

The Christians, too, with all their hostility to civilization, did not fail to appreciate its material advantages. Tertullian, writing about 290 A.D., says 'the world is more cultivated and richer than before. Every place is accessible and busy. Smiling fields have replaced deserts, and corn-fields the forests; lambs have driven away the wolves, and the sand has been made fertile, rocks broken, swamps drained: there are as many cities as there once were hovels. The islands are not barren nor the cliffs terrifying: every nook teems with ordered life'. Tertullian even thought that overpopulation was a coming evil, and plagues and famines a necessary remedy.

Yet eulogy, if ever justified, was deserved by the Roman system of communications, with its web of roads in and round the entire Empire, 'the glorious traces of which, in remote deserts, buried under graves and brambles, in the Sierra Morena or the Eifel, Scotland or Transylvania, on the Euphrates or the great Syrtes in Africa, monumentally recall to the wayfarer the greatness of Rome'. 'This elaborate network of roads increased public security, made agriculture more secure, facilitated touring and commerce, eased the working of the administration, made settlements possible, and quickened the spread of culture.' The ruin of these ancient universal links, the loss of the idea even of such a complete system, explain many misconceptions of Roman civilization, such as the rarity of travelling in the later Empire.

Naturally not all the Roman roads, or even the majority, were comparable with the oldest and most famous one, the Via Appia (built by Appius Claudius 312 B.C., from Rome to Capua). This 'queen of roads' in the sixth century aroused the wonder of Procopius, the Byzantine historian, who calls it a sight not to be missed. This was broad enough for two carriages to pass at breast and built of a stone not found in the neighbourhood and used for mills. The smooth, sharp-hewn blocks fitted together to a nicety, uncemented and unmetalled. Despite the traffic of centuries, the surface was unbroken, even preserving its first polish. To this day some stretches of exposed pavement of basalt polygons still hold firm. The mile between Beneventum and Aeclanum,

built under Hadrian, cost 100,000 sesterces (£1,087 10s.).

Procopius shows that this breadth was unusual. The Appian Way was, on the average, between twenty feet to fourteen feet: most roads were smaller. People then rode for the most part, or had two-horsed carriages, and a small track would be sufficient. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Italians regarded roads 'as broad as a coach' as an improvement; such were built by Philibert Emanuel of Savoy, Cosimo de' Medici and Gregory XIII. The traffic on the narrow Roman roads can never have been as great as that on the roads of Central Europe of to-day.

The construction of the Via Appia, defying time, no less than its breadth may have distinguished it from the rest. A great length of it was not plastered, but only gravelled over.

The great system of roads started from Rome with five principal radii. The first, to the South, went on the Via Appia to Capua, thence, by Forum Populi and Thurii, to Ad Columnam (ad Traiectum) whence the passage to Messina took one hour. Hence a road along the North coast of Sicily went by Panormus to the busy haven of Lilybaeum (near Marsala, about forty miles), whence boats ran to Carthage; the voyage of over 1,100 stadia taking twenty-four hours or more. In good weather sailings were made from Portus Augusti at the mouth of the Tiber, or Puteoli to Carthage. Carthage was linked on to Tingi (Tangiers) by a Western road, whence a ferry sailed to Belone (Bologna) in Spain, a voyage of 220 stadia, about four hours; and by an Eastern road to Alexandria, whence there was a connection with Asia over the isthmus of Suez on the main road to Antioch. From Alexandria, there was the Nile and two roads on either bank, running up to Hiera-Sykaminos, the frontier of Aethiopia. On the right bank Coptos was an important junction, whence roads started to the two harbours on the Red Sea for Indian and Arabian commerce, Myoshormos and Berenice.

The great road to the East also ran along the Appian Way to Capua, whence two roads bifurcated to Brundisium. The voyage to Dyrrhachium or Aulona (800 stadia) lasted twenty-four hours. From Dyrrhachium, the great Via Egnatia went straight through Macedonia and Thrace to Constantinople (c. 500 miles); at that point two roads branched off,

crossing North Greece on the West and the East, and meeting at Athens. In Thrace a by-road from the Via Egnatia led to Gallipoli on the Thracian Chersonese. From Gallipoli the crossing over the Hellespont to Lampsacus (sixty stadia) lasted about one hour. From Lampsacus the road traversed industrial Asia and its seats of ancient civilization, to Antioch (c. 600 miles from Constantinople); and from Antioch roads diverged East to the Euphrates and South to Syria and Palestine, 'in a then prosperous and populous country of famous towns', and thence over the isthmus of Suez to Alexandria, where it met the East African main road.

With the North there were three lines. The Via Flaminia (the modern Corso, crossing the Tiber at Ponte Molle) went by Narni and Spoleto to Rimini, whence the Via Aemilia went by Bologna, Modena, Parma, Piacenza to Milan (87 geographical miles). At Modena a road diverged, which at Verona met the road north of the Po and running parallel with it from Milan to Aquileia, by Bergamo, Brescia, Verona and Vicenza. Generally fast traffic went from Rimini along the coast to Ravenna, thence by water over the Seven Lakes, the lagoons of the Po, to Altinum, a staple-town for Italian commerce with the North: of this once prosperous city a few remains can be seen under the water of the lagoons near Venice. From Altinum, it went to Aquileia, the centre of Italian trade with the Danube. From Aquileia roads in Istria led to Pola, and through Dalmatia to Dyrrhachium; thence North-West through the Carnian Alps to Vipitenum (Sterzing am Wipthal), where this road met the one from Verona to Veldidena (Wilten near Innsbruck), and to Augsburg; and thence, North-East by Emona (Laibach), Poetovio (Pettau), Sabaria (Stein am Anger), Scarabantia (Ödenburg), to Carnuntum on the Danube, where the March flows into it at Hainburg. From this point, the road went up to the Danube to Vienna and Lauriacum (Lorch bei Enns) to Regina Castra (Regensburg), and down the Danube to Aquincum (Alt-Ofen). The great road from Aquileia to Constantinople went by Siscia (Sissek), Sirmium (Mitrovič), Serdika (Sophia), Philippopolis and Adrianople (1,128 Roman miles). From Constantinople there was a crossing over the Bosphorus to Chalcedonia, whence a main road went by Nicomedia, Nicaea, and Ancyra, with many branches into inner Little Asia.

The Via Aurelia, the second great road of Italy, ran along the West coast by Centum Cellae (Cività Vecchia), Pisa, Luna (East of Spezzia) to Genoa. Thence, as the Via Julia Augusta, it passed over the mountains, where the name of the Tropaea Augusti, erected after the subjection of the Alpine tribes 6 or 7 B.C., is preserved in Turbia; and so on to Nice, Marseilles and Arles, and Narbonne. From Narbonne there were two roads to Tarragona through the Col de Pertus (in the Pyrenees), and by Barcelona, or on the imperial road named and partly re-planned by Augustus through the pass of Puicerda, by Ilerda: this crossed the Ebro at Tortosa, and ended at Cadiz by the East and South coast.

Milan was the centre for Roman intercourse with the North and the West, by the Via Flaminia and the Via Aemilia. From Milan ran most of the Alpine roads, the building of which was the anxious care of Augustus after 15 B.C., and of his successors. The three main routes were over Mont Génèvre, the Great St. Bernhard and the Little St. Bernhard; the Mont Cenis was disregarded. Whether there was a Roman road over the Simplon is uncertain; if any road was built in the later Empire, it was only for local use. For the Gotthard 'the Schöllenen pass was impassable' until 1236. Of the Bündner passes the Romans used only the Julier and the Splügen: the way over the Splügen, perhaps only a mule-track, kept to the sunny heights of the left shore, and did not enter the dark Via Mala. In the Tyrol the oldest road (built 15 B.C.) led North from Trent, and the Claudian Way; later through the Reschenscheidegg: the first mention on inscriptions of the direct Brenner Pass is 195 A.D.

Of the Roman Alpine roads in the West (excluding those over the maritime Alps) the one built by Augustus 'with monumental bridges, hollowed-out ways and careful supports' over Mont Génèvre and the one over the Little St. Bernhard were passable: of the centre roads, the one over the Julier and Brenner, in the East the one over the Odra (Birnbaum-erwald): this was the lowest pass (520 metres), utilized in Strabo's times for the freighting of goods to Nauportus (Oberlaibach), whence they were shipped to the Danube; it also went by an equally low pass by Aquileia to Tarsatica near Fiume on the Gulf of Quarnero. But other passable

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Alpine roads there also were, such as that from Zuglio (Julium Carnicum) over the Pleckenpass into the Drauthal, still deeply rutted. In Strabo's time the Great St. Bernhard was still impossible for carriages: later there must have been a road; as in 69 A.D. legions crossed it even in the winter. In 47 A.D. this road and the Claudian Way through the Tyrol was built, and garnished with milestones. 'It is very doubtful whether the Alps were ever as much pierced and crossable at any time before the end of the nineteenth century, as they were under the Roman Empire.' The Roman engineers showed great circumspection. Of the road over the Julier, some pieces are in excellent preservation, accurately aligned, with big terminal stones and a roadway of nine to eleven feet. The gradient is never more than 15 per cent. The turnings are broad and made the road very usable.

Yet the wheeled-traffic over the Alps must have been very slight, as the roads were narrow (1.5 to 3.5 metres). Julian says that only one carriage and one mule-team could force their way through. They were also very steep: the ancient road up the Maloia Pass (1,811 metres) had three bends, the later one nine, and the modern one twenty-two. Except from May to September, when most of the passes were free from snow, passages across the Alps must have been difficult and dangerous. Ammianus describes men, animals and waggons slipping about in the spring on the road over Mont Génèvre in the snow-water, the carriages braked back by ropes pulled by the men and the animals. In the winter, it was all ice and snow; and stakes were put up to mark the road, and the abysses; and these signals might be snowed over or pulled down by torrents; guides had to be used. Greater dangers even, apart from avalanches, which often overwhelmed whole caravans, were involved in these narrow tracks, perilously on the edge of precipices, passable only by native men and animals, who were not giddy.

The busy road by Susa and Mont Génèvre was the shortest way from Milan to Arles (395 Roman miles); by Aosta and the Little St. Bernhard was the road to Vienna (308 Roman miles): the same road led to Strassburg (545 Roman miles) through Geneva and Besançon; from Aosta over the Great St. Bernhard, Martigny, Vévey, Basel-Augst to Strassburg, and so to Spiers, Worms and Mainz was 409

Roman miles ; or over the Splügen to Bregenz, and to Bâle or Augsburg ; or from Verona, over the Brenner, Wilten, Partenkirchen to Augsburg. From Augsburg roads went on to Regensburg, East to Lorch bei Enns, and there met the Vienna road, and West to the Neckar ; from Mainz to Trèves and Cologne, Nijmegen, Utrecht and Leiden ; and West to Rheims. Rheims was connected with Lyons, the centre of South Gaul, and Orleans, the centre of West Gaul, and also with Paris and Rouen ; as Lyons was with Strassburg and Bordeaux, where the Western Pyrenaean roads converged. The great road to Britain went by Rheims, Soissons, Amiens to Boulogne (Portus Gesoriacum) and the crossing was to Richborough (Rutupiae), lasting eight or nine hours for the 450 stadia. Britain, as a Roman province, had its network of roads, the principal points of which were Camulodunum (Colchester), London, and Eboracum (York), all interconnected with themselves and the ports, and extending as far as the Wall of Hadrian, the Northern frontier of the Empire.

A probable estimate of the total lengths of the road-system (as far as our knowledge allows) has not been made out. The pilgrim-route of 333 A.D. from Bordeaux by Arles, Milan, Aquileia, Constantinople, Nicomedia, Ancyra, Tarsus, Antioch, Tyre, Caesarea, Jerusalem, is about 680 geographical miles. A journey from Hadrian's Wall to the Aethiopian frontier (Hiera-sykaminos) would be about 1,000 miles. A tour from Alexandria to Leptis, Carthage, Caesarea, Cadiz, Cordova, Barcelona, Lyons, Rheims, Boulogne, Dover, London, the Scottish frontier, and back by Dover, Leiden, Cologne, Mainz, Strassburg, Milan, Verona, Aquileia, Sofia, Constantinople, Nicomedia, Ancyra, Antioch and Alexandria would be about 1,824 miles.

A comparison of the system of roads in the Mediterranean lands, and on the Lower Danube, in the later Roman Empire, with conditions at the beginning of the nineteenth century, would be unfavourable to modern times. The greatest retrogression in civilization, and in roads, is still to be seen in the huge realms under the barbarous sway of Islam.

In Africa there was one long coast-road from Tangiers (Tingi) by Carthage to Alexandria. Eastern Mauretania had a close network of roads centring at Sitifis (Setif) ; as

also Numidia, at Cirta (Constantine) in the North-West, and Theveste (Tebessa) in the South-East; and Proconsular Africa, in which the main roads met at Carthage, Hadrumetum (Susa) and Thenae (Tine). In both latter provinces, the roads stretched far inland. In Numidia the Djebel Aurès was surrounded by roads, connecting it with its lower heights on the North at Lambaesis (Lambessa), by Bescera (Biskra) and the oases. General St. Arnaud in 1850, when he passed the defile of Kanga, pronounced impassable by the natives, thought he was the first pioneer. But an inscription in the middle of the pass showed him that in 145 A.D., a division of the third legion was quartered here. On the way to the Oasis of El Kantara, the torrential Wadi Brenis is still crossed by a Roman bridge. These roads were mostly designed by the Emperors of the third century, and executed by the soldiers; that from Theveste to Carthage of 19,174 Roman miles was constructed in 123. Other roads were often laid out by the smaller towns even. Forts were put up at intervals for public security. In Tunis, under the French Protectorate, there were only mule-paths, excepting for three or four short roads: Morocco has no roads as yet.

In Egypt, and Asiatic and European Turkey, the main roads were from Sirmium (Mitrovič) to Singidunum (Belgrade) and Serdica (Sofia) to Constantinople (712 Roman miles). In the wilder parts their remains are still visible; near the great cities and populous parts, they are used for building purposes, called 'Latin Way' near Nish (Naissus), and 'Trajan's Way' near Sofia and elsewhere. The inhabitants of Ichtiman have a fable that the plastered road was laid down in ancient times for a princess, who might not betread the bare ground. The road between Philippopolis and Adrianople was still used by the Crusaders at the end of the twelfth century. On the Roman road depicted on Peutinger's map from Philippopolis over the middle of the Haemus to Novae (Svistov) the road can still be traced.

Greece in 1833 had no carriage-roads at all. In antiquity she could afford to neglect her roads (as she also did her drains and water supply), as the coasting-vessels compensated the lack. But to the Romans she owed her two great Northern roads: Hadrian linked these with the Peloponnese with a carriage-road from the dangerous mule-path by the

Sciron cliffs (a great engineering feat, wonderful even to-day). Further, in this barren province, even the Emperors did but little in road-building.

In Italy, too, at any rate in the South, such a complete system of roads, as existed in antiquity, was not revived for long afterwards. In the nineteenth century, the former kingdom of Naples scarcely had any, and practically no bridges: in the Basilicata in 1846 the King of Naples lost himself on a military promenade with many thousands of his adherents, and vanished for fourteen days. Sicily in 1872 had '09 kilometers of roads to the square kilometer; to this day, travelling inland is difficult, and the devastating *fumari* (unknown to Roman times) make long détours necessary. But, under the Empire, there were over one thousand Roman miles of roads, linking all the coast-towns, and Agrigentum with Panormus, and Syracuse with Catana, and Termini with Panormus. In Sardinia, where a guide must now be had, there were 1,000 miles of road: in Corsica, where Rome only held the East coast, 100.

In Spain there were side-roads in all directions from the main road by the East and South coast from Barcelona to Cadiz. In the South Seville and Cordova, in the North Saragossa and Astorga, in the West Merida were the principal centres. From Merida, as to this day, the principal connection with Lusitania and Lisbon was by Badajoz, Coimbra and Braga. A splendid Roman road, near Calzada de Oropesa (a part of the road from Toledo to Merida) aroused the admiration of J. G. Rist in 1806, as being in strange contrast with the prevailing desolation, with its solidity that pointed to happier days. 'Spain in 1830 had only the main roads from Madrid to Bayonne, Saragossa, Barcelona, Valencia, Seville and Lisbon, and a few provincial roads, from Valencia by Barcelona to Perpignan, from Burgos to Valladolid; these were possible for carriages: all else was a wilderness. From Madrid to Toledo, the largest town in a twenty-five-mile radius, there was a service of conveyances, that went, as they best could, in open fields.'

The large volume of traffic in the Empire must have made maps and lists of stopping-places an absolute need. A chance discovery of 1852 shows how common they must have been. On the floor of the Baths of Vicarello on the

Lago di Bracciano, four silver vessels were found, shaped like milestones, engraved with the full itinerary from Gades to Rome. These vessels, of different ages, must have belonged to Spaniards, taking a cure at these waters, and leaving these as pious offerings. The different dates of them imply a continuous manufacture, and Spain can hardly have been exceptional in this respect. And goldsmiths and silver-smiths would hardly have engraved their jars in this fashion, but for a great demand. Possibly these lists were often guides to the sights and historic interests, a kind of ancient Baedeker. The Pilgrim-guide of 333 A.D., from Bordeaux to Jerusalem, gives a very complete Biblical history referable to the several places, and historical, natural and general notes, especially for the neighbourhood of Jerusalem: e.g. at Bordeaux that the ebb and flow of the Garonne was visible from about 100 leagues; or of Viminacium, that Diocletian there killed Carinus; or at Libissa (Djebize) near Nicomedia in Bithynia, that it was there that Annibalianus, the African King, was buried; or at Andavilis, near Tyana, that race-horses were bred there: of Tyana again, that Apollonius the magician was born there: Pella is mentioned as the birthplace of Alexander the Great: and of the halting-place of Euripides, that the poet was buried there; and, lastly, of Caesarea in Palestine, that, three miles away, was a hill, Syna, with a spring, curing barrenness. And the *List of Halting-Places of Antoninus* (drawn up under Diocletian) contains much the same matter; it catalogues the Greek islands and connects with them the various legends of gods and heroes.

(ii) Augustus' institution of a State post was only intended for government business. It was carried on by military couriers: imperial messengers had their route mapped out into *mutationes* (changes of horses) and *mansiones* (night-quarters). Distances were reckoned by *mansiones* (about 25 Roman miles apart): one inscription, found at Asolo near Treviso, makes a widow travel fifty *mansiones* from Gaul to visit her husband's grave; as from Bordeaux to Aquileia was about forty *mansiones*, she must have come from North or North-West Gaul. At the *mansiones palatia* or *praetoria* were afterwards built for the use of governors or emperors. Private individuals might be allowed the use of the State

Post by *diplomata*, granted at first by the *procurator*, later, only under severe restrictions, by the Emperors. The expenses fell on the localities at first, without any relief. Nerva released Italy from the burden, and Septimius Severus charged the Post to the fisc; Hadrian having already made it a State institution. But it was a severe obligation for the provincials, to the last. Part of Hadrian's reforms was the replacement of freedmen by knights as superintendents of the Post at Rome, with a salary of 100,000 sesterces (*prae-fecti vehiculorum*); district surveyors received 60,000, but were first appointed by Septimius Severus. In the fourth and fifth centuries there were three grades of postal service. Despatches were carried by couriers, who led a second horse besides riding their own. Persons were conveyed by express carriages (*redae*), drawn by horses or mules: transports of war materials and goods on ox-waggons. River-boats and mail-packets also lay ready to expedite letters and persons. From an inscription it is known that a freedman of Hadrian was *procurator* of letters by the post-ships stationed at Ostia (*naves vagae*).

This State Post, like so much else in the Roman Empire, was copied from Persia, and hardly used at all for private purposes. But the success of these regular public services could hardly fail to incite private individuals, at least, when the demand was urgent, in the larger towns, and on the main roads. Traces of these private posts have been preserved in Italy. Jobbers of four-wheeled and two-wheeled carriages (*redae, cisiarii*) and draught-animals (*jumentarii*) formed guilds in several cities of Italy, which often combined: as in Tibur, the guild of the *jumentarii* with that of the *cisiarii* (named after Hercules, who was adored at Tibur). In Praeneste the guild of the *cisiarii* was formed in Republican times. Travellers mostly used *cisiarii* (such as were the *sedie* used in Italy throughout the eighteenth century): *redae*, a sign of greater wealth, were often, as a writer of the fourth century remarks, liable to accidents. In a parody of Catullus, ascribed to Virgil, one Vetturinus Sabinus, 'most sung of mule-drivers', is bemocked for boasting that 'no noisy cart could beat him on the road to Mantua or Brixia: not even his rival, Trypho, could deny this'. Caligula, during his stay in Gaul, sold all his imperial furniture, and took

over all the carriages on hire to fetch it from Rome. Many men thus could not attend the courts and lost their suits. Guilds of *jumentarii* are found in Mediolanium, Ariminum, Forum Sempronii (Fossombrone), Tudur (Todi): of *cisiarii* at Praeneste, Cales and Pompeii, and of both at Tibur: it is probable, therefore, they were general in Italy and the main provincial towns. As in the towns there was no driving, their occupations must have been the forwarding of travellers. Their ranks were at the gates: in the larger cities, there must have been several guilds, stationed at the gates and in the principal streets. Thus at Mediolanium, the guild of the *Vetturini* had its place at the Portus Jovis and the Portus Vercellinus; in Forum Sempronii at the Gallic Gate (the road to Senogallia), in Cales at the Stellatina Gate. They could either change carriage and horse from station to station, or, like their modern successors, use the same carriage continuously. These last were called *muliones perpetuarii*. Seneca in his pasquil on the death of Claudius compares Hercules, wandering through the world, with a *mulio perpetuarius*.

II. THE SPEED OF TRAVEL BY LAND AND SEA

The State Post on long journeys went five (Roman) miles an hour, including delays; from Antioch to Constantinople (747 miles) was about six days. Travellers on hired carriages counted this pace as very rapid, as the bargainings at the different stations lost them time. Caesar, whose speed was extraordinary, travelled from the Rhône to Rome in eight days. By the list of stations, from Rome to Arles through Toscana and the Maritime Alps was 796 miles; Suetonius must intend this journey in speaking of Caesar's rapidity in traversing 100 miles in a hired wagon in twenty-four hours. Swifter somewhat than Caesar was the messenger who bore news of the murder of Sextus Roscius to Ameria, fifty-six miles, on a two-wheeled carriage in ten hours by night; but this short stretch only required two changes of horses. Icelus brought news of Nero's murder to Galba in Spain, travelling in June, 68, from Rome to Clunia in under seven days; an extraordinary performance. The voyage from Ostia to Tarraco at the best took five days (Pliny the Elder

counts four days as the shortest passage known between Spain, probably Tarraco to Ostia) ; and there was the distance from Ostia to Rome. As Icelus arrived before sundown of the seventh day, he must have made the 332 miles between Tarraco and Clunia in under thirty-six hours. Cervantes considers twelve days from Naples to Barcelona fortunately little. From Barcelona to Toledo was made in six days on post-horses. The courier who rode with the news of the murder of Maximinus from Aquileia to Rome went yet faster : with changes of horses, he arrived in four days ; if he went entirely by land, he must have ridden 130 to 140 miles a day. Vitellius at Cologne received in the night of the 1st and 2nd January, 69, the news of the insurrection at Mainz of the 4th and 22nd legions against Galba : the messenger ran 108 Roman miles in twenty-four hours, or one geographical mile in thirty-five to thirty-eight minutes. The report of the procurator of Belgica on this revolt reached Rome before the 10th January. The couriers had then travelled from Mainz to Rome (by Rheims, the procuratorial residence), 1,440 miles in all, in less than nine days, or 160 miles per twenty-four hours. The swiftest journey known is that of Tiberius to Drusus from Ticinum (Pavia) into Germany, through the country of the Chatti, just subdued : he covered 200 miles with only a guide and several changes in twenty-four hours. Statius says that Baiae could be reached from Rome in a day on Domitian's road (built A.D. 95) by Sinuessa, but only a courier could have covered 141 miles in fourteen hours. Ordinary travellers would stay overnight and be three or four times as long. The carrier of a letter to Cicero took less than ten days from Dyrrhachium to Rome ; the 360 miles from Brundisium eight to nine. A comfortable time to Brundisium would be ten days, and from Tarraco to Bilbilis (224 miles) five. Rutilius Lupus, Cicero's friend, reached Rome from Mutina in six days, a distance of 317 miles. News of the Battle of Forum Gallorum (between Mutina and Bononia) on the 15th April, 43 B.C., reached Rome on the 21st. Hence, it seems, travellers with *vetturini* did forty to fifty miles a day. According to Procopius, walkers did 210 stadia or twenty-six or twenty-seven miles a day, the distance from Athens to Megara, a standard for Procopius' many itineraries on foot. Thus he estimates five days from Rome to Capua (124 or 136 miles). Longer

distances were covered in shorter times : Damis, in Philostratus, goes from Rome to Puteoli in three days (141 miles). Cicero at his Pompeian villa received letters from Rome in four or five days, at most in three : the messengers must have gone on foot. Short journeys on foot of twenty miles were readily undertaken by people involved in legal actions. Probably walking was as usual as driving. In the sixteenth century, in spite of the many roads built by Gregory XIII, Cosimo and Emanuel Philibert, 'as wide as a coach', carriages were seldom used, until the end of the century. In ancient Italy, waterways were also available. From Placentia by boat on the Po to Ravenna took about forty-eight hours.

Sea-voyages were limited to the spring, the summer and the early autumn. In the late autumn, ships came home or harboured abroad. From the 11th November to the 5th March there was no sailing ; on that day, by the reformed calendar, the feast of the 'ship of Isis' (the patroness of sailors) was celebrated all along the Mediterranean coast, with solemn processions, the consecration of a ship, and its sailing abroad. Then all the ships, drawn up on to land, were trolleyed out. No one, except in urgency, risked a winter voyage, though the sea was not absolutely uncrossable ; for avarice made men continue to court the sea in winter, as of old, when fear of pirates drove them to it. But, apart from mercantile enterprise, official transports of documents, legates or prisoners and relegates must have been considerable, even in the winter. Ovid had to embark for Tomi in a stormy December. Avilius Flaccus, the Praefect of Egypt, was, in the early winter of 37, brought as a prisoner to Rome, and had a bad passage. Cicero travelled in B.C. 50 from Actium to Brundisium from the 9th to the 25th of November, remaining at Corcyra till the 23rd, on account of the weather : many who had set out before were shipwrecked.

Coast-dwellers were overfond of practising the rights of wreckage, despite of the efforts of the Emperors (such as Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius) : the inhabitants of the Cyclades were especially keen. They used to sell their victims as slaves ; a *dispensator* of Calvisius Sabinus (consul in 26 ; died 39) was shipwrecked, sold and branded as a slave. Manilius mentions divers for lost treasure : fishermen often set up false beacons to lure ships to their

doom. This was done on dangerous coasts, such as the Hollows of Euboea to the East by the promontory of Caphareus. Shipwrecked men were a large contingent of the beggars at Rome, and a class of the recipients of Christian alms.

Pirates, after the world-peace, scarcely existed in the Mediterranean, if ever, only in disturbed times; such as the Jewish War, when a number of fugitive Jews fortified at Joppa and made the seas between Syria, Phoenicia and Egypt insecure for a long time. In distant seas the Roman fleet could not quell the pirates, in the Indian Ocean or the North East of the Black Sea.

Voyages were made by preference on clear, starry nights. The steersman steered by the stars, to whom the passengers made worship before starting. Such voyages are often mentioned. Philostratus says that there was a regular evening service from Puteoli to Ostia, lasting three days, stopping probably in the mornings at Caieta and Antium (a populous port in Cicero's day). To Stabiae from Rome by sea took four days. From Brundisium to Corcyra or Dyrrhachium and back, in good weather, took a day, as did from Brundisium or Hydrus (Otranto) to Aulona (Valona). In 50 B.C. Cicero selected the route from Cassiope in Corcyra to Hydrus. From Rhegium to Puteoli, St. Paul sailed with a favouring South wind in one day; but in Philostratus, with a good wind, Apollonius and Damis took three days to go from Puteoli to Tauromenium through Messina. A regular route was from Sicily over the open sea to Cyllene in Elis: with very favourable conditions, Cyllene could be reached from Syracuse, or Corinth from Puteoli, in six or even five days.

In journeys from Italy to the Aegaeon, Attica and Little Asia, travellers landed at Lechaeon crossed the isthmus on foot or in carriages, and embarked at Cenchreae. Nero's canal through the isthmus—he selected the best line, the one opened in 1893—was only partly completed. Herodes Atticus also intended a similar venture.

Propertius thought of crossing the isthmus by land; and Ovid, on his way to Tomi, did so, and bought or hired a new ship *Minerva* at Cenchreae. Avilius Flaccus was also forwarded to his island of relegation, Andros, in the same way. Galen returned from Rome to Little Asia with a friend

from Gortyn by way of Corinth : the friend sent his slaves and his luggage by water to Athens, and hired a carriage, and, with a few slaves, made his way there by land through Megara. Aristides made his return journey in September, 145, from Rome by sea. The ship had a bad passage from the start : at the North-East of Sicily, Peloris, was driven to land, and was tossed about in the straits of Messina : in two nights and one day they got out into the Adriatic and into a quiet sea, but only landed at Cephallenia with difficulty. Then, against Aristides' advice, they sailed from Patrae at the equinox, and the journey was stormy. They crossed the Isthmus by land, reached Miletus in four days : fourteen days in all. The Peloponnese was often circumnavigated, as an inscription of a merchant, Flavius Zeuxis, at Hierapolis in Phrygia, shows : he had shipped from the Peloponnese to Italy seventy-two times : it was notoriously dangerous. In September, 111 A.D., Pliny the Younger came back that way, as he writes to Trajan from Ephesus. Thence he was going to travel to Bithynia along the coast, partly by sea, on account of the heat, and partly by carriage, because of the contrary winds.

A voyager, desirous of avoiding the sea from Italy to Asia, might go by land through Thrace and Macedonia (on the Via Egnatia from Apollonia in Greek Illyria to the Hebrus in Thrace), as many did. Galen's second journey to Rome and back was along this route. On his way to Rome he wanted to call at Lemnos and availed himself of a ship sailing from Alexandria Troas to Thessalonica : but under the misapprehension that Lemnos, like the rest of the Aegaeon islands, had but a single city, he landed at Myrina, on the West coast, instead of Hephaestias on the East, where he could have seen fuller's earth in preparation. The captain could not wait for him ; so he postponed the visit until his return : he then, from Philippi in Macedonia, crossed the 120 stadia of sea to the other coast, went to Thasos (200 stadia), Lemnos (700) and Alexandria Troas (700). Aristides, in 144 A.D., made his way back to Rome by the Via Egnatia. Rain-storms beset him, and frost and snow and tempests. The Hebrus was frozen over, the ice broken to make passage-room for boats ; the fields flooded in all directions ; inns were few, and their rooms gave forth more water than the heavens.

Yet he travelled faster than the imperial messengers. Most of his slaves followed slowly after. He found his own guides, where necessary: no easy task, for they fled like savages at his approach, and had to be coaxed or forced. In Edessa he fell ill, and in one hundred days had reached Rome. A part of his beasts of draught died on the way; the rest he sold. The records of St. Ignatius the Martyr mention his starting in the late autumn or winter from Seleucia by sea to Smyrna and Troas; thence, by land through Macedonia to Epidamnus, and thence by sea to Ostia: the account, if false, is based on probabilities. Ovid went from Corinth to Samothrace, whence, as he says in an elegy, it was a mere step to Tentyra (near Trajanopolis). Hence he wished to reach Tomi by land via Thrace and Moesia, whilst his *Minerva* sailed along the Hellespont and the coast of the Black Sea. How long he was on the way is not known: in an epistle he says a letter from or to Rome took six months: this is no standard. The news of the death of Gaius Caesar at Limyra in Lycia on the 21st February, 4 A.D., reached Pisa on the 2nd April.

From Lake Maeotis merchantships with good winds reached Rhodes in ten days; thence, it was four days to Alexandria, and ten days down the Nile to Aethiopia: as Diodorus says, in twenty-four days one could sail from the coldest to the hottest zones. Galerius the Praefect reached Alexandria on the seventh day after leaving the Sicilian Straits: Valerius Maximus, a praetorian senator, went from Puteoli in nine days. In the monsoon season, travellers to Syria from Italy preferred the route over Alexandria to the direct one from Brundisium, a long and difficult journey: especially as Alexandrian ships had the reputation of being swiftest and best-steered; it was thus that Agrippa, King of the Jews, travelled at Caligula's suggestion. Yet to make the sea journey even shorter, Alexandria might be reached circuitously through Greece, Little Asia and Syria. In a charter of a ship, 200 days is required for a voyage from Berytus to Brundisium and back. This includes the long and frequent stoppages of a merchantship. A letter from Cassius to Cicero, sent from near Apamea in Syria, reached Rome in less than fifty days; but one from Antistius Vetus to Balbus took 100 days from Syria. A letter from the Tyrian factory in Puteoli, sent on the 23rd July, 174, reached Tyre on the 8th December, in

107 days. Cicero's son at Athens received a letter from his father forty-six days after it was sent: another took only twenty-one days, which was considered very little. A letter of Tiro to Cicero from Patrae reached Brundisium in fifteen days: letters from Britain in twenty-three twenty-seven or twenty-nine, from Africa in twenty-two, although Cato the Elder, as is known, showed in the Senate a fig plucked three days before at Carthage. The news of the battle of Munda (N.E. of Malaga), on the 17th March, 45 B.C., reached Rome only on the 20th April. Pliny gives a few figures of quick passages to some of the Western Mediterranean ports. Ostia to Gades took seven days; Tarraco to Ostia four; Narbonese Gaul (Forum Julii) three; Africa two, even in mild weather: Alexandria to Marseilles in merchantmen took thirty days. To reach Utica from Narbo in five days, and Alexandria in seven, was a fast voyage.

Ships occasionally had contrivances for measuring their mileage, and Vitruvius describes them. There is material enough to estimate the average sailing-speed. Marcian of Heraclea, the geographer, remarks that these sea-distances (in *stadia*) were very diverse; it was best to draw a mean between the highest and the lowest. A ship with a good wind might do 700 *stadia* a day; a swift cruiser even 900. Scylax of Caryanda makes 500 a day the average, on a long journey. The night-time is not included, for Herodotus and others expressly say that, at midsummer, a ship could do 700 *stadia* by day and 600 by night. A voyage from the mouth of the Phasis to the West coast of the Black Sea direct took nine days and eight nights; a distance of 11,100 *stadia*. According to Aristides, a ship under a strong wind could in twenty-four hours do 1,200 *stadia*, as he could testify. From the time of Herodotus to that of Marcian (400 A.D.) speed remained the same, between 1,000 and 1,500 *stadia* (25-37½ geographical miles, or 100-150 sea-miles) in twenty-four hours; or $\frac{1}{24}$ - $1\frac{1}{24}$ geographical miles per hour. This accords with all the facts of early and late antiquity. According to Diodorus the journey from the Pityusae to Gibraltar took three days and nights; to the African coast twenty-four hours, to the Spanish coast one day; from Majorca to Spain, a day. Strabo mentions the distance from the promontory *Κριὸν Μέτρωπον* in Crete, according to Eratosthenes

as 2,000 *stadia*, or two days and two nights. From Samonium, (the N.E. point of Crete) to Egypt was three or four days and nights, eighty miles (according to Strabo 5,000 *stadia*). From the Caletii at the mouth of the Seine to Britain was one day. In voyages on the East African coast, South of Cape Guardafui, the veering winds made only 400 or 500 *stadia* a day possible. Pliny's record voyages are at the most 140 sea-miles to twenty-four hours, or six an hour: the same pace as that of the *Novara*, on its sail from Valparaiso to the Atlantic equator.

III. LAND JOURNEYS

The methods of travelling are occasionally mentioned. Simple wayfarers walked with their mantle pinned up, or with modest baggage bestrode a mule or a horse; but the poorer even seldom without one slave at least. If the traveller drove, the slaves followed in a second carriage, at all events on longer journeys. Seneca once was seized with an impulse to make a poor man's journey. He and a friend, Caesonius Maximus, carrying all their luggage on them, went with so few attendants that one extra carriage was sufficient. They rested on the bare earth, a mattress under them, and one rain-mantle as sheet and one as coverlet. Their meals were of the simplest, and were made ready in less than one hour: dried figs were invariable, and their tablets always at hand to note down impressions. He drove in a peasant's waggon, his mules just moving along, the man guiding them barefoot, not because it was summer, but as his habit. These two days of Arcady had taught him how superfluous much of ordinary life was. Yet an uneasy envy overtook him, at the sight of a gorgeous equipage; he was ashamed that so poor a vehicle should be thought his. These feelings are explicable in this millionaire and consular: for senators and knights to travel without retinue and piles of baggage was unique: this luxury obtained even under the Republic. On a journey to Lanuvium with his wife, Milo took all his singing boys, besides his slaves, male and female. Caesar, on his campaigns, carried mosaic floors with him: Antony's journeys were

like a travelling circus, with his huge coach, the carriage drawn by lions, and the ostentation of gold.

This luxury was far exceeded under the Empire. Nero always had a suite of a thousand carriages; his mules had silver shoes, his muleteers scarlet liveries, his outriders and runners were gorgeously clad: Poppaea had her horses harnessed with gold, and had 500 asses with her, so as to bathe in their milk every day: in the retinue of Eusebia, the wife of Constantius (353), there were 'coaches of all sorts, inwrought with gold and silver and bronze'. The upper classes vied in imitating this luxury, as Seneca shows: many of these fashionable plutocrats were only rich on their journeys, and deliberated whether, after their insolvency, they should hire themselves out as gladiators or fighters with animals. Gaily-dressed Moors, Numidian outriders and runners cleared the way. Well-fed mules, if possible alike in colour, or the little fat but swift Gaulish horses, drew the waggons, and palfreys followed for riding. The beasts of burden were covered with gold or purple trappings, with golden bridles and bits: the travelling-carriages were filled with gold or silver figures, and might be worth many estates; curtains of silk or other rarities, plate of gold and crystal and myrrha; works of art, too delicate to be shaken, and carried; such was the pomp: and, of course, a huge court of love-boys, with masks to protect their faces, and so on. Rich provincials even travelled in this fashion. Polemo, the sophist of Smyrna, travelled with hundreds of beasts of burden, horses, slaves, leashes of hounds, and his own Phrygian or Gaulish horses with silver harness.

This inordinate luxury was always being adapted to useful purposes. To facilitate reading, instead of papyri, written on one side and held in both hands, compacter parchment books were used. Martial recommends the reader, to make his poems a real *vade mecum*, to purchase such a miniature parchment edition; for to have such a Cicero on a journey was almost the same as having the writer himself. One could also write: Pliny the Elder always took a shorthand writer with him, and to keep his hands warm in the winter, allowed him long sleeves. Sleeping-carriages there also were (*carruca dormitoria*): in the Pandects, the problem is raised, whether a legacy to a wife included the mules and the

sleeping-carriage. Claudius, a devotee to dice, had a suitable table put up in a travelling-carriage. Commodus had contrivance for flexible seats, to avoid the sun, or enjoy the breeze, and pedometers and horometers were also used.

Noble ladies generally travelled in palanquins. Antony, according to a letter of Cicero (49 B.C.), had his mistress Cytheris thus borne beside him, and seven other palanquins bore the seven mistresses of his friends. Julia, the daughter of Augustus and wife of Agrippa, was once at night on the way to Ilium, and was almost drowned with her carriers by a rising of the Scamander. Agrippa, furious at the neglect of her by the townsmen, fined them 100,000 *denarii*, though they had not been advised of her approach; but it was remitted at the intercession of King Herod, through Nicolaus of Damascus.

Slavery, and the lack of inns, account for these gorgeous and complete travelling arrangements. The rich man, with hundreds of slaves, could carry his palace with him everywhere, and some service had become habitual to him. Local inn-keepers could not cater for such luxurious tastes, especially as the warm Southern air made such shelter unnecessary. But there also were some good, or even high-class hotels, where the traveller might well stay on. Epictetus compares those who, instead of proceeding to their true home of philosophy, linger in the wayside resort of oratory, to a traveller who remains at a comfortable inn, and delays his journey home, and forgets his first object, losing himself in the many fine halfway houses. In populous commercial or pleasure cities or seaside resorts, there would be numerous good hotels, e.g. as Strabo says, at Berenice in Upper Egypt on the Red Sea, the staple market for India and Arabia. Strabo says that the inns on the canal at Canopus supply all the needs of the luxury of the district, and mentions the one at Carura, on the frontier of Phrygia and Caria, where there were hot wells. But most inns were probably third-rate, but not because they catered for the poorer classes. They are even now inferior in the South, since the southerner is easily satisfied in the matter of lodging; which was perhaps the case even more in ancient times. But travellers who sought only a bed and a meal and shelter were well contented; and on such these inns thrive, for the number

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of people carrying tents and all their own conveniences with them must have been very small.

Officials, judges and their suite, and soldiers had quarters provided for them by house-owners, according to their positions, their leisure and their wealth : but Vespasian released philosophers, grammarians, rhetors and physicians from this burden. The man on whom these visitors were billeted had to put up with their rude behaviour. Pliny tells of the inhabitants of Hippo Diarrhytus in Africa, who killed a wonderful tame dolphin, to escape the officials who came to see it. When Cato of Utica was preparing to appoint provincial officials, he always sent his baker and his cook the morning before to select his quarters. They quietly entered the town, looked for some family friend ; and, if none were to be found, chose an inn, rather than burden a private individual ; were there no inn, they applied to the city council and cheerfully accepted the quarters assigned by them : but their calm and polite demeanour often brought them scant courtesy. Even great men could only have halting-places of their own sufficient for short journeys in Italy ; such as Cicero had at Anagnia, Atina, Frusino, Lanuvium, Sinuessa, and was negotiating for at Tarra-cina.

Hence, for the majority of travellers, there must have been inns in Italy and the provinces. A commercial traveller included hotel-bills, as well as fares in his expenses. Aristides the *rhetor*, on a journey from Smyrna to Pergamus, used inns, though he must have had many friends. He started on a summer noon, sent his luggage in advance, and about sunset reached an inn by the river Hermus ; but the rooms were insufferably hot, and he went on. Late at night he reached Larissa, and fared little better, and midnight found him at Cumae, where all was locked up. So he still travelled on, and at cockcrow arrived at Myrina, caught up his slaves, who were standing ready to start in front of one of the inns ; he tried to rest on a bed in the vestibule, obtained admission into a friend's house, and at daybreak journeyed on to Gryneum, rested at Elaea in another inn, and next day reached Pergamus. In traversing Thrace, an uncivilized and untravelled country, he must have had other difficulties besides the wintry season.

But even there there were inns. 'How glad', says Seneca, 'we are, at the sight of shelter in a desert, a roof in a storm, a bath, or a fire in the cold, and how dear they cost in inns'. Julius Caesar with his friend Gaius Oppius was crossing a forest: Oppius fell ill, and Caesar gave up to him the only little inn there was, and slept on the bare ground. The Good Samaritan had an inn near him. Towns invariably had many inns; even Bethlehem had one. Sometimes the communes undertook the service. At the Springs of Clitumnus, the town of Hispellum (Spello) was presented by Augustus with a piece of land, and erected a bath and an inn. Municipal enterprise often embraced hotels: such a *hospitium adventorium* was found by Gaius Arunceius Cotta in an unknown colony, together with a bath for slaves. In Calama, in North Africa, the *curator* of the town, about A.D. 400, converted a waste spot, at his own expense, into a civic hall and hotel.

In larger towns, there was a choice of inns. Plutarch warns travellers against false shame making them select the worse inn, or give ear to an importunate host. Land-owners of property adjoining a main road built inns, kept by their freedmen as agents; and this used to turn out profitable. The fisc, in wilder and more solitary parts, used to put such houses up. In 61 A.D. Nero ordered the *procurator* of Thrace to put up *praetoria* for the use of officials: in 136 A.D. Hadrian had his new road along the Red Sea amply fortified and provided. At such *stationes* there were inns, named after the station. The *Acts* mention the Station of the Three Inns, on the Via Appia, near the Pontine Marshes, a name given to a station on the road from Dyrrhachium to Byzantium; on the *Via Latina*, the third station from Rome was called 'To the Gay', an inn mentioned by Strabo. Several other stations were similarly named, either because they alone provided accommodation, or because they were attached to *mansiones* erected and maintained at the public expense: these, also, may, if there were room enough, have been available to ordinary travellers on terms.

The signs of inns were often animals, a camel (mentioned by Artemidorus), or an elephant led by a pygmy (an inn belonging to one Sittius at Pompeii), or the cock from Tarra-gona at Narbonne. A *Station* between Utica and Carthage

was called 'The Cock'; other names were 'The Great Eagle', 'The Little Eagle', 'The Snake', 'The Great Crane', 'The Sword', 'The Wheel', 'The Olives'. These tabards often promised friendly service, baths, and comforts; in Italy, often, 'after Roman fashion'; one favourite commercial hotel at Lyons, with Apollo and Mercury on its sign, runs: 'Here Mercury promises gain, Apollo health, Septumanus [the owner] meals and rooms. Any one coming in will be the better for it; stranger, look to where you stay'. At one inn at Antibes, we read: 'One word, wayfarer: come in: a copper-tablet [the tariff] tells you all'. The host or hostess greeted the travellers, and recommended their house. In a poem ascribed to Virgil, a Syrian hostess, with a Greek head-dress, is dancing drunkenly a castagnette-dance in front of her smoky tavern, and inviting the guest on his weary ass in, promising him the coolness of her shady arbour by the babbling brook, even at the season when the trees are humming with grasshoppers, and lizards flee the heat: she will give him a meal of cheese, yellow plums, mulberries, grapes, gourds, chestnuts and apples, wine of this year's vintage, wreaths of violets, roses, lilies and rural music: Ceres, Bacchus and Amor as well shall befriend the guest.

The ordinary inns (only of which mention is made) did not invite a long stay: the company was low, grooms and muleteers; Vitellius, before ascending the throne, affected affability and frequented them. Plutarch, as a means of health, recommends constant loud speaking, and says that the jeers of sailors, muleteers and hosts at inns should not deter. Apollinaris Sidonius' description of the interior of a 'greasy tavern' could easily be antedated. The smoke from the kitchen filled it, and oppressed incomers; on thyme-wreathed porringers the sausages could be smelt: the steam and clatter of pots and pans and chanting of the guests. The pillows, stuffed with reeds, instead of feathers, teemed with fleas and bugs; from the ceilings lizards and spiders would drop down. Prices might not be overhigh. In the days of Polybius, in the lowlands of Lombardy, inns were cheap: there were no bills, but an inclusive rate of half an *as* ($\frac{1}{2}d.$). A relief, dating from imperial times, at Aesernia in Samnium (Isernia), represents a man, in touring-costume, leading his mule,

bargaining with his hostess : the legend is that the bread is one *as* ($\frac{3}{4}d.$), dessert two *asses*, service two *asses*, hay two *asses*, wine free. The two *denarii* paid by the Good Samaritan for one day's expenses, must have been more than sufficient, as they were also meant to cover medical treatment. Possibly travellers (as to this day in Greek khans) brought their own food with them, to be cooked at the inn.

Further, inns were often brothels. Jurists are constantly mentioning that the servants at inns, in town or country, consisted of cheap girls, and that inn-keepers were unproffessed pandars. A rescript of Alexander Severus directed that a slave sold on condition of non-prostitution, might not be bought for such an inn. The law that there could be no adultery with barmaids, was made by Constantine in 326 not to apply to the hostess, provided she did not serve the guests herself.

As pandars and for other reasons, inn-keepers had an ill-repute. On the lists of the police-soldiers, they were inscribed with thieves and gamblers. They lied and cheated, adulterated the wine (Trimalchio says they were born under the Sign of Aquarius) and stole the oats provided for the mules. According to Artemidorus (a great traveller) to dream of bronze or iron foreheads was a good omen for publicans and toll-keepers ; thorns especially good for publicans, toll-keepers and robbers who gave false weights, and stole by force or craft. Galen says that human flesh tasted very much like pork, and was often dished up by unscrupulous publicans ; he had been credibly informed of a very palatable dish, in which a finger-bone was found : the travellers left in instant disgust, and the owners had subsequently been convicted of presence at a human slaughter-house. The land-ladies were often reputed witches, as once in Apuleius. St. Augustine says that they would put a Circean drug into their cheese, turning their guests into conscious mules, and restoring them only on conditions. And publicans were liable for loss suffered by guests in their houses.

Toll-keepers were proverbially dishonest ; perhaps largely in fact. Smuggling was common and conscientious officials even were obnoxious. 'We object to customs officials', says Plutarch, 'not when they examine open wares, but when they finger the insides of bags ; and yet this is their legal

duty'. Rhetorical mock-cases hardly accord with the facts. One of them ran: 'On all articles, except necessities for travel, there is a tax of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The official is entitled to examine the baggage, and confiscate all undeclared dutiable goods: he may not touch women. A woman had 400 large pearls in her bosom. The official asks about them. She says he may search her: he refuses, she passes the barrier, and he stops her and demands the pearls'. Soldiers' goods were toll-free, and this privilege might be granted by imperial favour. Trajan awarded it to Polemo the sophist of Smyrna, on land and sea, and Hadrian to his descendants.

Worse than the exactions of the tolls and the cheatings of the publicans was the frequent insecurity of travelling. The police force was partly in the hands of the communes. In the Western portion of the Empire, we find a city force (*praefectus arcendis latronibus*) at several places, such as Nyon (near Bingen): in the East the *Irenarchi*, who commanded the local militia of the *diognitiae*. Further, in all provinces, military posts were disposed by the central authority, under subalterns, up to the rank of centurions, and the governors were directed to make forays against breakers of the peace. But, says Cassius Dio, brigandage is as eternal as human nature.

Brigandage was worst in the frontier provinces. An inscription in Nether Pannonia (in the County of Stuhlweissenburg, Székes-féjervár) says that Commodus in 185 A.D. fortified all the banks of the Danube against robbers. In the tombs in Dacia, three (near Mehadja and Cernets) record the murder of two men and a woman by robbers; two were revenged. Monuments to persons killed by bandits have been found in Upper Moesia (at Orachovats), Darmstadt and Trèves. The roads in Africa, despite the castles, were often most insecure, as Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, shows; he says that a report that an inn had been seized by robbers, made travellers avoid it. An engineer of the third legion stationed at Lambessa, summoned to build a tunnel to Saldæ (Bougie) in 152 A.D., says he fell on robbers on the way, and was stripped and wounded. Lucian mentions that there were many robbers in Egypt at the time of the Prophet Alexander of Abonuteichos. The Nile swamps near Damietta were the lurking-place of the *bucoli*, a savage people, known to Eratos-

thenes : the novel of Heliodorus describes their wild life on barks and islets. Under Marcus Aurelius, they threatened Alexandria, and Avidius Cassius could hardly subdue them. They gave trouble, later on, to the Khalifs.

Not only frontier provinces, but mountainous and half-civilized districts abounded in brigands. The monuments at Salona in Dalmatia record the murder of a ten-year-old girl for her jewels, and the seizure of a man. Spanish inscriptions mention two deaths at the hands of robbers. The Gospels show that Judaea was not scatheless for travellers. It is not known how far the Herods and the Romans succeeded in weaning from brigandage the population of the East Jordan land, the Hauran and the cavernous Trachones. The constancy of robbery in Little Asia, which is mountainous and a desert in its interior, is explicable by the smallness of the garrisons, except on the frontier. 'The Pamphyliaus', says Strabo, 'still practise robbery : the Mysian Olympus has huge oak forests and almost inexpugnable strongholds in them : in my time, Cleon, the robber, kept a band there'. Galen tells of a robber, who worked at Coracesion in Pamphylia, and used to cut off his victims' legs. Isauria became a highwaymen's country, after the third century : thenceforward, and under the Byzantines, it preyed on Southern Little Asia. An inscription mentions the conquest of robber bands on the Hellespont by Titus Valerius Proclus, an official of Drusus Caesar, the son of Germanicus. Under Hadrian, a brigand Tilloboras occupied Ida near Troy and made forays thence. Despite the exertions of Hadrian and his successors, the roads of Achaia and the adjoining countries were made insecure, and the fortunate brigand chieftain is one of Lucian's lower class types. The many tales of robbers in the romance of Apuleius in Lucian's time must have been borrowed from reality. In Sardinia, in Varro's time, most fertile districts could not be cultivated for fear of robbers, and 6 A.D. a formal war was declared against them : 19 A.D. Tiberius sent 4,000 freedmen, 'infected with Jewish and Egyptian superstitions', to fight them. According to Strabo the mountain-dwellers of Corsica lived on loot, and were more savage than wolves. Prudent travellers in unsafe districts would follow in the suite of high officials, ambassadors, quaestors, or proconsuls, or secure an escort :

Lucian got two lance-men as escort from his friend the governor of Cappadocia, to accompany him to the sea.

But even the most civilized and peaceful regions were sometimes harried. In 187 A.D., a deserter, Maternus, formed a band and terrorized the whole of Gaul and Spain, burning villages and farms, even attacking great cities, setting the criminal free, and ravaging at will. He evaded the troops of Commodus, and escaped to Italy, designing to murder the Emperor : he was betrayed and executed.

In Italy insecurity was greatest, after the civil wars : armed highwaymen appeared publicly and made a night-journey from Rome to Tibur perilous. Augustus erected forts at suitable places, but the evil was not altogether allayed, and Tiberius had to extend them. Highwaymen, when caught, were tortured to death, torn asunder by wild beasts ; their corpses hanged, as warnings and 'consolation to the victim's kin', at the spots of their evil trade (as was done in the Papal States up to 1819) ; they were left on the gallows or crucified, or, especially in mountainous districts, left by the roadside, as carrion for the birds, or the curious physician. Galen saw a skeleton of a robber, who had fallen at the hands of his intended victim : the inhabitants would not bury him ; and in two days, so much flesh had been torn away, as to make the remains very instructive. But, even in Italy, brigandage died hard, if at all. At night torches were used (and thrown away at daybreak : hedges were thus sometimes set on fire), and any bearer of valuables trembled at the shadows. Houses were also burgled ; Pliny the Elder tells how Caelius a senator lay sick at Placentia, was attacked by robbers and guarded by his dog. About 106/7 Pliny the Younger was ordered to inquire after a senatorial knight, all trace of whom had been lost near Otricoli : it was feared that he must have fared like a fellow-countryman who had set out with a sum of money to provide for his centurionate ; he and his slaves had utterly disappeared, possibly at their hands. Highwaymen sought not only booty, but also ransom, both in Italy and in the provinces : many a helpless wanderer vanished for ever into one of the huge *ergastula* of large landowners. In daytime even, armed bands drove off herds. Marcus Aurelius, in a letter of his boyhood to Fronto, tells of how he and his company

gave the impression of being robbers to some shepherds ; and how he spurred into the flock and was cudgelled for his pains. The Pontine Swamps and the long sandy Gallinarian Forest (the Pineta) were the most dreaded : Sextus Pompeius, during the war with the Triumvirate, organized robber-bands there. The various forays into them only dispersed the bandits temporarily, even into Rome.

Civil wars and unrest were not the only causes. Severus' raising of the Praetorian Guards out of non-Italian troops forced the martial youth of Italy to become gladiators or highwaymen. Towards the end of his reign, one bandit, Felix Bulla, harried all Italy, at the head of 600 comrades, and defended his position for two years stoutly. His cunning and his bribes ensured his not being seen, or found or arrested, despite the price put on his head. He learnt from all who were leaving Rome or landing at Brundisium, who they were and what they had : from most, he simply took a little : the artisans he detained awhile, paid them and released them. Two of his men were captured and condemned to the lions : he personated the chief district officer, who required men for his spectacles, and successfully obtained his own men back. A centurion was sent to capture him, and Bulla enticed him into an ambushade. On arrival, he revealed who he was, shaved the centurion's head, and sent him back with the message, that, if masters treated their slaves better, there would be no robbers. Many imperial slaves, badly paid or unpaid, were in his ranks. Severus made a last and vigorous effort, sent a tribune of the Imperial Guard with a large detachment of cavalry, to capture him at all costs, dead or alive : he was betrayed by a mistress, and caught asleep in a cave. Papinian the jurist had to try him and asked him why he was a bandit. He retorted : 'Why are you a praefect ?' He was torn asunder, to a herald's call, by wild beasts, and his band easily captured. For, says Dio, in him was the strength of the six hundred. Proculus in 280 A.D. was a claimant for the throne, a descendant of a great rich robber family near Albenga, on the Genoese Riviera, and commanding 2,000 armed slaves. Ghosts, lovers and robbers were the favourite themes of light literature, especially robbers : Apuleius extols the 'brave, steadfast, faithful robber of the better sort'. And, so great was

the interest in them, that Arrian wrote the biography of Tilloboras.

These many names of robbers throughout the entire Empire extend also through several whole centuries. Corresponding collections from European history for the last three centuries would furnish a longer list from the ampler material. Up to 1816 highwaymen made the road from London to Dover perilous ; in Western Germany there were great bandits, and Dick Turpins have furnished romances, and this is scarcely a century ago. We may then doubt whether even in the nineteenth century the regions round the Mediterranean and the Lower Danube were not, and are not now, more insecure than in Roman times, excepting Greece and Moslem countries altogether. In Hungary of to-day the roving good-fellow and robber Bélyár are still the subjects of popular legend and fancy. In 1852 Bismarck might not ride from Szólnók to Ketskémet without an escort, for the region was a hive of bandits, on the undrained and impenetrable swamps of the Theiss ; bands of fifteen to twenty, well armed and well mounted, attacked Court and commoner alike. At Szegedín in 1873 800 robbers and murderers were convicted and 1,500 accomplices on the lists. Out of a population of 157,000 in the district of Zara in Dalmatia, between 1851-1863, 2,659 trials for public violence were held, 1,919 persons maimed, and 507 murdered. In Verlikka one in twenty-one was a murderer. The history of the Italian Camorra and Mafia since 1799 would fill volumes ; nothing but the eradication of their causes can destroy them, despite the continual efforts since 1860. In Corsica in 1851 there were 200 bandits, and as many living in Sardinia, as refugees. Spain in 1830 was absolutely unsafe. All the chief posts, except those from Barcelona to Perpignan, had to purchase their liberty. The great busy road from Seville to Cadiz was impossible without a strong escort between San Lúcar and Puerto Santa Maria. No one, save in dire need, ventured on the road between Gibraltar and Cadiz ; yet on it, in the summer of 1830, thirty-five people were plundered in eight weeks. Even in some of the great cities life and property were insecure. In Seville, every night had its murder. In Malaga murderers were immune. Forty years later things were not bettered. In the winter of 1869 a little bathing town in the hills of

the South was assailed and sacked by bandits, and eighteen visitors killed. In 1842, seven years after the close of the Civil War in Portugal, in the kingdom of Algarbia, 100 *guerrilhas* or Miguelistas (really mere highwaymen) kept 3,000 of the regular army in check in the valleys of the Serra de Monchique. Cassius Dio's prophecy, that banditry will not cease as long as human nature remains the same, has been true for the South of Europe.

IV. THE NATURE OF THE TRAFFIC

§ 1. THE TRAFFIC OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

What has been said as yet of Roman communications shows that the huge extent of the Empire involved ready and thorough linkage. Centralization of government and jurisdiction necessitated uninterrupted services between every province and its capital, and Rome. The governors were constantly corresponding with the Emperors, as Pliny's correspondence (as Consular legate of Bithynia 111-113) with Trajan proves, though he may have been exceptionally punctilious: procurators and imperial officials in the provinces were always in communication with departments at Rome, or the Emperor. Officials or ambassadors extraordinary were always starting, escorted from the moors of Scotland to the Atlas, from Syria to the frontier stations of Germany. 'Highly placed men', says Epictetus, 'and senators, cannot rest at home, but, in command, or under command, in war or civil or legal duty, must always be travelling'. The higher officials only gained their posts after many years of varied voyages. At all epochs very many provincials had to come to Rome personally to prosecute their claims. Martial mentions one journey to Rome, to gain the Privilege of the Three Children; Epictetus another, to obtain the governorship of Cnossus in Crete. Persons accused in the provinces of a capital offence, and there not subject to the jurisdiction of the governors (such as senators, the higher officers, and municipal *decuriones*) were sent to Rome—a frequent sight.

Embassies from the towns, and provincial diets met at Rome at all times; when the Jewish deputation from Alex-

andria came to beseech Caligula, Philo, a member of it, says that ambassadors from the whole world were also in waiting. Greek and Roman inscriptions often record the voluntary undertaking of embassies to the Emperor as a meritorious civic duty: great extravagance was shown in them: Pliny the Younger mentions that Byzantium every year sent a deputy to congratulate Trajan armed with a sum of 12,000 sesterces (£130 10s.), and another deputy to the governor of Moesia, with 3,000 (£32 12s. 6d). Pliny proposed, and Trajan accepted the exchange of these greetings by letter; Vespasian limited the bearers to three. The occasional residences of the Emperors on campaigns or travels became similarly busy. Augustus stayed two years at Tarraco (26-25 B.C.) and two at Samos (21-20 B.C.): we know of an embassy from Lesbos and from India, and can surmise many others. The earthquake at Antioch in 115 A.D., whilst Trajan was there, shook, as Dio says, many other cities, and the whole Empire; it killed many who had come on legal or commercial business, or as sightseers.

Freedom of travel on perfect and safe roads induced a ceaseless movement amongst no few of the subjects: the firmness of this huge world-Empire of over 100,000 square miles united the lands, and made migration common. Any business, unprofitable in one province, might be resumed elsewhere. The father of Vitellius the Emperor was born at Reate, farmed the import tax of 2½ per cent. in Asia, and subsequently had dealings in Helvetia, where he died. Rome received and gave out many emigrants; the provinces, too, were closely inter-related. Greeks and Little-Asians were schoolmasters, e.g. Asclepiades of Myrlea in Turdantania, or rhetors, e.g. Lucian in Gaul, or doctors (like Alexander the Phrygian, reckoned by Eusebius among the martyrs at Vienne and Lugdunum), painters and sculptors (like the master-founder Zenodorus, among the Arverni, i.e. Clermont, under Nero); and so on, throughout the West. King Herod of Judaea had Gauls and Germans in his bodyguards. Jews settled everywhere in the Empire, and were in active communication amongst themselves and with Palestine. From their congregations deputies duly brought gifts to Jerusalem at the proper times: at Passover, from all parts of the world, Jewish pilgrims fared to Jerusalem.

The Christian communities were also closely linked: in 177 A.D. the Churches of Lyons and Vienne sent news of their martyrs to their sister Churches in Asia and Phrygia. No town had not its foreigners: even Corsica, barren, savage, rocky, had more foreign residents, according to Seneca, than natives.

War, also, tore thousands from their homes, drifted them through many lands, and settled them at last very far from their homes: and this too, even after Hadrian's reform of local recruiting had diminished the former distant and expensive transplantations. Only a few provinces like Egypt and Africa could themselves provide the whole of their garrisons. The army annually drew 20,000 recruits, and consisted of 300,000 men on a twenty-five year service, and the provinces, requiring less defence, or more martial in their inhabitants, had to supply the surplus. Tacitus mentions that in 65 A.D. levies for the legions of Pannonia, Moesia and Dalmatia were made in Narbonese Gaul, Africa and Asia. The legions on the Western frontier were generally supplied from the West, and those on the Eastern from the East; and, unlike others, never changed camps. But the officers were sent anywhere and everywhere. Not only the high officers, senators or knights, but also centurions were shifted from legion to legion, from province to province: some centurions served in from five to ten legions or in other troops. When Vettius Crispinus was made legionary tribune, Statius asks, is he to go to Africa, Pannonia, the Danube, Judaea or Armenia? For the most part legionary levies were made in the Senatorial provinces with city civilization. The soldiers of the Rhenish, Dalmatian, and African legions came mostly from Narbonensis, Africa and Macedonia: these countries required no garrisons, and Hadrian levied them for the Praetorians. Similarly the fleets were recruited from Egypt, Syria, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Bithynia, Pontus and Thrace in the East; Dalmatia, Sardinia and Corsica in the West.

Reasons of economy and health required the employment of soldiers in their own country: other reasons limited the practice. Provinces, practically ungarrisoned, had to send their men to less secure regions: the East supplied all the bowmen for the West as well; and political motives also

came in. Lands, recently conquered or unruly, were garrisoned by foreign troops. In Britain, only one of the numerous divisions of cavalry and cohorts of infantry there raised, was there stationed: in Rhaetia, of the eight native cohorts only two; in Pannonia, a soldier's letter of 60 A.D. names seven of the cohorts, of which five were Spanish and two Alpine. In Dacia in 110 A.D. troops from Ituraea (in N.E. Palestine), Spain, Thrace, Gaul, Rhaetia and Britain were stationed under one command; in Rhaetia in 107 A.D. Spaniards, Lusitanians, Italians, Thracians, Slavonians, Gauls, Batavians and Britons. In the military cemeteries, the most diverse nations lie together: inscriptions of officers and men in Mainz show them to have come from the Rhine, Holland, Brabant, Hungary, Carinthia, Styria, the Tyrol, Dalmatia, Rumelia, Syria, Spain, France, and Italy, North and South.

Service in the Guard was for sixteen years at the least, in the legions for twenty, in the auxiliary corps for twenty-five, in the fleet for twenty-six: the men, after dismissal, might return home, especially if home were near their last garrison-duty: generally veterans settled and married in their last province. Augustus, after the battle of Actium, founded twenty-eight military colonies in Italy, and in 14 B.C. many others in Spain, Narbonese Gaul, Africa, the Mauretaniae, Sicily, Macedonia, Achaia, Asia, Pisidia and Syria. Later Emperors followed the same policy, aiming at thus ensuring peace against foes from within and without. Claudius settled veterans at Cumae, Cologne, Sicum in Dalmatia, Camulodunum in Britain, and the two Mauretaniae: Nero in Capua, Tarentum, Nuceria and Antium; Vespasian at Aventicum, Deultum in Thrace, Pannonia and Palestine. The Praetorians were generally assigned lands in Italy, and the legions in the provinces: thus the Fifth and the Tenth were settled at Corduba and Augusta Emerita in Spain, the Second in Cartenna (Mauretania), the Twenty-second at Patrae, the Fifth and Eighth at Berytus and Heliopolis (Syria).

Nerva was the first Emperor to found colonies to relieve the civil population, and bought up Italian land for 60,000,000 sesterces (£650,000) in Italy. The colonization of Dacia in 106 was exceptional: Trajan transplanted 'countless

multitudes from the entire Empire': he thus repeopled the devastated country. Of these non-military colonists of Dacia, we know of Dalmatian gold-miners, above all the expert Pirustae, settled round Abrudbanya: Pannonia furnished most of the miners, most of the incomers were Syrians and Little-Asians: like modern Transylvania, there was a medley of nations. Yet, despite this civil colonization, Dacia remained 'a military frontier peopled by soldiers and veterans; and the cities which grew up with security show their original settlement by veterans, sutlers and the usual camp-followers'.

This universal system of veteran colonies manifestly Romanized and assimilated the provinces, and the constant transplantations quickened intercourse all the more.

Correspondence by letters in the Empire showed more vigour than might be expected from the lack of a letter-post; as the correspondence of a Galen proves. During his stay at Rome, he was consulted for ophthalmia from Asia, Gaul, Spain and Thrace by letter; asked pertinent questions, and sent the remedy, and cured his unseen patients, and through them others. Every year, too, he received parcels of medicines, from friends, or through the imperial or senatorial governors of Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Cappadocia, Pontus, Macedonia, Gaul, Spain and Mauretania. In Augustus' time, Roman booksellers sent books oversea to Spain and Africa; and more difficult transports were also effected. In one case water from a medicinal spring at Santander was sent; this must have been frequent. Pliny's account of live geese being imported from Boulogne over the Alps, proves an active commerce between the provinces. Fruit trees from Italy were exported to the provinces very quickly: four years after the conquest the cherry was being cultivated in Britain. Animals, the wildest and the biggest, were imported into Rome and other great cities in masses for the games. At the end of the fourth century, in the Circus at Antioch, Spanish horses were used: this indicates that the best horses for breeding and racing, the Cappadocian and the African, must have been most extensively trafficked in.

§ 2. COMMERCIAL INTERCOURSE

(i) *The Journeys*

The imperial roads promoted travelling in general, and commerce in especial. In their scope was one of the portions of the earth, which was more prosperous and civilized than ever before or after. Free trade never had a wider field, with a single empire and currency. 'The Roman penny under the Republic was the only legal coin, accepted in Italy and in Spain and Syria. Augustus' reform consisted in making all legal payments in *denarii*.' Egypt alone exceptionally used *drachmas* as legal tender. In the Western half of the Empire the penny was the only silver coin; in the Eastern the old silver mintage subsisted as well. The imperial copper also obtained throughout the whole Empire, but in the East was hardly used, local moneys replacing it. In gold, there was only the imperial coinage.

Beyond the frontiers, too, Roman moneys extended. Under Claudius an embassy from Ceylon came to Rome, headed by a freedman of Annius Plocamus, farmer of the custom-duties in the Red Sea. He had been circumnavigating Arabia, and been driven on to Ceylon, and there had made a chieftain court the friendship of Rome: whose wonderful *denarii* had all the same weight, but different effigies. 'But Nero debased the silver coinage, and the barbarians had little occasion for further wonder.' The free Germans, who preferred silver as more convenient to their commerce, after that date, accepted payment in the old worn-down Republican pennies, with a chariot on the reverse; and the coins dug up show that the old Republican penny was better currency than the early imperial coin which was as good, obviously because it could readily be distinguished from Nero's.

For foreign commercial enterprises the greatness of the World-Empire assured its subjects protection. Cicero says that the magic words *civis Romanus* were of service to any Roman stranger anywhere in the world, amongst barbarians, however remote, Indians or Persians. Merchants of that day found their road ready paved to all three continents, and went on these easy roads to greater and more manifold prosperity. To a degree now impossible commerce had the world in fee, and the profits of Europe were great to the

same extent as they were superior in civilization. Modern European commerce reckons on 10 per cent. profit in Europe, 29 per cent. outside, 35 per cent. in India, 33½ per cent. in Java, 58 per cent. in China and 66 per cent. in Japan, but Roman profits must have been still greater. The peace of the world was assured, many new provinces were there to be exploited and money had a quicker circulation, and the expansion of the world-trade was the main reason of the greater wealth of Imperial than Republican Rome, which Pliny the Elder characterizes as comparatively poor. Our scanty information of the marine and land commerce still furnishes an idea of its extent, vigour and variety.

The merchant of those days had to travel much more, and personal negotiation was essential where now a letter suffices. Knowledge of men and things had to be personal, 'just as in the Middle Ages, before the first regular posts, German merchants had personally to travel to Antwerp, Brussels, Amsterdam, Augsburg, etc.'

'Hasten, merchant', Horace says, 'in order that none forestall thee in the havens, that thou do not lose the iron of Cibra and the aromas of Bithynia'. 'Hurry', writes Persius, 'get salted fish, tow, beaver's cod, ebony, incense, Coic silk-flowers from the Black Sea, be first with the camel's load of pepper'. Juvenal speaks of 'voyages to Cilicia and Crete for saffron, raisin-wine'. And Horace makes the roving merchant traffic from sunrise to sundown, from Arctic zones to the Tropics, and even sail in the winter. A poet slightly later makes the merchant hawk his capital of foreign goods through the cities, anticipate great losses of corn by fire, and then set his ships a-sea. To the world he sold the world's goods, had commercial relations in unknown lands, and every new sun was to be gold for him. 'Very many', says Pliny, 'embark for gain on any sea that is opened'. An inscription, by chance preserved, of a merchant of Hierapolis in Phrygia, Flavius Zeuxis, celebrates his seventy-two sailings by the Peloponnese to Italy, and suggests the many perilous mercantile voyages. The Talmud mentions voyages of Palestinian Jews to Rome and Spain. Horace says that the merchant adventured into the Atlantic three or four times a year, and Gades had especially lively commercial relations with Italy. An inscription of Gaius Octavius

Agathopus at Puteoli records this as his resting-place after many wearisome journeys East and West.

The Mediterranean, the Black Sea and the Atlantic teemed with Roman ships. 'Look', says Juvenal, 'at the harbours and seas filled with great keels, more peopled than the land ; greed lures great squadrons of ships, not only in the Archipelago and Africa, but far beyond Calpe [Gibraltar] to where the sun sinks hissing in the waves'. 'Day after day', says Aristides, 'merchant ships and merchants sail both seas [the Mediterranean and the Atlantic], and to Britain, not only officials and troops go, but countless private people'. Under Augustus even, to whom several chieftains had done homage, the Romans went to Britain as though to their own country, and, under Domitian, the harbours of Ireland were known to commerce.

The conquest of Egypt opened up a new era to Roman commerce ; the road to East India. 'Merchants', says Pliny, 'have learnt the shortest way, and commerce has brought India near to us'. Hippalos was the Egyptian sailor, who, under Nero, discovered the South West Monsoon to India : the wind was named after him. From Alexandria in the height of the summer, up the Nile, to Coptos took twelve days, with a good wind. At Coptos the goods were laden on camels, and the caravans went North-East to Myoshormos in six days, or South-East to Berenice, a busy harbour-town with warehouses and caravanserais, in twelve days. In Strabo's day, the first route was used ; in Pliny's only the second, as the way to Arabia, India and Aethiopia ; Roman garrisons lined the route. The caravans crossed the Upper Egyptian desert at night, steering by the stars, the days being too hot, from well to well, resting by day. Under Augustus wells or cisterns were laid by the Roman soldiers at suitable points on the roads to Myoshormos and Berenice. From Myoshormos, in Strabo's time, 120 ships sailed through the Gulf of Arabia to India, with archers on board to guard against pirates : some, the *Ascitae* of South Arabia, used poisoned barbs. In Pliny's time, thirty days from Berenice brought the ship to Ocelis in Arabia at the South end of the Red Sea, or to Cane on the South coast of Arabia ; whence it was forty days to Muziris on the coast of Malabar (? Mangaluru) : pirates and other reasons deterred them from stopping there ;

they went on further South to Barace (Barygaza). The ships were speedily lightened and loaded: in December with the North-East Monsoon they returned to the Red Sea, and thence with the South wind, which prevailed as far as Berenice. Alexandria to India is now eighteen days: it was then ninety-four; the journey there and back took six months from the summer solstice to February.

The merchants of Italy and the West cannot imaginably have left the Greeks and Egyptians the monopoly of this profitable trade. Horace's words bidding the merchant gird himself to sail to the farthest Indies must be taken literally: Seneca, too, philosophizing on the minuteness of the earth, said only a few days lay between farthest Spain and India, a hyperbole which must have had some basis in fact. Pliny the Elder's knowledge of the natural features of Further India shows it was then visited by Greek and Roman merchants, whose written or verbal tales he incorporated. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, an Alexandrian *portolano*, is preserved, which describes the East coast of Africa up to the promontory of Rhaptum (? Kilva), beyond Zanzibar, and including the coast of Malabar, and dates from the first years of Vespasian. Dionysius, the author of a description of the earth in verse, under Hadrian, says, he is neither a merchant, nor a sea-farer, and does not go through the Indian Ocean to the Ganges, 'like the many who stake their lives for vast wealth'.

Ptolemy's Geography of about 150 A.D. proves a great development of Roman commerce with India. He had 'reports at hand giving distances in *stadia* not only from the promontory of Cory (the sea of Caly) to the mouth of the Ganges, and thence to the Golden Peninsula, or Malacca, and thence to Cattigara (Hanoi in Tonking). The numerous Greek translations of Indian city-names in Ptolemy (mostly in Taprobane or Ceylon), prove a lively intercourse of Greek and Egyptian merchants in these places: probably they settled there as they did in South Arabia or the island of Socotra. Ptolemy knew where the Indian harbour Simylla lay with respect to 'the gulf of Barygaza, from men who had 'shipped there frequently, as well as from Indian visitors'. In the Punjab and Further India, Roman coins are found, imperial gold coins, late Republican and early Empire *denarii*

and Alexandrian *tetradrachmae*. Strange to say, the most common is a penny of Augustus with the effigies of his two adoptive sons Gaius and Lucius, for the most part plated; possibly this coinage was designed for India, where *denarii*, good or bad, could not be as readily distinguished. In the ruins of Mantotte in Ceylon, coins from Augustus to the Antonines have been found. Beyond Ceylon and Cape Comorin coins are only rarely found. Thirty years ago, a hoard of gold coins of the late Empire was discovered at Calcutta.

China, for Pliny and Strabo, lay at Tokharistan, which still belonged to the Greek-Bactrian Empire; there the silk-caravans reached the limit of the known world. The embassy from Ceylon to Claudius, according to Pliny, told the same tale as our merchants, that goods to be bartered were laid on the banks of a stream, beside the silk, and the Seres, if satisfied, took the wares away. But Marinus of Tyre, the geographer (at the latest, of the first half of the second century), had received from a Macedonian merchant, Maes, who was called Titianus, a description of a caravan road to China: he had organized an expedition to Issedon, a town in China. The route cannot be absolutely determined. The caravan set out perhaps North-East from Balkh to Hissar, thence East through the hills to Surkhab, to the beginning of the ravine of the Comedi (Carategin). Just beyond the pass, where the hills fell, lay the Stone Tower, a place much visited (? now the Ruins of the Fortress, Daraut-Kurgan): in the same latitude 43° lay the place due East, Kashgar, whence the China caravans started. Thence they proceeded to the Chinese capital, possibly Si-ngan-fu. In the province of Shan-si, sixteen Roman coins from Tiberius to Aurelian have been discovered. According to Chinese reports, Rome exported carpets, glass, metals, coloured stuffs, jewels, amber, corals and drugs. Further (according to a Chinese work on plants imported oversea) Canton must then have been open to foreign commerce.

Chinese official chronicles have some details on China's relations to An-Si (Parthia) and Ta-Tsin (the Eastern Roman Empire, and especially Syria). In 120 A.D. the King of Parthia sent Syrian jugglers and musicians to the Court of China; they acted before King An-ti on New Year's

Day, 121. In October, 166, an embassy from An-Tun (Marcus Antoninus), the King of Ta-Tsin, came by sea by Tonking to the Emperor Huan-ti. According to the Chinese chronicle the Kings of Ta-Tsin had long wished to send embassies to China, but the An-Si prevented direct silk-trade, wishing to retain the monopoly of negotiating it. These 'ambassadors' may have been merchants, self-styled officials; their gifts were not imperial in character; such as elephant's teeth, rhinoceros horns, tortoise-shells. In 284 a so-called embassy from Ta-Tsin gave the Emperor of China 30,000 rolls of paper, probably a company of Syrian or Alexandrian merchants. Chinese writers also speak of two embassies from China to Ta-Tsin which did not reach their destination. One Kan-Ying, sent in 97, only got as far as the Persian Gulf. In 226 A.D. a Syrian merchant was presented to the Emperor of China, and accompanied back to Ta-Tsin by Chinese officials; the latter was to give the King of Ta-Tsin (on the Syrian's advice) ten male and ten female dwarfs, but he died on the way. But China knew something of Ta-Tsin, of its use of glass in architecture, of the great roads, and post (which China also had), of the lions and tigers which abounded in Mesopotamia, and also of the Pygmies and Amazons who lived South of Ta-Tsin. Of An-tu (Antioch), the capital of Ta-Tsin, they knew it consisted of four walled towns, with a great wall all round, and that there was a clock with a golden ball that fell at every one of the twelve hours.

The North of Europe was known to Rome by the amber-trade. The Baltic coast had long been explored; and Pliny tells us of a voyage there in the first century. Under Vespasian there still lived a Roman knight, who had been sent there to purchase amber in large quantities for a gladiatorial exhibition. From Carnuntum (Petronell near Vienna) he reached the Baltic coast and discovered, for the first time, it was 600 (Roman) miles from Carnuntum. This tour may have been unique: middlemen managed the amber-trade. And other articles must have been got from the North, for Roman coins and fabrics (especially in bronze) are found all over North Germany, from West Prussia to Hanover, and Denmark and the South of Norway and Sweden. These finds point to a long and lively intercourse with the Roman world,

and their distribution along the great rivers and the natural fords into higher and drier regions indicates which were the commercial roads. In Silesia the oldest hoards have been discovered, dating from the Republic: thence the road led South by Moravia and Bohemia into the Empire and to the Adriatic.

In East Prussia Roman coins are found partly singly and partly in hoards (which was taken before as a proof of a direct amber-trade); but they can hardly have come there before the end of the second century, probably in consequence of the migrations, the first of which came to light in the war with the Marcomanni. For the tombs in which these coins are found must be assigned to this date, and new forms of decorative articles appear with them.

The Northern trade of the Roman is established by countless finds of stuffs and coins over all this wide area, and demands not only a long commercial route far beyond the frontiers, but also a large number of temporary settlements in barbarian lands; but only one case is mentioned in literature, in Tacitus. In 19 A.D., he says, Roman hucksters and merchants pierced through as far as the stronghold of the chief of the Marcomanni, Maroboduus (Boihemum or Boiohemum in Bohemia), attracted by the freedom of trade, secured by a special treaty, and by commercial greed; finally settling in a hostile country and forgetting their own.

The regularity of these long journeys in the first two centuries makes voyages of Roman, Egyptian and Greek merchants on smaller scales beyond the frontier normal. In Strabo's time, even, fleets went from Alexandria to farthest Aethiopia, and the Land of the Troglodytes. Coptos, in Upper Egypt, teemed with merchants, who travelled into Aethiopia and India. Diodorus describes the Ichthyophagi of South Arabia on the authority of Egyptian merchants, who had landed on that coast. Pliny makes the journey from Ptolemais Theron (on the Aethiopian side of the Red Sea) to Adule, the principal harbour of the Troglodytes and Aethiopians (in an inlet South of Massowa), last five days: at Adule ivory, rhinoceros teeth, hippopotamus skins, tortoise-shell, monkeys and slaves were imported. But merchants travelled yet farther; to the harbour of Isis, ten days from Adule (South of the Babelmandeb strait),

where the Troglodytes brought myrrh ; to the harbour of the Mossyli (opposite to the South Arabian coast), a staple for cinnamon and cassia. Rhaptum, near Zanzibar, was the farthest point South known to Egyptian merchants ; and in Vespasian's time ships sailed there from Muza in South Arabia. Roman merchants were the first to explore as far as Charax Spasinu (near the mouth of the Tigris) and report on the distance from the Persian Gulf : they may have journeyed there from Palmyra in caravans (*συνοδιαί*) ; evidence is extant for the second and third centuries. At Petra in Arabia Athenodorus, the friend of Strabo, found Romans amongst the strangers there congregated. The inhabitants of Socotra, the island of Dioscoridis (near Cape Guardafui), were, according to the *portolano* of the Erythraean Sea, a mixture of Arabians, Indians, and Egyptian-Greeks, there engaged in commerce.

Before Caesar's conquest of the 'long-haired Gauls', Romans had entered Gaul, from Narbonensis and from Italy over the great St. Bernhard—the pass was dangerous and the tribes demanded a high fee—and even as far as the savage Belgae. Italian merchants in Gaul trafficked most and best with wine, transported by river, and by waggons : a cask of wine bought a Celtic slave. During Caesar's campaigns, at all the greater towns, such as Cenabum (Orleans), Cabillonum (Châlons), Noviodunum (Nevers), there must have been Roman trade-settlements of earlier date ; in the late Republic at all foreign trade-stations there were such, e.g. Delos, Alexandria and Cirta in Numidia. The Campaign of Marcus Vinicius, in 25 B.C., against Celtic tribes was caused by the barbarians murdering Roman merchants. On the East coast of the Black Sea, Trajan established a chain of forts. Arrian, at a well-chosen castle at the mouth of the Phasis to guard the shipping, found a garrison of 900 select troops ; and had a moat dug from the foundations of the fortress to the river, to protect such veterans and merchants as lived outside.

Dioscurias or Sebastopolis was the staple-town for Caucasia ; seventy or even three hundred languages were said to be spoken there ; Roman merchants had to employ 130 interpreters ; under Hadrian it had a Roman garrison ; in Pliny's time it had been devastated. In the harbours of the Sea

of Azov there was a lively trade between the civilized lands and the steppes of South Russia.

Thus trade from all parts of the Empire followed the eagles; merchants and soldiers were fellow-pioneers. Their lanes of booths and huts (*cannabae*) quickly clustered round the camps, soon to become cities. Commerce was thus a great Romanizing agent. Ammianus Marcellinus remarks that Aquitaine, the part of Gaul first opened to Roman trade, was the least resisting to Roman culture. There is much evidence as to how swiftly and energetically merchants seized on provincial trade and often monopolized it. Narbonese Gaul, fifty years after the conquest, was full of Roman citizens and merchants; without their aid no provincial did any business; every penny passed through their books. The murder of Roman merchants in Pannonia in 6 A.D. (fifteen years after the conquest), as in 26 A.D. amongst the Treviri, was the signal of revolt. In 88 B.C. Mithridates ordered the murder of every Italian in Asia (which had been a province for forty years): 80,000, or even 150,000 are said to have been slain. Most of this population must have been commercial; twenty-two years later Cicero speaks of industrious merchants of all ranks engaging in business or investing in Asia. In 46 B.C. there were at Utica 300 Roman bankers and wholesale dealers; in the neighbouring towns of Thapsus and Hadrumetum there were Roman commercial companies. London in 61 A.D. (eighteen years after the conquest) was thickly peopled with merchants; and many of the 70,000 massacred citizens and allies must have belonged to this class. The *conventus* of Roman citizens consisted mainly of merchants: and for the first two centuries in the Eastern provinces were an established institution, raised by their privileges and importance to great authority in the towns.

Beside these Italians, many provincials settled in the seat of their new businesses. An inscription at Celeia (Cilli) (under Antoninus Pius) was subscribed for by 'Roman citizens of Italy and other provinces in Rhaetia'. Inscriptions at Augsburg speak of merchants of Lyons, Trèves and Bourges. At Aquileia, a tomb of a man of Cologne has been found, who thence traded with Dacia: at Gythion in Laconia that of a shipping agent from Nicomedia, resident in Cyzicus:

at Pola, the tomb of a clothes' dealer from Gaul ; at Celeia (Cilli) that of an African merchant. At places like Aquileia, the great staple-town for the through-traffic from the North-East provinces to Italy, the East, and Africa, the merchant-population must have been cosmopolitan.

The most numerous, however, were the Orientals. Berytus, Damascus and other Phoenician and Syrian cities had factories at Puteoli. Tyre, in the fourth century still the greatest commercial city in the East, had one at Puteoli, and one at Rome ; the latter was directed by the Tyrian Senate to pay 10,000 *denarii* to the former for expenses. At Perinthus a statue was erected by the Alexandrians there. There and at Tomi on the Black Sea (where they put up an altar to Serapis, and to the Emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus), and in all great towns, Alexandrian commerce abounded. The centurion who accompanied St. Paul to Italy found an Alexandrian ship sailing there at Myra in Lycia. The Syrians were the most common. As regards the Jews the absence of evidence for any commercial settlement can hardly be accident. Syrian merchants and factories occur everywhere, in Italian harbours, such as Portus, Naples, Ravenna, and Puteoli especially. A Spanish inscription at Malaga records a president of the Syrian college ; according to his tomb, set up by his father, a Syrian merchant, Aurelius Flavius, died at Sirmium ; another, Teym-ibn-Saad, a former burgess and councillor at Canavat in Syria, did business from Aquitaine to Lugdunum ; at Apulum in Dacia has been found a votive stone set up by two Syrian merchants to Jupiter. All Syrians mentioned in Western inscriptions may be presumed to be merchants. The foreigners buried at Concordia, a little country town in North Italy (in the fifth century), are all Syrians, mostly Apameans ; and all the Greek inscriptions at Trèves are Syrian. 'To the present day', says St. Jerome about the end of the fourth century, 'commerce is the genius of the Syrians, compelling them to wander through the whole world, and, even now, when the Empire is held by barbarians, driving them to seek wealth in the midst of armed camps'. In the language of the fifth century, or, at least in Gaul, 'Syrians' (like 'Lombards' in the Middle Ages) meant bankers. Salvianus speaks of the many merchants and 'Syrians', who owned

the greater part of most of the cities ; Apollinaris Sidonius, describing the topsyturvydom of Ravenna, says that the priests lend money and the 'Syrians' sing psalms. In the Life of St. Geneviève (about 450 A.D.) merchants travelling from Gaul to Antioch are mentioned ; and in the sixth century, there were still settlements of Syrian merchants in Gaul. St. Gregory of Tours speaks of those at Bordeaux and Paris, and clearly distinguishes them from the many Jews. When King Guntram on the 4th July, 585, entered Orleans, he was greeted with songs in Latin, Syrian and Hebrew. In 589 the Council of Narbonne ordained that on Sunday, no Goth, Roman, Syrian or Greek or Jew do any labour. Syrian wines were in favour in Gaul in the fifth and sixth centuries, especially those from Gaza, Sarepta and Ascalon. Charlemagne even employed Greeks and Syrians to correct the Gospels.

(ii) *The Distribution of the Goods*

On the actual distribution little evidence is extant, but sufficient to show that any goods could be transported to any good market, anywhere. Rome was the place most fully supplied ; the wares of all climes and seas and crafts were all assembled there. Aristides says Rome and Corinth ever had a superfluity of the world's work : and, at Alexandria, snow only might not be had. And, according to Libanius, Antioch with its ready market, attracted ships from all parts, laden with all that was best. Other great cities were as amply furnished. Arelate (according to a document of 418 A.D.), by land and sea and river, got wares from the East, Spain, Gaul and Africa.

Articles, found only at a few places, partly outside the Empire, were everywhere on sale. In the Gazetteer of the World of the fourth century, Alexandria is mentioned as the sole distributor of paper ; in the sixth century, paper and other Egyptian goods, such as roots and herbs, were exported to Marseilles, and, no doubt, other Mediterranean harbours. Amongst the valuables exported from Alexandria, the fourth-century Gazetteer mentions spices, no doubt comprising incense, which was in universal demand. Tin, an essential constituent of bronze, was then only known in

Spanish Galicia, West Gaul, the Sorlingian Islands and Cornwall, but was in stock almost everywhere. In the early seventh century even, Alexandrian ships sailed direct to Britain, to barter corn for tin; tin was exported again to India and exchanged anew. The cheapness of amber is shown by its being worn, in Pliny's time, by Lombard peasant women, in necklaces, as amulets against swellings of the throat. In the days of Diodorus even, the products of the ironworks of Elba were scattered all over the world. Many, then, of the Roman-made weapons, so common in the graves of the North from Silesia to Scandinavia, may have come from the smithies at Puteoli; but most came from the semi-civilized frontiers, though some of the Northern finds have the Italian hall-mark. In Denmark, Switzerland, Hanover, Pomerania, England and Scotland, stewpans, bearing the name of Publius Cippius Polybius (or Polybus), have been found, shaped like those at Pompeii: and some of one Nigellus' fabrics at Fünen and the Savoy. Besides the potteries in the Greek Islands (Cnidos, Rhodes and Thasos), which had wide sales, in Roman times potteries arose in Pergamus, Saguntum, Arretium and Mutina (Modena), also exported in every direction, with their famous hall-marks. Lyons also had a brisk trade in clay articles, extending all over Gaul, England, Upper Italy, the Alps, the Tyrol and Hungary, all with the same hall-mark. Alexandria manufactured glass in all the shapes of the imported clay fabrics. The linen of the famous factories of Scythopolis, Laodicea, Byblus, Tyre and Berytus, according to the fourth-century Gazetteer, was also exported everywhere; and so too, says Procopius, the silk of Berytus and Tyre. The tariff of 301 A.D., issued by Diocletian for the East, specifies mostly oriental goods, and some Western fabrics, sold in the East; such as Italian wines (seven sorts), sausages and hams, African carpets, mantles and dresses from Gaul (e.g. the Nervian fabrics; Tournay still is a weaving town), and Numidian, Rhaetian, British clothing: Gallic linen, Tarentine and Asturian wool. In Laodicea Nervian mantles were imitated. According to Galen, so-called Falernian wine was exported everywhere; but, Campania being so small, the dealers must have manufactured something similar. Lastly, of the luxuries of the table, fish sauces came from

Cartagena (*garum sociorum*), tunny-fish sauce (*muria*) and others from Antibes and Byzantium; and from Spain fresh jars of quince-jam went to Rome: one grocer of Reate dubs himself 'Dealer in all transmarine goods'.

§ 3. TRAVEL IN GENERAL

Not only change of residence, official tours, military marches and commercial voyages, but many professions compelled constant travelling. The absence of posts and a press and ancient customs further increased the need.

Very many travelled to gain knowledge. To learn from one's own eyes was more usual than now; for ancient methods taught much more through actual sight; and book-lore was rarer and less perfect. Hence the learned (such as Posidonius, Diodorus, Strabo, Apio, Pausanias, Dioscorides, Apuleius and Galen (who insists on the need of doctors travelling much) required long tours; and less eminent men, too, would wander far a-field to widen their scope. 'The most famous philosophers', says Cicero, 'spent all their days travelling: very many never returned home'. Plutarch's friend, Cleombrotos of Sparta, a rich and leisured man, travelled, for knowledge' sake, visiting even the Troglodytes, the shrine of Ammon, and the shores of the Red Sea. And Cleombrotos, an honourable and high-minded man, could tell unblushingly of a prophet on the Red Sea, who spoke Doric, whose voice was only heard of man once a year: such were the travellers' tales of that time, as to places scarce visited. For personal interviews travels would be undertaken; Galen says he made many voyages by land and by sea, to meet all of the pupils of Quintus the physician. Artemidorus of Daldis, the dream-reader, who was very much in earnest for his science, visited Greece, Italy, Little Asia, and the Islands, to know as many colleagues as possible, and learn from them.

But youth was the time to travel and leave home. Young men regularly left their parents' house to be better educated elsewhere. 'Shall young men leave home and parents and friends and kin', Epictetus asks a sophist, 'to hear you splitting hairs, and to say Oh! at your perorations?' Every province and district in the more civilized parts had its academic

city, to which students came from far and near. Scopelianus the sophist was begged to found a school in his native city Clazomenae, and so raise its fame. Cremona and Mediolanium in Cis-Alpine Gaul were much frequented, as Augustodunum in the region of the Aedui. Carthage in Africa, Apollonia in Epirus and Marseilles were more than provincial cities: at Marseilles Romans went to study. From 6-2 B.C. Tiberius, whilst at Rhodes, was a zealous student: the school was much patronized in later ages as well. In the Asiatic provinces, Tarsus in Cilicia had most students (in Strabo's time, only natives), and, according to Philostratus, Apollonius of Tyana was there educated; thus, too, Antioch, in Syria, was in Cicero's days a centre for learned men and learned studies, and, above all, Smyrna, which taught the youth of Little Asia, Greece, Assyria, Phoenicia and Egypt. 'All the Muses who descend to man', says Aristides, 'haunt Smyrna: she teems with her own sons and with foreigners: the town is the hearth of learning for the Continent'. But Rome, Alexandria and Athens surpassed all. Athens owed her throng of foreign students to her schools of rhetoric and philosophy, and her training-home for men (the *Ephebi* Institute), which was visited largely from the semi-Greek lands, North and South, where it was a glory to have passed through the recognized Hellenic school. In the third century, it was found that Attic had been corrupted by constant intercourse with young Thracians, Pontines and other barbarians. Sometimes there were more foreign *ephebi* than native: in 55 A.D., 114 of the former. Under Marcus Aurelius students came from the entire East, from Arabia and Mesopotamia, Libya and Egypt. Athens and Rome (and, later on, Constantinople), with their State-paid chairs, most resembled the modern German University.

On the other hand, both teachers and students of all kinds led a migratory life. Rhetors and sophists found the nearest road to fame and wealth in educational and lecturing tours. Lucian was intended for a sculptor, but chose oratory: in his *Dream* he makes both court him: Sculpture suggests that her service gives him a fixed home: elsewhere Rhetoric declares she married him, had been a faithful wife, and brought him a dowry of honour and prosperity on his tours in Greece, Ionia, across the sea to Italy, and at last even

in Gaul. The most celebrated teachers then wandered far a-field, as Philostratus' biographies show, very much like the lecturers of the Renaissance. Aristides is excepted by Philostratus, as not travelling much, as having visited only Italy, Greece and Egypt. They began their courses with a panegyric of the city they were staying in; and to the eminent, statues would be thus locally erected: Apuleius congratulates himself that mean towns even granted him this honour.

Not only amongst the rhetors and sophists, but amongst physicians and grammarians the *circulatores* or *περιδευταί* were distinguished from the resident. The physician, Publius Scribonius Primigenius, a freedman, says, on his tombstone, that he was born at Iguvium, had travelled much, and been famous for his skill and his reliability. Quacks also perambulated in this fashion. When there was no post and no press, charlatans obtained most vogue by travelling and making personal acquaintances, as did Apollonius of Tyana, and Alexander of Abonuteichos, who used to send out emissaries in advance, to hawk his fame.

Artists were mostly always on the road. The craving for the artistic side of life throughout the whole Roman world is evidenced by the countless ruins of artistic work in every province; and the huge demand could only have been satisfied by 'colonies, expeditions, swarms or clouds of artists, and artists hovering about, ready to settle down anywhere'. One inscription of a wandering sculptor, Zeno of Aphrodisias, is extant, who, trusting to his art, visited many cities; statues, bearing his name, have been found at Rome and Syracuse.

Actors, musicians and athletes made constant tours, in troops, or singly; especially in Greece and Little Asia, where the smaller towns even had their periodical *ἀγῶνες*; the West imitated them more and more. Even in Demosthenes' day, the cult of Dionysus attracted numberless votaries, and later ages did not fall behind. These 'Dionysian' artists formed regular corporations, dedicated to Dionysus, which played in certain places, or toured about: an Athenian company is mentioned at the end of the fourth century B.C. in an Amphictyonic decree. In the Hellenistic age, drama flourished most in Ionia. The greatest of all the companies there was that of Teos, the City of Dionysus: in Strabo's

time it had moved to Lebedos, and celebrated annual 'festivals there, and all the sections touring about Greece and Little Asia met, sacrificed and competed. In the Empire these companies amalgamated into one, which selected Dionysus, or the New Dionysus the Emperor, as its patron. The theatrical synod at Nîmes was called after Trajan, and is the same as one found in a later inscription 'the Holy Hadrianic Synod of the Honourers of Hadrian, the New Dionysus': it sent decrees to Ancyra in Galatia and Aphrodisias in Caria (one of 127 A.D. was unearthed): it is there called the synod of the artists of the realm (ἀπ' οἰκουμένης). Under Antoninus Pius it was called 'The Great Sacred Antonine Traveling Company of Artists of the whole Empire, honouring Dionysus and the New Dionysus, Antoninus Pius'. It had many sections, some staying for a longer or shorter while at the same place, especially Rome. The athletes, too, formed companies, which often united with the Dionysians. As members of these unions, or independently, famous actors, musicians and athletes regularly toured through Greece, Little Asia and Italy, as their numerous inscriptions show. One Marcus Sempronius Nicocrates says in an epitaph of his own composition that he had been a musician, poet and cither-player, and, above all, member of a synod; his travels by land and sea had given him much trouble. Actors and athletes would often be given the freedom of the cities where they aroused enthusiasm. One Aurelius Charmus, a famous singer, a citizen of Philadelphia, Nicomedia and Athens, won the laurel at all the sacred competitions, from the Capitoline to that of Antioch. An athlete, Marcus Aurelius Asclepiades, a citizen of Alexandria, Hermopolis, Puteoli, Naples and Elis, a senator of Athens, and citizen and senator of many other cities, says he performed in three countries, Greece, Italy and Little Asia; as a poet of the Early Empire says of Glycon the Pergamene pancratiast. A list of buildings, put up by a Corinthian priest, Publius Licinius Priscus Juventianus (? circa 200), mentions inns for athletes, who from the whole world came to the Isthmian games. Festival-givers often invited artists of every kind from the towns most famous, e.g. in the fourth century, charioteers from Laodicea, mimes from Tyre and Berytus, pantomimes from Caesarea, flute choruses

from Heliopolis and athletes from Ascalon. Of course, gladiatorial companies made tours. Of the transport of wild animals over enormous distances to the *venationes* I shall speak later.

Feasts and spectacles, at Rome or in the provinces, attracted countless foreign spectators. The Olympian and the Pythian games assembled all Greece, not only as late as the third century, but even under Julian the Apostate: vehicles were scarce at their conclusion. Peregrinus Proteus burned himself to death at the Olympian Games in 165, the most frequented spectacle of Greece; as Lucian says (he visited the Games four times), to advertise the feat thoroughly well.

At such assemblies traders of all sorts, with an eye to profit, met. Dio of Prusa says that pandars with their girls travelled to the autumn meeting of the Amphictyonic Council at Pylae, and elsewhere. Pandars generally travelled much; the wretches go about, says Clement of Alexandria, by sea, with a cargo of girls, instead of wine. Strabo says, that, at Carura, a place much visited for its springs (on the frontier between Phrygia and Caria), an earthquake swallowed up in one inn a whole such troop. Sempronius Nicocrates abandoned music, as he says, to traffic in beauties—also a migratory business.

Further, even the banished and relegated might attend the great festivals, the Mysteries of Eleusis, the Feast of Dionysos at Argos, the Pythia at Delphi, the Isthmian Games at Corinth. Of the religious festivals, the Eleusinian Mysteries attracted Romans even more than any other: Athens was crowded at that season. Next ranked the Mysteries of Samothrace, especially with the Romans, as it was fabled Troy had thence been colonized: hence many Roman generals and officials were initiated, and endowed the shrine. Thus this distant, inaccessible island was a centre of pilgrimage, as is now Athos, especially in the height of the summer, when the festival was held. Inscriptions in Samothrace record ambassadors from Macedonia, Little Asia and Thrace, Crete, Elis and Rome (whose legates are called *mystae pii*), as well as individuals. 'With the same awe as the modern Greek skipper or wanderer gazes at Athos, his ancestor may have sought the high cliff of Samothrace; and, in both places, a priesthood, equally ignorant, similarly gabbling traditionally

holy formulas, may have impressed the people and sterilized, custom, language and art.' To-day only the shepherd's voice is heard.

Besides these, there were other pilgrimages, to Eresos in Lesbos, where the footmarks are carved upon the flag-stones, and inscriptions read 'Remember the brethren'; to Comana in Pontus, whither, at the procession of the great goddess, both men and women flocked, some in pursuance of a vow to offer sacrifice. This place was also the centre of the Armenian trade, and full of *ἐραῖποι*, who mostly belonged to the temple; a little Corinth. And many, like Apuleius, may have wandered from shrine to shrine and sought manifold initiations and propitiations. And never were the oracles of Greece, Little Asia, Egypt and Italy more visited than in the first two centuries.

Voyages for health were also very common. Doctors are right, says Epictetus, to recommend a change of air for lingering illnesses. Lunacy, constant headaches, paralysis, dropsy, bladder troubles, and especially incipient lung diseases, and spitting of blood were thought curable by a change of climate: consumptives were sent from Italy by sea to Egypt or Africa. Galen says many such consumptives returned seemingly cured, and remained in health for some years, but relapsed owing to excesses in living. Sometimes they were advised residence in pinewoods, or milk-cures in mountains overhanging the sea; Galen recommends, for their situation, air, vegetation and cattle, Stabiae (Castellamare, still so used). In the sixth century, even, Mons Lactarius, near Stabiae, was a home for consumptives; Cassiodorus praises 'the good air of the place, its fertility: the sweet herbs, and the healthy milk, which alone suffice to cure'. Anticyra in the Gulf of Crisa was the most famous place for medicinal preparations: it was more visited by patients than the Anticyra at the foot of Mount Oeta, where the best hellebore grew, for at the former it was better concocted. The temples of Aesculapius, Isis and Serapis, with their hospitals, were very much sought.

Bathing resorts were used as much as they are now, and many of the springs had been discovered, such as Baden, near Zürich (as early as 160 A.D. a busy invalid town), and the *thermae* of Teplitz, Ems, Pyrmont, Aix-la-Chapelle contain

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many Roman implements. Bath was visited very soon after the occupation, and richly fitted up. Many fine ruins are still there of the temple of the goddess Sulis, or Minerva, or other deities, remains of the baths, several artistic fragments (a 'woman's bust of Domitian's time' amongst them). Almost all the inscriptions and dedications are of the end of the first and beginning of the second century ; but the continued popularity of the place may still be inferred, the older buildings being used in reconstructions. Remains of Roman bathing-resorts, often very gorgeous, can be traced along all the Mediterranean coasts, and in Africa, e.g. in Hamam Rirra in Algeria, the Pyrenees, the Carpathians (Mehadia), the Alps and Auvergne. Some of these were also pleasure-resorts, e.g. Baiae, Aedepsus, Canobus. Men also travelled for distraction and recreation.

It will thus be seen that travelling in the Empire was more extensive than in Europe up to the nineteenth century. This impression will be strengthened, after considering tours for recreation and education, the knowledge of which is essential to the student of Roman civilization.

CHAPTER VII

TOURING UNDER THE EMPIRE

I. THE INFREQUENCY AND LIMITEDNESS OF DISCOVERIES—THE GEOGRAPHICAL HORIZON—THE EXTENT AND AIM OF TOURS

THE ease of travelling and the good communications must have been widely felt as an incentive. Voyages were more often then made to gain new impressions and education than now. Pliny calls human nature 'migratory and curious'. 'Many', says Seneca, 'make sea-voyages, endure long journeys alone, for some remote sight. For Nature, self-conscious of her craft and beauty, made us born admirers : her jewels would be lost in a wilderness'. Very many gladly 'traversed unknown cities, visited new seas, were at home everywhere'. The love of roaming, which drove Hadrian through all his provinces, and urged him on 'to see with his own eyes all he had read of in any part', was very general. 'Despite the insecurity of human life', says the Epicurean Philodemus, 'many, and philosophers even, are fools enough to set aside so many coming years for studies at Athens, so many for Greece or barbarian lands'.

But this does not mean that there were then any voyages of discovery. The desire of exploring the unknown was weak in antiquity, and even fancy scarcely passed the limits of knowledge. At its greatest extent, ancient geography knew nothing of a third of Europe, or of Asia save the South-West, or of Africa save the North ; and even on the well-trodden frontiers of the known world, truth could not altogether banish fable, even amongst the learned.

No Columbus dared sail the Western Ocean, which, like the north, was thought, some way off the coast, impenetrable for ships ; and Strabo and Aristides thought a continent

between Western Europe and Asia possible, and Seneca thought that, in a few centuries, the ocean would cease to be an unsurmountable barrier, and a new Tiphys would discover lands beyond Thule.

But the Romans attained no more than this vague idea. The history of their navigation shows how little they understood nature as a study. The extent and the frontiers of the great Empire seemed to invite explorations on the high sea. The masters of the world possessed the Iberian, Lusitanian and Mauretanian coasts, yet scarcely knew of the Atlantic islands off North Africa. Some Andalusian skippers made Madeira (about 19,000 *stadia* from Africa), and described to Gaius Sertorius its soft warm climate, fertility and equableness; it was thought and called Homer's Elysium or the Isles of the Blest. Sertorius yearned to retire to this magic calm from the turmoil of war, but was prevented by his followers. No Roman ever after attempted to reach them. Yet the Canary Islands had been described by Juba of Mauretania, the greatest authority on Africa of ancient times (he married a daughter of Antony and Cleopatra), and by Statius Sebosus, a Roman knight of uncertain date. Pausanias obtained facts as to the satyrs from a Carian sailor Euphemus, who, on his way to Italy, had been blown out into the Atlantic, 'where no one sails'. His ship touched an island inhabited by satyrs. They were red creatures with tails, who, without uttering a sound, attacked the women in the ship; one was abandoned to them.

Between 480 and 450 B.C. Hanno the Carthaginian made an expedition of sixteen days beyond Cape Verde, but the knowledge gained became lost or dimmed. Strabo, for instance, denies the existence of the Isle of Cerne (? Agadir) discovered by Hanno. On the Guinea Coast Hanno was on two nights alarmed by the glowing grass and trees, especially near Sierra Leone, where he called the Sagras mountain the Chariot of the Gods. He landed at the Isle of Harang in the Bissão group, and there saw by day only forests, and at night fires, and heard flutes, cymbals, drums and voices: he left the island affrighted. His facts correspond with modern experience: the heat compels the negroes to rest all day, and conduct their noisy festivals at night. An author, followed by Pomponius Mela and the Elder Pliny, possibly

Cornelius Nepos, fused both tales into one fable. But Mela mentions, as his site, the coast South of the Mountain of the Gods, and Pliny the foot of the Atlas on the West coast. This fabulous range was towards the ocean wild and waste, and on the African side filled with shadowy fruitful trees and springs. By day no man was to be seen; the wayfarer sank into awed silence at the terrible sight of hills piercing the clouds and climbing up to the zone of the moon. At night there was a light of many fires and a din of satyrs and Pans, to the banging of cymbals and the sound of flutes. Pliny, confusing the Mauretanian Atlas with the mountains on the Bay of Bissão, apologizes for his vague and contradictory account by pleading the laziness of the Roman authorities in Mauretania: it had been held since 40 A.D.; there were five colonies in it, and the governors vied in penetrating as far as the Atlas. But their indolence in discovery did not prevent them from lying to conceal their ignorance, and such veracious and authoritative tales found ready credence. Suetonius Paulinus in 41 A.D. was the only Roman general who crossed the Atlas, and nothing resulted. He found the lower heights covered with forests of new, cypress-like trees (now called *ar'ar*), and the summits with eternal snow. Beyond the Atlas he marched through deserts of black sand, in which black, burnt-looking rocks rose up, uninhabitable even in the winter through heat, up to the river Ger (*gir* is, in Berber, flowing water), possibly the Wadi Sus, which flows into the sea South of Cape Ighir ($30^{\circ} 31' \text{ N. Lat.}$). He learnt of people who lived on dog-flesh in a region full of wild beasts, elephants and snakes, and obviously did not try to attain it.

In the middle of the Continent war and commerce pierced further south. In 19 B.C. Lucius Cornelius Balbus marched from Oea (Tripoli) through a people who lived in huts of salt-rock, and a long chain of black cliffs (now Harudj-el-aswad) into Phazania (Fezzan); he conquered many cities and tribes, and carried pictures of them in his triumph: amongst them, Cydamus (Ghadames) and Garama, the capital of the King of the Garamantes (the Tedas: on the site of the abandoned city of Djerma-Kadim, or Old Djerma). Cydamus ($30^{\circ} 15'$) was an ally of Rome and Constantinople until the Arab invasion. Under Justinian the natives were converted to Christianity: the place was permanently garrisoned; and an in-

scription of the reign of Alexander Severus has been found there. The Roman milestones extended, according to Barth, as far as $31^{\circ} 30'$ N. Lat. On the northern edge of the Hammada Barth discovered several Roman graves, two in good preservation, forty-eight and twenty-five feet high, probably the tombs of commandants of the Third Legion, there stationed. The southernmost of these monuments at Old Djerma ($26^{\circ} 22'$) proves the permanence of these Roman settlements. Pliny says, that the way to them was formerly unknown, as the 'robbers of this people' had covered the wells (discoverable to local experts) with sand, but, that after a war they waged against Oea, a road four days shorter had been found, called 'Past the Head of the Rock': probably because this straight westerly road passed by the declivity of the Ghurian at its steepest. Pliny repeats Herodotus on the Garamantes and Troglodytes of Aethiopia; the Garamantes pastured their calves backwards, and the Aethiopians ate snakes, and talked in hisses like snakes. The trade with both races was mostly in jewels, especially, even in Carthaginian times, rubies and garnets. Balbus, in his triumph, showed a picture of Mount Gyri, with a legend that jewels grew on it. Garama was the starting-point of two Roman journeys of discovery into Africa, of which Ptolemy tells. Septimius Flaccus from Garama in three months reached Aethiopia; Julius Maternus, of Great Leptis, also started from Garama, and, like modern Europeans, under the protection of a Garamantian chief, intent on Aethiopian booty, reached Agisymba in four months, 'where the rhinoceroses meet'; a country at least as far South as the watered valley of the Chad.

'The eternal riddle of Africa', the source of the Nile, Nero undertook to solve by a campaign in Aethiopia. His expedition 'went up the White Nile to the great reed-swamps at the mouth of the Keilak and Gazelle river, where the principal stream was called Kir. Amongst the negro tribes thus discovered were the *Syrbolae* (or dwellers on the Syr (or Kir, to-day Shir); the Medimni or Medin, the Olabi (or Eliab), Simbarri and Palugges (so-called by Aristocreon in Pliny, and by Brun Rollet the Barris and Poludjis).

Nero's explorers brought back tales of misshapen men, earless dwarfs with an extra mouth; but, at all times, the unknown becomes the fabulous. The White Nile up to modern

times has been the home of monstrosities, and the natives made up such tales to terrify the elephant-hunter.

Naturally, the East and India were ever being garnished by phantasy. Lucretius makes an impenetrable hedge of the ivory tusks of 'snake-handed elephants' completely shut India off: Virgil makes its trees loftier than any arrow could fly. Dio of Prusa describes India as a Paradise, on the authority of merchants who had visited its harbours, and little else. There streams flowed of milk and honey, oil and wine; the earth of herself gave nourishment to men; the meadows were aglow with flowers, the trees rich in shade and fruit; the birds sang sweeter than any instrument; a mild warmth lasted all the year round, and men, who knew not of disease, age or poverty, lived for 400 years. The people lived a perpetual festival, but the Brahmans devoted themselves to abstinence and contemplation and rigorous asceticism: they drink of the well of wisdom, one taste of which breeds everlasting desire.

And, on the farthest North, legend was persistent. The tale of a happy Hyperborean land of eternal spring, of a half-year day and half-year night, was half-believed in by Pliny. Tacitus says, that, in the North, there was a cold moveless sea of ice, the limit of the world: the sun sinks so near there as to fill the night with radiance and dim the stars, and its splash in the sea had been heard. But the tales of creatures with men's faces and animals' bodies he dismissed. Deme-trius of Tarsus, a learned friend of Plutarch, was commissioned by the Emperor to examine more closely the uninhabited islands scattered about Britain, of which some were called Isles of demons and heroes. He visited the one nearest, whose few inhabitants were deemed sacred by the Britons. A sudden squall ensued, and, he was told, a spirit of the mighty ones had gone up. On one of these barren islands lay Cronos, held captive by Briareus, and many spirits as his retinue. The idea of those coasts being the abode of the dead occurs later in various forms.

But travel generally was limited to a narrower part of the known world. Very few, excepting merchants ventured beyond the frontiers of the Empire. Strabo was of opinion that few geographers would have journeyed farther than he; from East to West he had gone from the East of Armenia

to the West coast of Italy, and from North to South from the Black Sea to the frontier of Aethiopia. Pausanias, on his long distant voyages (in Libya, Egypt, Arabia, Palestine, Little Asia, Greece, Italy, Sicily), had not met any one who had seen Babylon or Susa. On the Danube, in Trajan's time, except merchants and army-contractors, there were few strangers to be seen. In the Empire, journeys for pleasure or instruction were rarely made in the North, to which Tacitus' phrase in reference to Germany applied: that no one would quit Italy to see such countries.

But in the Western provinces travels for mere sight-seeing were common. Gaul and Spain were thoroughly Romanized, and possessed much that was attractive. Gaul was not Cicero's Gaul, but a land of charming scenery and cultured people. Publius Annius Florus, the African poet, after failing in the Capitoline *ἀγών* at Rome in 90 or 94, journeyed afar for distraction to Sicily, Crete, the Cyclades, Rhodes and Egypt, then across Italy by land to the Gallic Alps and the pale Northern peoples; thence Westwards to the Pyrenees, as awesome in their height and eternal snow as the Alps. At last he settled at Tarraco. In Spain Gades, where Posidonius stopped a long time, was a popular tourists' resort. Cicero says that to have seen the mouth of the Black Sea and the gulf, first entered by the Argo, counted for something, as did visiting that torrential ocean strait, which divided Europe from Africa. Aristides, too, designed sailing through the pillars of Hercules, but was prevented by illness. Besides the Temple of Melkarth, or Hercules, at Gades, a very ancient Phoenician building of cedar-wood, may have been an inducement.

Provincials, naturally, aimed first at Rome. Florus at Tarraco met some Baeticians who had just come back from Rome. But most Roman travellers went either to Italy and Sicily or South and East, to Greece, Little Asia and Egypt (after Augustus' reign), as the literature shows. These three countries Pliny the Younger calls nearest to the learned. Ovid (born 43 B.C.) had only seen Sicily, Athens and Little Asia. At his time it may not have been usual to visit Egypt (which was made a province in 30 B.C.). In 8 A.D., on his way to Tomi, in a poem he mentions it as a usual tourists' resort, but he was not, as erewhile, on the way to Athens or

Little Asia, or the regal City of Alexander, or the charms of the Nile. Many remarkable sights near Rome, says Pliny, are unknown, or only hearsay; had they been in some Greece or Little Asia, or Egypt or other tourists' country, they would have been visited. Hence, after Italy, these countries were the most frequented.

II. ITALY—VILLEGGIATURE ON THE COAST AND IN THE HILLS—BAIAE

Italy offered many charming little excursions. Seneca describes how short ramblings by sea and land may afford change of scene and allay weariness. The lusciousness of Campania might rouse a desire for the wilder landscapes and woods of Lucania and Bruttii. Sated with these barren regions, the traveller would go to Tarentum, and thence back to the Roman circus and amphitheatre.

But these tours of relaxation were only for individuals. For the mass, in the summer and early autumn all the roads were thronged with Romans, who left the sultry feverish city empty. As summer residences places easily accessible in the hills and on the Latian and Campanian coasts, and the Etrurian, were chosen. The leaders of the Republic had villas in such spots: Cicero had villas at Arpinum, his favourite one at Tusculum, and at Antium, Astura, Formiae, Cumae, Puteoli and Pompeii; Pompey at Alba, Tusculum, Formiae, in Falernium, Cumae, Baiae, Tarentum, Alsium, and others. And so, too, with leading men in the Empire. The Aurelii Symmachi in the fourth century had fifteen villas, partly near the City, partly at popular places on the Latin coast and in the Bay of Naples. Martial and Statius give lists of the principal summer resorts; there were always imperial villas at them. Of his own Augustus most frequented those on the sea or the islands of Campania (such as Capri), or in towns near Rome (Tibur, Praeneste, Lanuvium). When Martial was sending his fifth book to Domitian, he was uncertain whether the Emperor was enjoying the view of the lake of Nemi on the one side and the sea on the other from the Albanian heights, or was at Antium, 'where the smooth sea is so near Rome', or at Caieta, Circeii, or on the white cliffs of Terracina with their healthful springs. At Tusculum

there were at least four imperial villas, administered by a special procurator and staff, and at least forty private ones.

Thus, change of scenery was amply provided for, and every season or climate could have its villa. 'In Naples', Marcus Aurelius as Caesar writes to Fronto in 143, 'the weather is good but changeable. The nights are mild, as at Laurentum; at cockcrow, it is as cool as Lanuvium; at sunrise as cold as on the Algidus; the forenoon as sunny as at Tusculum; the midday as hot as at Puteoli; the afternoon and evening temperate, as at Tibur'. The Baiae season was in March and April: Nero invited his mother there for the Feast of Quinquatrus (the 19th-23rd March). In the height of the summer people went to Praeneste, Aricia, Tibur, Tusculum, the Anio, or Mount Algidus, a wooded range of hills extending from Tusculum and Velitrae to Praeneste. Many places (like Pliny's Laurentine villa) were suitable for summer and winter alike: Antium was visited not only in the hot season but in the rainy winter solstice: and the coast of Luna (Spezzia) and of the Maremma was protected by high cliffs, and moderate in both winter and summer. Places in South Italy, such as Velia and Salernum, were winter resorts; but Tarentum, the picturesque and remote, with its mild winter and long spring and generous nature, more so even than in Campania, was the great favourite.

Besides the Roman remains at these places, literature evidences the charm of these *villeggiature*. At Centumcellae (Civita Vecchia), according to Pliny's description, Trajan's magnificent villa stood in the midst of green fields, close on the coast, where a harbour was being built (106-7) and an artificial island of massive stone to dam the breakers and give a good entrance on both sides. Its stone front was then even rising out of the water, splashed by the tossing sea. Breakwaters were afterwards built up to the island.

At Alsium (near Palo), where Pompey, and later on Virginius Rufus (who died in 97), built a villa as a home for old age, there are ruins all along the sea some 450 metres in length, extending inland some 200 metres, with mosaic floors, marble walls, ante-fixes, lead water-pipes, isinglass panes; probably the remains of some imperial castles, separately administered. At this 'charming sea-resort' Marcus Aurelius rested for four days in 161 A.D., and Fronto in a letter gently reproached

him for working hard, instead of basking, sleeping in the sun at noon, sauntering by the shore, or rowing on the calm sea, listening to the measured beat of the oars, and at last, after the bath, feasting royally on mussels, fish and *frutti di mare* and other dainty fare.

At Ostia, a very lively place in the second century, where Varro mentions the villa of Seius, Gellius, one summer evening, was rambling with Favorinus and other philosophers, discoursing on the use of virtue to confer happiness; not many years later, perhaps for the feast of the vintage, Minucius Felix, the Christian, was walking there with a Christian and a heathen friend. They walked to the edge of the winding shore, where the curly waves bespattered their shoes on the sand, saw, where the beached boats were resting on tree-trunks, boys playing ducks and drakes, and at last sat down on the extremity of the breakwater that protected the swimmers, to consider the old and the new morality.

The shore from Ostia to Lavinium (Prattica) is now deserted; but then an intermittent row of country-houses lined it, a series of little towns. At Lavinium there was the villa of Pliny the Younger (of which there is a full description) and an imperial villa, into the cool laurel groves of which Commodus in 188 withdrew to flee the plague raging at Rome.

At Astura, on the island formed by the river Astura at its mouth, was a villa of Cicero's; surrounded by a dense wood, land and sea gave it an air of isolation, where grief might be indulged. It looked out on Antium, and the much-visited promontory of Circe. 'The blue rocky sphinx, visible from all parts, guards the entrance to the Paradise of the South from the Pontine Marshes.' There was an imperial villa there.

But Antium, on its long rocky promontory, was, in Republican times even, and yet more under the Empire, the queen of sea-cities, with splendid temples and palaces, invading the domain of the ocean, a favourite resort of the Emperors: Caligula and Nero were born there. From its palaces come many of the greatest works of art, the Belvedere Apollo, and the Borghese gladiator: its ruins extend over three miles; from the depths of the sea remains of this lost majesty emerge through the transparent water: far and near is the coast strewn with priceless pieces of marble, worn smooth

by the waves and covered with gravel (such as verde and giallo antico, pavonazzetto, etc.).

The bay of Terracina (the gulf of Gaeta) was also lined in with handsome sea-towns, with villas and country-houses in between. Martial once spent the early spring with his friend Faustinus at his villa near Anxur, when the earth was decking herself, and the nightingales were singing. He enjoyed resting there in the sunshine in his tunic, in the park, with brooks around him, on the firm sand on the river bank; with the sunlit heights reflected in the waters, and his bedroom overlooking the sea and the river (the canal that ran beside the Via Appia to Rome). On the Monte Sant' Angelo (Collis Neptunius) the ground floor of a Roman palace with a splendid view is still to be seen. Near Terracina, amongst other 'huge caves, with magnificent buildings in them' (Strabo) was the Villa Spelunca (Sperlonga) between the vine-clad heights of Fundi and the sea, where Sejanus, dining with Tiberius in a natural cave, saved Tiberius' life, at the risk of his own, as the roof fell in.

Next ranked the coast of Caieta, studded as it was with villas, and Formiae, where Martial's friend, Apollinaris, had a villa, enjoyed much more by the domestics than by their master. There a gentle wind stirred the surface of the calm sea and forwarded the gaily painted boat on. A visitor might fish from his bedroom window, lying on his pillows, and the fish-pond was stocked with the most expensive sorts. Sergius Julius Frontinus also had a villa at Formiae; and Symmachus calls the bay the abode of the Graces. Minturnae on the Liris, with the grove and temple of the nymph Marcia, was the residence of Apicius the glutton; and Castricius Firmus, the honourer of Plotinus, also had a house there. On the coast between Cumae and Misenum was the villa of Servilius Vatia, which was described by Seneca: its ruins are still to be seen, with two artificial grottoes, one of which never sees the sun, and the other sees it all day, and a canal from the sea through a plane-grove leading to the Lacus Acherusius, in which fishing went on when the sea was too rough. The pleasures of Baiae without the disadvantages could there be had.

But recreation and distraction was mostly found in the Gulf of Naples, under the great crater, even in the late

Republic. The road from Misenum to Surrentum was a pearl necklace of cities and villas, almost continuous: the choice of residence was immense. Statius, in his poem to his wife, mentions one part, bidding her leave Rome and come to his abode, where summer and winter were mild, and a calm sea, peace and quiet invited a leisurely life. For there lay Naples, the city of temples and columned public places, its theatres covered and open, where a periodical festival was held, ranking next to the Capitoline. There merriment ruled, and a freedom combining Roman dignity and Greek licence. The neighbourhood was a delightful one: one could visit the shore of Baiae, or the Sibyl's grotto at Cumae, or Misenum, or the grape clusters of Gaurus or Capri; from Capri a lighthouse vied with the moon: or the vineyards of Bacchus, and the heights of Surrentum, beloved of the other gods, or the healing waters of Ischia.

These places and others are often mentioned as resorts for relaxation. Many, like Virgil, were glad to leave the bustle of Rome for ever and live in Naples the peaceful and enjoyable, 'the city of idle repose', 'a Greek colony with Greek leisure, games, art and learning, down to the destruction of the prosperity and culture of Italy'. Others retired there after an active life, such as Silius Italicus, who owned several country-houses at Naples, richly decorated with statues and busts. The name of one of the villas has come down; Pausilypon (Sans-souci) has become the name of the hills between Naples and Puteoli: it belonged to Vedius Pollio, who used to feed his lampreys with fat slaves. The tunnel through it was cut by Cocceius at Agrippa's order. Seneca, one day, on the way from Baiae to Naples, chose the land-route, and escaped sea-sickness to suffer the oppression of the dust of this dark torchlit *crypta Neapolitana*. At Puteoli, a harbour town, a favourite place for building in Cicero's days, Gellius once spent his summer holidays with the rhetor Antonius Julianus, and there the great Greek grammarian Herodian composed his *Convivium*. At Misenum, Lucullus built a lofty villa with a view over the Gulf of Naples and the Tuscan Sea: the Emperors afterwards held it: Tiberius often stayed there, and it was there he died.

The opposite coast, before the first known outbreak of Vesuvius in 79 and its ravages, was quite different in appear-

ance. Except the crater, apparently extinct, the entire mountain was covered with fields and vineyards: the view from Capri, says Tacitus, was splendid, before the changes wrought by Vesuvius. Martial, writing in 88, says, that ashes now covered the finest vine presses; and on those heights, beloved of Bacchus, satyrs had danced, and the cities of Venus and Hercules had stood. Stabiae (Castellamare) was overwhelmed with ashes at the same time; its neighbourhood was used as a residence for patients on a milk-cure. The height of Surrentum must have been most richly garnished with villas: on the South-West promontory stood a temple of Minerva, after whom the Cape is named to the present day. Statius' description of the villa of Pollius Felix of Puteoli between the Capes of Surrentum and Massa, gives an idea of the beauty and splendour of these houses. The wine of this coast stood in comparatively high favour: besides Bacchus, Minerva, Neptune and Venus seemed to have been patron-deities: Virgil invokes Venus to aid him to finish the poem in glorification of her son.

Augustus received Capri from Naples in exchange for Ischia and adorned it with palaces. Tiberius stayed there eleven years (26-37 A.D.). He erected twelve villas, named after the principal gods: a few ruins remain; the fragments of his own residence, the villa of Jupiter, are less scanty: it was at the North End of the island near the foundations of the lighthouse mentioned by Statius. 'What a wonderful sight the beautiful island must have been, adorned with temples, arcades, statues, theatres, and parks and roads, and its heights with marble palaces.' The view from the villa of Jupiter over the whole gulf, and the Gulf of Salerno and the open sea was incomparable.

'Thus all the shore from Toscana to Terracina, from Terracina to Naples, and round the Gulf up to Salerno, was lined with marble palaces, baths, gymnasia, temples, a wreath of Roman splendour. Any one then walking along the beach, and seeing all these abodes of pleasure, competing with the towns, must have rejoiced at the magic of civilization. To-day, on this Elysian coast, there are only the weather-beaten keeps of the Middle Ages, built to guard against pirates.'

Naturally the coasts remoter from Rome, and less accessible, were not as much visited as the West coast: but

they were not left deserted. Scyllacium (Squillace—the Gulf of Squillace in Calabria) is described by Cassiodorus. The town lay grape-shaped on hills overlooking the bay, with views on the blue sea and green fields. It received the full light of the rising sun ; the winter was sunny and the summer cool : the fisheries were rich : Cassiodorus had a fishpond there. Out of the town, vineyards, cornfields and olive woods might be seen ; it was pure country. The excellent situation made many who came there to rest, visit it and occasion expense to the city council.

On the East coast, there were also magnificent pleasure-resorts and villas. Nero's paternal aunt Domitia owned properties at Baiae and Ravenna ; and he poisoned her to secure them for himself. At both places he built pleasure-houses, which were kept up to the days of Cassius Dio. A decision of Celsus the jurist (under Trajan and Hadrian) refers to a tennis-hall being erected in the Park of one Aurelius Quietus at Ravenna, and the repair of the heating-pipes : Quietus went there every summer. 'Altinum, a harbour, between Patavium and Aquileia was, in Martial's time, filled with villas like those at Baiae, and like the canals of the *terra ferma* at Venice : it was so beautiful that Martial wanted to die there, as Horace did at Tibur.' Probably, when Ravenna became a capital after Diocletian, the Adriatic coast was more and more sought after. Cassiodorus praises Istria, a region rich in wine, oil and corn, as the Campania of Ravenna, with its Baiae, more than one Avernus, fish-ponds and oyster-basins. 'The castles (*praetoria*) are strung together like pearls.' Off the coast, there was a chain of islets.

Of the mountains of Italy, both in the Republic and under the Empire, the Albanian and Sabine ranges near Rome were most used as country residences. On to the walls of the Roman villas were built medieval castles and town settlements, e.g. Frascati and Albano ; Albano was the camp of the Second Parthian Legion, before the reign of Constantine, and is built up of fragments of villas : Domitian's villa seems to have been near the Villa Barberina between Albano, and Castel Gandolfo. The wild banks of the Anio, also, were lined with country-houses, amongst them, Nero's palace at Subiaco.

Perhaps the most naturally beautiful was Tibur (Tivoli): its palaces were gorgeous—the villa of Manilius Vopiscus is described by Statius, and is an instance—but the huge villa of Hadrian was the most splendid: it had two wings, East and West, and other sections named after famous places, such as Canopus, Tempe; three centuries of spoliation and collection (since Pope Alexander VI) have not exhausted the works of art it contains.

BAIAE

Very many travellers started out by the Via Appia, which went straight over the Albanian Hills; and thence to Campana and Puteoli and Brundisium, Italy's two chief harbours: the fine busy road was also much used for shorter journeys. On it, the rich man, weary of the town, would drive in a frantic hurry to his Albanian villa, there to be bored and return to Rome. On it many a fine lady, with her retinue of men, as Propertius' Cynthia, travelled, ostensibly to do honour to Juno at Lanuvium; herself the great sight, driving her horses—as women frequently did; to the poet's disgust a rival of his was accompanying her, in a richly upholstered carriage with silk curtains, and two Molossians with collars leaping alongside. Or some upstart freedman might be showing his expensive ponies. Women also made pilgrimages with wreaths in their hair, and bearing torches to fulfil some vow to Diana at the wooded lake Nemi, 'Diana's Mirror'; there in the heat of the summer a great festival was celebrated, and water and land alike, day and night, glistened with torches. Young men, too, will have followed Ovid's advice, and availed themselves of this opportunity. The popularity of the spot is vouched for by a settlement of beggars, about the end of the first century, between the Vallariccia and Ganzano.

But now the 'Queen of roads' is a desolation; on both sides of it stretches the undulating green Campagna, with ruins of arches of *cloacae*, and here and there some dull house. Occasionally, a two-wheeled carriage with piled wine-casks rolls over the ancient stones, or the mounted shepherds of the Campagna drive their droves of sheep and kine, and the dreary song of the field-labourer echoes in the distance

And, beyond Alba and Lanuvium, the Via Appia hummed with life, for travellers streamed to Campania or the Gulf of Naples, a natural Lotus-eaters' land, to seek health, recreation or license. Baiae was the first of the pleasure-cities of antiquity, 'the golden shore of the Goddess of Love, the gracious gift of proud Nature'; her smooth shore was ringed in with green hills. There dwelt the Nereids. There were various natural springs, the hot sulphur baths, built over the springs, being most used. Baiae catered alike gorgeously for the cure of the sick and the pleasures of the sound; in it were many imperial palaces, and each succeeding monarch sought to outdo his predecessor. The most important coast buildings are represented on rough glass ware of the period of decay, with legends such as lighthouse, Nero's pond, oyster pond, the second pond, the wood, the park, probably intended as presents or souvenirs. Villas were built on the heights, or on the shore, or into the sea. They almost always had gardens, which were artificially laid out, and with their alleys of myrtles and planes and shorn hedges occupied much room. There were many shady arbours. A poet finds the place particularly well suited for meetings for Mars and Venus, as Vulcan was kept off by the waters and the Sun could not spy through the trees. A real country home, like that of Faustinus, the friend of Martial, with stacks of corn and vintages, herds of cattle and poultry-yards would have been exceptional at Baiae. The magnificent villas were a city in themselves, and continually extending. At least in the early second century, Old and New Baiae were distinguished (Hadrian died at the former on the 17th July, 117 A.D.). And, later, the town grew yet more; Alexander Severus erected palaces and other buildings, and laid out great ponds of sea-water; for 500 years it was the greatest fashionable resort of the ancient world. In Cicero's time the air was considered unhealthy in summer: the charge is not repeated. Possibly the further building removed the noxious influences; in the sixth century Cassiodorus mentions its salubrity. In time, desolation brought on malaria; but even in the Middle Ages the place was visited. In 1191 Alcadinus, the physician of Henry VI, describes thirty-one baths at Puteoli and Baiae. Petrarch calls this coast pleasant in the winter, but dangerous in the summer.

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Boccaccio mentions the liveliness of the spot, and also its immorality. The baths were frequented in the fifteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century; but Baiae was in 1538 destroyed by a subterranean fire.

In antiquity Nature and art vied to make Baiae unique. The incomparable beauty of the situation, the gorgeousness of the palaces, the luxury, the clear air and bright sky, all combined to make the moment delightful; and festivals followed on ceaselessly. On the gentle sea, countless light boats were swaying, sometimes a princely galley; and there were races. Parties were held on board, or on the shore, the guests wearing rose-wreaths; drunkenness was a common sight. From daybreak to sunset the shore rang loud with songs and music. Lovers whispered together on the shore, or were rowed about on the Lucrine Lake or Avernus, or sought the solitudes of the myrtle avenues above Baiae. The cool star-lit evenings induced feasts and outings, and sleep was disturbed by serenades, or rivals' quarrels. The life of Baiae was proverbially dissolute. Varro devoted a special satire to it; he says maidens were common property, and many old men became children and boys girls. Cicero feared ill-fame from visiting Baiae at a time of public misfortune. Seneca calls it the home of vice. Wastrels, whom insolvency had expelled from Rome, squandered their borrowed money here on oysters. Women were constant visitors: many a man, says Ovid, instead of a cure, got a wounded heart. Once, another poet says, the water at Baiae was cold; but Venus made Cupid swim in it; a spark from his torch fell in, and set it on fire: henceforth any bather there falls in love. For female virtue the place was not recommended. Many a love-entanglement, says Propertius, was here solved. Martial tells of a Penelope who arrived at Baiae, and left a Helena; probably not unprecedented. Gellius, and those who sought modest pleasures, preferred Puteoli. But, as Synmachus says, the neighbourhood was not implicated in this license: he lived there 'without songs on boats, without profligacy at banquets'.

III. SICILY

After Italy, Sicily was the nearest place for short excursions; the attractions were its natural wonders, Etna, the mild winter, the beauty and fame of its cities, both historical and legendary. Such was the tale of the Rape of Proserpine at Enna, a meadow so redolent with violets and scented flowers, as to throw hounds off the scent: after this sight, came the gulf out of which Pluto sprang forth, and the ancient Temple of Ceres. In Republican days, Sicily was a favourite touring resort: Cicero says there is scarcely ever a cloudy day. 'Most of you', he is addressing the jurors of Verres, 'have seen the quarries at Syracuse'. Ovid stayed there a long time with his friend Macer. He mentions as the principal sights Etna, the Lakes of Enna, the Anapus, the springs of Cyane and Arethusa, and the Palici; two little, deep, milk-coloured lakes out of which water is continually boiling forth with a strong smell of sulphur and a roar; there oaths were made, as perjuries of such oaths were instantly punished by the Gods. Near by was a richly decorated temple, an asylum for runaway slaves. Caligula, after Drusilla's death, found distraction in sailing along the coast of Campania and Sicily to Syracuse, and enjoyed the several sights, but fled from Messana in sudden panic from the smoke and rumble of Etna. The ascents of Etna will be mentioned later on. Seneca, speaking of the stages to Syracuse, says the traveller first sees the real Charybdis, which is only voracious under an East wind, and the spring of Arethusa, the poets' theme, with its mirror-like, ice-cold water; and next, the quietest and safest of all harbours, defying even the worst of storms; and then the place where the Athenian strength was broken, where the stone quarries with their enormous depth swallowed up thousands; and the huge town, bigger than the environs of many other towns; and the traveller enjoys a mild cloudless winter. Firmicus Maternus, the astrologer, composed his work in Sicily about 350 A.D., and, in the dedication to his friend Mavortius Lollianus, mentions the information on Sicily given by him to Lollianus when on a visit; on Scylla and Charybdis, the eruptions of Etna, the Lakes of the Palici, and whatever else he had read in Latin or Greek of the wonders of the province.

IV. GREECE

The next common mark was Greece. In Greece Rome revered the source of her civilization, and the land of ancient fame, with its glorious past of history and legend. 'Fame stays, but greatness goes', ran a Latin epigram, 'we seek the ashes of the fallen and in the tomb they are sacred'. In Greece, every inch of ground had its association; every step took one past some historical landmark, some monument of supreme art; her cities and temples had been ever visited since the Punic Wars. 'Most of you', Livy makes the Rhodian Embassy in 191 B.C. speak in the Senate, 'have seen the cities of Greece and Asia'. In the autumn of 167 B.C., Aemilius Paulus travelled through Greece to see 'things rumoured great, perhaps too great'. The Roman general visited the most celebrated temples (Delphi, Lebadea, Oropus, Epidaurus, Olympia) and cities (Athens, Corinth, Sicyon, Argos, Sparta, Pallantium, Megalopolis) and places memorable like Aulis, or remarkable, like Chalcis, with its dam over the Euripus: he was most impressed by Olympia, where Phidias' Zeus impressed him as a present deity.

Greece never recovered from its devastations by Rome from 88-33 B.C. Under Roman administration the country revived, and, under the Antonines, the province of Achaia had numerous villages and small towns and 100 larger cities. But some regions, like Aetolia, remained desert, and the more prosperous never reached the level of the Mithridatic Wars. A mere shadow of her former self, her decay seemed to allure Roman visitors all the more. The stillness and solitude enhanced the idea of her great past. Many of her cities were cities but in name, such as Panopeus in Phocis, once proud and populous, in Pausanias' day, a collection of huts, no palace or theatre, no ἀγορά, no gymnasium, not even a spring. In Thebes only the citadel, the *Kadmeia*, was partly inhabited, and called Thebes; of the lower city, only the gates and the shrines remained. At other places sheep fed in front of the Council Hall, and the gymnasium was ploughed over, a few marble statues jutting out, or mere pedestals, inscribed with the name of the lost figures. Many other cities were in ruins: the country was unpeopled: in the wildernesses, the traveller, like Dio

of Prusa, might meet herdsmen and hunters who had never beheld a city, knew only their own scattered huts, and, aloof from civilization, had the simplicities of primitive man.

But most travellers visited only cities rich in ruined relics of the past, or that had, under Roman rule, preserved or even increased their grandeur. The prosperity of Athens had been destroyed by Sulla; but in her calm desolation, she was peerless and beautiful. Ovid saw her in her greatest decline, and could imagine what she had been in the fullness of her days: envy, he says, must weep and grieve at the spotless splendour of Athens. Even the unartistic Roman was entranced at the magic of Pericles' Athens: after 500 years, its glory was undimmed: its youth seemed eternal. In the second century the city, which under Trajan was still sunk deep, received a kind of after-math of life. Hadrian built on the South-East a new 'Hadrian's city', centring round the colossal Temple of Zeus with its 120 columns: he also erected a library with 120 pillars of *pavonazzetto* and a gymnasium with 100 of *giallo antico*. His new water-works, from Cephisia to the new city, were completed by Antoninus Pius in 140 A.D. Herodes Atticus the sophist added further buildings, principally the Odeum at the foot of the Acropolis. Severus, afterwards Emperor, visited Athens as a legionary legate, 'for the sake of studies, the Eleusinian mysteries, the buildings and antiquity'.

Under Marcus Aurelius Aristides poured forth panegyrics on Athens and Attica. He calls Athens still the greatest of Greek cities and the fairest of all, beautified by Nature and by art. Nature gave her her harbours, her acropolis, and her soft breathing grace; her air, finer in the town than in the country, although all Attica may be known by the brilliancy of its atmosphere. Art gave her the greatest and fairest temples, the masterpieces of sculpture, and the best libraries, and baths and racecourses and gymnasia, all gorgeous: Athens outstrips all other cities, not only in her excellences, but in theirs as well. She lies like an island with a chorus of isles around her. The delight of seeing Attica may be known from merchants or others who constantly visit her, whose soul is uplifted and purified at the sight. The light there is stronger and fuller, as though

Athene, as in Homer, took a veil from the eyes of the comer : on all sides so much, so various beauty surrounds, that walking seems a dance of joy and the voyage a happy dream. Who would not admire the loveliness of the ground stretching from the Acropolis down to the town and the coasts, and partitioned off by the mountains ? Who would not wonder at the glory and charm of those mountains, whose bosoms contain the marble for thanksgivings to the Gods ? Thus the variety of Attica makes her a microcosm, a perfect harmony of land and sea and hill and dale.

Athens attracted the art-lover, the antiquarian and the scientist : Corinth, in her way, was equally seductive. Athens and Corinth differed much as did Rome and Naples of to-day : at Athens, calm and earnestness and the monuments of the past ; at Corinth the noise and bustle of modern pleasure. The situation of Corinth was even more beautiful than that of Athens. From Acrocorinth there was a view, to the North, over the Bay of Crisa to the snow-peaks of Parnassus and Helicon, described by Strabo. One hundred years after its destruction by Mummius in 146 B.C., Corinth was refounded by Julius Caesar as a Roman colony, *Laus Julia Corinthus*. As the residence of the governor of Achaia, it shone with new buildings, a colonnade from the harbour of Lechaëum to Acrocorinth, mentioned by Statius, a temple of Capitoline Jupiter and many others. Hadrian had a huge aqueduct built from the valley of Stymphalus in the mountains, and erected *thermae*. It lay on two seas and had two harbours, Cenchreae and Lechaëum ; the same wind would permit to sail into the one and out of the other : thus Corinth was a meeting-place for all men, and soon grew rich again, as a market frequented by Greeks at all seasons, a place for festivals, a real metropolis of Greece. In the style of its buildings and its population, Corinth was only half-Greek. The Roman element influenced life and manners, and spread gladiatorial contests and beast-fights all over Greece. The refuse of East and West also met at this point.

Corinth, too, received a panegyric of Aristides at the Isthmian Games in honour of Poseidon. It still was the city of Aphrodite, which, like Homer's belt of Aphrodite, concealed so much beauty, charm and love as to be irresistible, even to the strongest ; also the city of the Naiads,

whose springs bubbled up in all parts, and of the Horae but, above all, the Court of Poseidon, who set her floating in the stream of the world's wealth. In books, too, Corinth was also rich. In all parts gymnasia and schools were to be seen : foreign students also came, such as Galen to hear Numisianus the physician. Her legendary and historical fame was second to none.

After Corinth, the shrine of Aesculapius at Epidaurus was the spot most visited by Romans. Under the Emperors it gained new vogue. The sacred sanatorium was secluded by mountains, and walled off as well. Inside the demesne of the temple, 'the dense grove spread out and guests and patients lay in its shade. In it also were the various sacrificial buildings ; the huge ruins testify to its magnificence'. Antoninus Pius extended the conveniences, adding a mortuary and a house for births outside the holy ground, in which none might be born or die. This enclosed valley must have been one of the loveliest spots in Greece, with its decorated temples and banqueting-halls, between the wooded heights, studded as they were with shrines ; both a beautiful garden and a rich museum of art, filled with the monuments of the centuries of the fame of the Epidaurian God.

A catalogue of the more celebrated towns, their temples and works of art and treasures, their historical relics, would alone fill a volume : of these, beloved of the friends of art and history, mention will be made later. Aedepsos in Euboea was a pleasure-resort on the sea : it had hot sulphur springs, which are still in use, and was an assembly-place of Greece ; Romans also came there, as did Sulla. Aedepsos was liveliest in the spring. Residences with halls and reception-rooms were provided for the guests, and the baths skilfully laid out : land and sea made the banquets on the shore a rare enjoyment. Yet the license of Baiae did not obtain at Aedepsos ; the society and its pleasures were better. Now Aedepsos is buried beneath masses of yellow travertin, deposited by the laden springs, and piled up to a height of 100 feet, a ten minutes' ascent.

V. THE GREEK ISLANDS AND LITTLE ASIA

Most Roman tourists to Greece also visited Little Asia. The islands of the Aegean, desolate and the homes of banishment, could only make the voyager muse on mortality: he would not stay. Relegation to Seriphus, Pholegandros, Gyaros, mere rocks inhabited by fishermen, was the severest punishment: to be condemned to a larger or more hospitable island, such as Andros or Naxos, was a mitigation. Only to visit a friend in misfortune, or to recall the scene of a past exile, would travellers put in at these rocks. When Musonius Rufus was banished to Gyaros, many Greeks sailed there to meet the great philosopher, and, afterwards, to see a spring he had discovered on the waterless island. In a cave in Pholegandros, amongst the names inscribed are some Roman.

Delos, too, once so populous, which was created a free port, as the centre of the trade between East and West between 168-88 B.C., had been ravaged by Menophanes, the general of Mithridates, and never recovered. The Romans restored the island to Athens, who possessed it down into the Late Empire: Pausanias found it depopulated, save for the guard round the temple. Yet Romans, travelling to Asia, like Cicero in 51 B.C., must often have landed there. At Delos the sites of history and legend were visited; the palm seized hold of by Latona, at the birth of Apollo, still shown: Ovid mentions two of them which he saw. And the shrines with their pillared halls, their sacred gifts from kings, the famous horn altar (built by Apollo as a boy) and the statues would all be seen.

Of the larger islands, Chios, Samos, Rhodes and Lesbos would be the most sought: Cicero exalts Mytilene, the capital of Lesbos, as a city, beautiful in its regularity, its architecture and its environs. Agrippa retired to Mytilene to avoid any suspicion of thwarting Marcellus, the Emperor-designate: in 32 A.D., Junius Gallio was not allowed the easy exile of Mytilene. A Roman villa in Lesbos has been discovered in an excellent situation. 'The thick woods, the refreshing sea-breeze, the view of the bay and heights of Asia and the healthy climate, made the island enjoyable, and Mytilene a beloved abode of the Romans.'

But Rhodes, the capital of which was the most important town in Greece, was the main objective of the Romans. Rhodes the splendid, as Horace calls the town, according to Strabo, was unrivalled by any other Greek city : in Vespasian's time, it was the most populous and prosperous in Greece, until the earthquake of about 150 A.D. shattered it utterly. Aristides in a speech warm with the immediate awfulness of the catastrophe, says that the greatest city of Greece has been smitten with the greatest of blows. Just before he had seen her, as splendid, as in her thalassocracy, as new, as if just built, and worthy of the name of the City of the Sun-God. Her harbour was crowded with ships from Ionia, Caria, Egypt, Cyprus and Phoenicia, and the breakwaters extended far into the sea, and her dockyards were from afar like vast fields of swaying corn : the triremes, trophies of ships' heads and other memorials of ancient victories, recalled her freedom and greatness of old. The city rose up in a semicircle from the shore : it had been built in 404 B.C. by Hippodamus of Miletus. Her acropolis was full of gardens and parks ; her streets broad and straight ; the architecture uniform. The strong walls, with their high and beautiful towers, were a special feature, and a landmark at sea ; the space within them so filled that they seemed to wreath the city in. Her temples and shrines teemed with statues and pictures : Rhodes was the only town that escaped Nero's artistic ravages. According to Licinius Mucianus, the town (like Athens, Delphi and Olympia) had 3,000 statues. ' Even after the earthquake', Aristides expatiates, ' what was left of her sculpture would sate many other cities'. Further, the scenery and climate of the island made an acceptable abode to the Romans. Tiberius lived there for seven years, and studied astrology. His house, like the Villa of Jupiter at Capri, stood on a cliff sheer over the sea, from which he used to hurl any companions he suspected. Nero, too, when pretending to abdicate, in order to evade Agrippina's regency, selected Rhodes for his retirement.

In 18 A.D. Germanicus made an unusual tour from Athens through Euboea and Lesbos, the coast of Asia, Perinthus, Byzantium and the Propontis and the Pontus : he was carried by zeal ' to see the places of ancient fame' : but contrary winds prevented him from seeing Samothrace on his

return. The Northern coast and islands were left alone by most voyagers, but 'Ilion, the mother of Rome', was not missed.

Ilion, a small city of Aeolian Greeks (now Hissar-lik, the palaces) was altogether inconsiderable, until the Roman occupation of Asia, a mere village without walls or tiled roofs: but the reputation of being the ancient Troy had never been contested: the inhabitants declared they were descended from Trojan refugees. Pallas Athene, to whom Hecuba and Andromache had prayed, was the patroness of the new town, and Xerxes and Alexander had made sacrifice to her: Alexander was shown, in her temple, the lyre of Paris and the armour of the heroes of the Iliad. The Romans accepted the tradition, and made their mother-city the mistress of the whole coast, immune from taxes, and generally favoured it. Thus privileged, Ilion prospered. In 85 B.C. Fimbria the Marian took Ilion the Sullan city by treachery, demolished the walls and burnt the city down, including the temple of Athene. Even Agamemnon, says Appian, did not do her as much injury: for not a temple or house or statue was left standing: it was asserted that the statue of Athene alone remained unscathed. Sulla gave some privileges to the Ilians; Julius Caesar was very benign to what he deemed the cradle of his race. He increased its territory and confirmed its independence and immunity. In 26 A.D. Ilion and ten other Asian cities vied for the honour of erecting a temple to Tiberius: Ilion preferred her claim as the mother-city of the Julii, but was refused, as only possessing the authority of unquestionable tradition. In 53 A.D. Claudius made Ilion immune from further obligations, especially from contributing troops. Her advocate in the Senate was Nero, then sixteen years old, who affirmed the descent of Rome from Troy, and the Julii from Aeneas. A rescript of Antoninus Pius confirmed its freedom and immunity from the guardianship of non-Ilian children, alleging the fame of the city and Rome's ancestry. This belief was official and general.

A scientific assault was now delivered on the fame to which Ilion owed her new prosperity. Demetrius, a famous philologist, and Hestiaeus, a critic of Homer, contested the identity of Troy and Ilium; asserting that Troy lay thirty *stadia* away

at the 'Village of the Ilienses', now Bunarbashi. Both of them came from neighbouring cities, Skepsis and Alexandria Troas, and may have been actuated by local jealousy : but the attack was dangerous, as coming from the centre of Greek learning, Alexandria. The learned world welcomed this view, and Strabo confirmed it : but it scarcely spread in Greek cultured society, and did not obtain any footing in Rome, whose reverence for Ilium was too deep-seated. Romans loved making pious pilgrimages to every classic spot in the town.

And the inhabitants satisfied this pious erudition. Conscientious tourists, 'crammed with the local antiquities', no doubt, went with their guide outside the town, on to the plain and the sea, to view every place of combat. They were shown where both hosts had encamped ; where the Greek ships had lain, and every other spot in the Iliad, such as the fig-tree (according to Strabo, a desolate part with wild fig-trees), the beech, the monument of Ilus, and so on ; the cave in which Paris delivered judgment, which Diodorus calls 'godly'. The graves of the heroes who there fell or died were also shown : and, to prove that Anchises was buried at Mantinea, Pausanias says his grave is not shown by the Ilians. At the tombs of Ajax at Rhoeteum, and Achilles, Patroclus and Antilochus at Sigeum, the Ilians offered sacrifice, as, no doubt, many travellers also did, e.g. Caracalla at the grave of Achilles, and Apollonius of Tyana (according to Philostratus). At the tomb of Protesilaus stood the trees which always withered when high enough to catch a glimpse of Ilium and then grew anew. The statue of Pallas, which fell from Heaven and was stolen by Diomedes, the Ilians could not exhibit : it was at Rome, as one of the evidences of the truth of the legend. Other relics were anvils which Jupiter had hung on to the feet of Juno, preliminarily to punishing her.

In Lucan's poem Caesar visits the district after the battle of Pharsalus : the poet, whilst staying at Athens, may have made an excursion out to Ilium and incorporated his impressions. According to him, barren woods and decaying trunks rooted in the palaces of kings and the temples of gods : Pergamus lay lost in a wilderness of shrubs. He saw the rock to which Hesione was bound, and Anchises' room

in the jungle; the cave in which Paris judged the goddesses; the spot at which Ganymede was ravished by the eagle; the rock on which Oenone, the nymph, used to play: no stone without its name. He carelessly stumbled on a dried-up brook, the Xanthus; and walked heedlessly in the high grass and was warned not to disturb the ashes of Hector. A few scattered stones: no sign of a shrine; but his guide said it was the altar by which Priam fell.

This coast of Little Asia abounded in attractive scenery. Ionia excelled the climate of Greece. The famous ancient temples were here: at Colophon, which Germanicus visited in 19 A.D. to consult the oracle, and at Ephesus and Miletus; also the fairest cities, all generously provided with the modern splendours, and baths in especial. Ephesus and Smyrna were the principal of these: they are mentioned by Dio of Prusa, with Tarsus and Antioch, as models for his native Prusa: probably they were the most visited by travellers. Ephesus was a rich commercial town in Asia and the treasury of the country; under the Romans the capital of the province and one of the most populous and beautiful cities of the world.

But, in Strabo's time, Smyrna had the fame of being fairest of them all, although the streets were dirty and had no drainage. This defect was remedied later, and the city was enlarged and embellished in the first two centuries, and earned its title of the 'first city of Asia in greatness and beauty, the most splendid and the metropolis'. Lucian calls Smyrna the finest of all the Ionian cities: Philostratus the most beautiful under the sun: it was generally designated in inscription as 'the beautiful', as Aristides, who described it before the destructive earthquake of 178, called it. It rose from the sea like an amphitheatre; the view from all points was magnificent, from the top there was a panorama of the sea, the suburbs and the town. From within Smyrna was even fairer. The charm was so great that she seemed born, not made. Gymnasias, public places, theatres, temples and their precincts abounded; baths in plethora; walks, covered and open; wells and springs for every house and in excess; the streets as broad as the squares and straight, at right-angles, with marble pavements, and two-floored arcades. There were also schools of all sorts, native and

foreign; a superfluity of fighting-contests, spectacles and other distractions; an eternal competition between the art of man and the art of nature: the climate fine; in both spring and summer cooled by the Westerly wind: a city, suited to both nations (the Greek and the Roman), for work and for leisure. Scholars from all three continents came to her schools. Scopelianus, a famous sophist of the end of the first century, selected Smyrna (according to Philostratus) as his best centre; for Smyrna was the chief muse of all the Ionian cities, the bridge on which their strings were set. Great teachers in all sciences were always at hand: Galen, in his twenty-first year (151), went to Smyrna, to hear Pelops, a pupil of Numisianus, and the Platonist Albinus.

VI. EGYPT

The accessible province of Asia might be the starting-point for travels East and South, aiming at pleasure and experience, rather than knowledge. Cyprus was usually regarded not as a touring-place, but as a stage on the way to Syria or Egypt: Titus in 70 A.D. on his road from Corinth to Judaea visited the Temple of Venus at Paphos. He saw the pointed pillar, that represented the goddess, the reliquaries and the offerings of kings and 'all the attribution of the Greeks to their beloved antiquity', and consulted the oracle. In the first centuries but few travelled to Syria, Phoenicia and Palestine, save for business or officially: the curious sights did not compensate the long sea-voyage: before the third century very few Romans or Greeks visited Hierosolyma, which Pliny, after Agrippa, calls the most famous city of the East. Pausanias, exceptionally, had been there and on the Jordan and the Red Sea. Antiochia, the splendid capital of Syria, is mentioned as infrequently in the literature of the first two centuries as Alexandria is frequently: the Elder Pliny only mentions it twice, on Greek authorities, for geographical and botanical purposes.

But crowds went every year from Italy and Greece to Egypt, which had a constant service with Italy in the shipping season. The regular boats went from Alexandria to Puteoli; and from Puteoli to Rome direct, after Domitian's connexion of it with Sinuessa, was only 141 (Roman) miles. Puteoli

was the harbour of Rome after the silting up of Ostia down to the completion of the new port *Portus* by Claudius and Trajan. A Greek poet under Augustus and Tiberius, Antiphrilos, asks why should Puteoli need such huge breakwaters? The answer is, to contain the fleets of the whole world; in comparison with Rome it was small. Similarly Statius designated this coast as the hostel of the world. Of the ornamental glasses engraved with pictures of Puteoli, and taken home by visitors as keepsakes, two have been preserved (in the mines of Odemira in the Portuguese province of Alentejo and at Piombino): the *pilae* of Puteoli are represented as twenty-five with twenty-four arches: sixteen columns are still left, the so-called Bridge of Caligula. By land they were approached through a gate. Seneca describes all Puteoli streaming out on the breakwaters to meet the Alexandrian corn-ships, and all Campania eagerly hailing the *tabellariae*, or post-ships, that preceded them, with their easily recognizable flags; for they alone, after passing the straits between Capri and the weather-beaten promontory 'whence Minerva gazes down on the waters' (Cape Campanella), might hoist a topsail: all other ships had to lower theirs. The silent harbour of Pozzuoli of to-day was then quick with masts from all Mediterranean lands. The inscription of a *sevir* of the *Augustales* at Lyons points to direct intercourse between both ports: he was a freighter at Puteoli: Strabo shows the enormous extent of the trade of Puteoli and Ostia with Spain in corn, wine, oil, wax, honey, pitch, scarlet and red lead, equal to the African trade. According to Philostratus, ships sailed from Puteoli to Africa, Egypt, Phoenicia, Cyprus, Sardinia and beyond. The wharves at Puteoli, in the late Republic, were a profitable investment. In them lay corn from Africa and Egypt, oil and wine from Spain, iron from Elba (this last was collected at Puteoli and other harbours on the West Coast and manufactured; and then exported everywhere), and other raw products of the West, besides Alexandrian stuffs, such as linen, carpets, glass, paper, incense, etc., and the costly wares of the extreme South and East, which passed through Alexandria. An inscription at latest of the Early Empire was put up by merchants who traded with Alexandria, Asia and Syria. Augustus, in his latter days, was once passing by this port, and to his delight received homage

from the crew of an Alexandrian ship: he gave each man forty pieces of gold, on condition of spending them only on Alexandrian goods. Many inhabitants of Puteoli may have been like Gaius Octavius Agathopus, who says he is resting there after many wearisome journeys between the West and the East. There was a strong oriental element, Greeks and Jews and Egyptians and Syrians, and permanent colonies and agencies from the great commercial cities of the East, such as Hierapolis, Berytus, Tyre and many others, with their local worships. On the pedestal of a colossal statue of Tiberius, fourteen cities in Asia are represented, which Tiberius restored after an earthquake in 17 A.D.; Ephesus, Sardes, Cybara, etc.; the *Augustales* of Puteoli, who erected the statue, either came from these towns, or had commercial relations with them. The voyager to the East might anticipate the East in this motley harbour of all peoples and tongues, with their various costumes and wares.

In the shipping season Alexandrian ships of all sizes must have been lying at anchor, from the light swift-sailing vessels to the vast cargo and corn-boats, such as were also built at Nicomedia. Lucian describes such a ship, which was driven by storm into the Piraeus and attracted a curious crowd. The *Isis*, a three-master, must have been 180 feet long, 45 feet at its broadest, 40 feet deep, and had a tonnage of 1,575: she must have been a large ship (which varied from 800 to 1,500 tons), have earned her owner twelve Attic talents a year (£2,829 3s.) or more. She was painted, had on each side of her bow a picture of Isis and other decorations; the visitors, who had never seen anything of the kind before, were taken all over the vessel, and wondered at the masts and sails, the cordage, anchors and windlasses, and deck-cabins, and stared at the tanned sailors with a foreign tongue who clambered fearlessly aloft. Egyptian steersmen were reputed the most seaworthy, and were the most sought after. Aristides puts 1,000 as the largest number an Egyptian ship could hold. The vessel in which Claudius returned to Hadria after subduing Britain was rather a floating palace.

And the biggest corn-ships were smaller than the vessels specially designed for the transport of marble and obelisks. Such was the *Acatus*, the first Alexandrian ship to land at

Ostia under Augustus, carrying the obelisk subsequently re-erected in the Large Circus, now the Piazza del Popolo. Augustus had this monster exhibited permanently in the docks of Puteoli; but, by Pliny's time, it had been burnt down. It is said to have carried 1,200 passengers, the obelisk, and a cargo of paper, nitre, pepper, linen and 400,000 (Roman) bushels of corn. But the greatest marvel in ships, according to Pliny, was the one built, at Caligula's order, to import the obelisk destined for the Vatican Circus (now on the Piazza di San Pietro), and four blocks of the same stone to serve as the pedestal. As ballast it carried 118,750 bushels of Egyptian lentils; its mainmast required four men to span it; it covered almost the whole of the left side of the harbour of Ostia; and Claudius planted three towering piles of mortar on it, to sink it. The ship which brought the obelisk set up by Constantius in 357 in the Great Circus (now on the Piazza del Laterano), according to Ammianus, was gigantic, and employed 300 rowers. Modern times only have surpassed these huge transport ships of antiquity. In the forties even, ships of 1,500–2,000 tons were admired. But the *Persia* (1856), 390 feet long, 45 broad and 83 deep, had a tonnage of 5,400; the *Great Eastern* was 680 feet long, 83 feet broad, took 4,000 passengers besides the crew, and 5,000 tons of cargo.

The average voyage from Puteoli to Alexandria with a good wind was at least twelve days; nine, according to Pliny the Elder, the fastest. An official paper document at Arsinoë is dated the 11th January, 193, by the year of Commodus, whose murder on the 31st December, 192, at Rome cannot therefore have been known. Egypt was to the Romans much farther than America is to us. The route was by Sicily and Malta. Malta, according to Diodorus, was prosperous and had good harbours (as had also Gaulus and Cercina): it was 800 *stadia*, less than a day, from Syracuse. St. Paul sailed from Malta to Puteoli in an Alexandrian ship, which wintered at Malta, 'the Dioscuri'; they stopped at Syracuse and Rhegium.

The lighthouse at Pharos irradiated 300 *stadia* (seven to eight geographical miles) on the dangerous coast of Egypt. It lit up the darkness like a star, and might be taken for one, until daylight revealed the shimmering white marble on the blue sea, and the palms on Pharos came into view. The

lighthouse, the administration of which in Roman times was entrusted to an imperial freedman, lasted on into the Middle Ages, and plays a great part in Arabian legends of Alexandria. According to Benjamin of Tudela (who died in 1173) there was a magic mirror on its peak, revealing hostile ships at a distance of fifty days: a crafty Greek had it shattered to pieces. The historian Makrizi (who died in 1456) says it was originally 400 yards in height: the lower half was square, of white freestone: the upper part octagonal, leaving a man room enough to walk round outside, and the top round. In 1303-4 occurred the last restoration known to history: in 1349 it was demolished: in 1440 its ruins might still be seen. Turkish misrule had removed every trace of it; and now there is no landmark, except in the West, the Arabian Tower, and towards Alexandria, clusters of palms and date-trees and the Column of Pompey.

To the Greek and the Roman visitor Egypt was a new world. The utter diversity of the land of the Nile was, if anything, more enhanced by the contrast with the increasing Romanized uniformity of the West, and the Greco-Oriental assimilation of the East. In Egypt, however, a mummified civilization subsisted, whose hoary years made Greece and Rome seem ephemeral, whose fossilized marvels and secrets stared living modernity out of face. Nature, too, attracted the curious. With awe did the stranger view the holy stream revered as a god, the most famous, who spread the boon of his waters so mightily as to be drinkable even in the sea. His unknown source aroused the spirit of exploration. Lucan makes Caesar at Alexandria say that to solve this riddle he would leave his Civil War. In Lucian's *Ship* Timolaus wishes for a magic ring, empowering him to fly far abroad into unknown parts and see the well-head of the Nile.

The swollen Nile in midsummer converted the whole of Lower Egypt into a lake, out of which cities and other heights arose like islands, and crossed by countless boats, hollowed-out trunks or of earthenware. In a passage written about the time of the annexation Virgil speaks of the blessed folk that live on the shores of the sea of the Nile, and sail on the land in gay boats. The flora and fauna impressed Roman imagination and were copied in mosaics and wall-paintings. On waters, thickly grown over with white lotuses, swamp-birds are seen swimming, or a hippopotamus lurking between

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high reeds and bushy plants, or a lowering crocodile, an ichneumon creeping on the bank, a snake writhing along, an ibis with its bent beak preening its feathers, and palms overhanging, with their slim stems and feathery crowns, the thickets. Severus was attracted in Egypt by the strange animals and new scenery. The mosaic of Palestrina best illustrates the interest in the fauna: the upper half represents a barren tableland, containing animals fabulous and real; the lower half, variegated buildings on the Nile and men in them, is framed in with ibises, water-birds, crocodiles and hippopotami, which are being chased by huntsmen with lances from a boat. A dovecot suggests the commonness of doves in Egypt: in Upper Egypt, conical dovecots are a kind of upper storey to village-huts. Dongola is said to possess garden-houses like those in the Roman paintings of Egypt. The marvels of Egypt were often fabulous: Tacitus never doubted that the phoenix was seen there. Pliny tells of a palm-tree at Chora near Alexandria, which died and was reborn with the Phoenix, and adds, that, at the moment of writing, it had just borne fruit. The pygmies, which were another favourite subject, have been discovered to be existent in the dwarfs of Akka on the highlands near the equator. Philodemus the Epicurean states that there were pygmies at Acoris in Middle Egypt on the East shore. Egyptian architecture and districts were imitated: Hadrian in his villa at Tibur had a Canopus, and Severus apparently a labyrinth and a Memphis.

Nature and the monuments, colossal and ancient, were always alike wonderful in Egypt. Time has destroyed nothing of these artificial mountains of stone, the gigantic temples, the endless rock-passages and caves, the forests of colossi and sphinxes, the countless brilliant pictures and mysterious walls of hieroglyphics. The same new-old amazement has always attracted men. Modern buildings and pictures did not disturb the unity of these superhuman works, but copied the ancient styles.

Further, there obtained in Egypt many customs utterly strange and unique, such as artificial incubators (in hot dung), a practice that aroused the interest of medieval pilgrims on their way to Palestine, and is still carried on, especially at Cairo; or the mode of clambering up the palms—which

still subsists by slinging a rope round the body and the tree and in this sling making knots by which they ascended ; but, most of all, the strange worships, and, above all, the adoration of animals.

Thus the interest in Egypt has been perennial and identical : at the end of the third century (according to the author of the *Aethiopian Tales*) tales of Egypt ever found attentive Greek and Roman ears, and the listeners did not tire of learning of the pyramids, the graves of the kings and the marvels of this fairyland. Of the Emperors and their families, Germanicus travelled to Egypt in 19, Hadrian in 130, Septimius Severus with Caracalla and Julia Domna in 202 down to the borders of Aethiopia. Titus on his way back from Judaea in 70 visited Memphis from Alexandria : Caligula and Nero intended journeying there : Marcus Aurelius did, and probably Lucius Verus as well.

Alexandria, the capital, was exotic in Egypt. It was a comparatively modern town, built in Greco-Oriental style, like other cities of the Macedonian epoch, as their ruins in Little Asia, Syria and Cyrene show. Napoleon III, through the Court astronomer, Mahmud Bey, of the Viceroy of Egypt, in 1867 instituted excavations, which have thrown a new light on the plan of the town. The results were confirmed by the excavations of 1898-99. Mahmud's street-plan, of the fourth period of the city, though post-Hadrianic, followed the former plans. According to Mahmud the town inside the walls was 15,800 metres round or eighty-six *stadia* : in the 16,375 *milia passuum*, the highest figure among the ancients, the suburbs must have been included. The excavations have revealed a rectangular network of seven main-streets lengthwise, lying WSW. by ENE. and twelve breadthwise, lying WNW. by SSE. The central street lengthwise, which crossed the centre of the city, and led East to Canopus—perhaps called the Canopian Road, or the Corso or *δρόμος*, was the main-street all the way. Strabo says it was thirty-six metres broad ; as a fact, it was not quite twenty. On both sides, to mark off the carriage road, there were colonnades for the thirty *stadia* : traces are left of them. In the roads running parallel the pavement was only 6.65 metres wide. The main-street breadthwise also had colonnades, led from the Sun-gate to the Moon-gate, and had the same

width as the Canobian Road. The road was paved with blocks of hard stone, basalt and limestone, held in by continuous freestone. The twelve main-roads seawards all had covered canals. The stately houses of massive stones all had a supply of running water and flat roofs. According to Strabo the district of the Palaces, with its gardens, the Museum, and the Mausoleum, occupied a fourth part of the Greek city : the Mausoleum contained the body of Alexander the Great in a glass coffin, the gold one having been melted down by Ptolemy Alexander I. Of the many public buildings, the most prominent were the Gymnasium, with colonnades more than a *stadium* long, the Paneum, an artificial hill, mounted by spirals, giving a bird's-eye view of the town. Strabo only mentions the Caesareum or Augusteum incidentally : it was a temple put up by Cleopatra to Antony, and subsequently dedicated to the first Emperor : it may have been afterwards completed. Philo describes it as a great temple with porticoes, halls, libraries, parks, propylaea, full of offerings, statues and pictures and gold and silver. Strabo also passes by the Serapeum shortly : Hadrian, who decorated Alexandria anew, may have extended it. It was a columned court, with the Column of Pompey in the centre, and two obelisks in front : behind the halls were educational rooms, the library burnt down by the Arabs, and in front, a propylaeon with cupola. Ammianus says that, with its huge colonnades, breathing statues, and numberless works of art, it was inferior only to the Roman Capitol : in the *Description of the World*, written under Constantius, it is mentioned as unique.

In Diodorus' time, the census of Alexandria was 300,000 free citizens. After the Battle of Actium, the town prospered exceedingly, and its commercial and voluptuary advantages attracted immigration : hence in the first centuries the free population must have doubled, and the total been scarcely under a million. The town had to be extended : the desolate isle of Pharos (in Strabo's time), and perhaps the Heptastadion as well, was resettled ; and this new town was called Neapolis (a name found in two inscriptions of the second century). The population consisted of Egyptians, Greeks and Jews and a cross-race, mainly of Greeks and Egyptians. The Jewry in Philo's time was two out of the five districts (which

were named alphabetically), but also in the other parts, as their many-shaded synagogues might be seen in all parts of the town : the chief synagogue, according to Jewish authority, a magnificent building, was destroyed in Trajan's reign. Under Nero, the Jews (according to Josephus) were limited to the Δ district. Romans and other Europeans, apart from the strong garrison (which was recruited from the citizens and camp of Alexandria and contained few Occidentals) and the large officialdom, must have been constantly passing through or settling. Then, too, the universal trade brought Africans and Asiatics together from the farthest distances ; an unparalleled meeting of Aethiopians, Libyans, Arabians, Scythians, Persians, Bactrians and Indians.

The harbour of Alexandria was the only safe one on all of the long coast (5,000 *stadia* or 125 geographical miles) between Joppa and Paraetonium. At the mouth of the only waterway of an immeasurably wealthy land, midway between three continents, 'on the threshold between East and West and on the road to India', Alexandria was, as Dio of Prusa remarks, the centre of the earth, the market-place of the remotest peoples. This unique situation made Alexandria the commercial capital, and before the Empire, the political capital, to some, of the world. Later it was the second city after Rome, a rank challenged in the third century only by Carthage and Antioch. But the entry of Egypt into the huge domain of free trade ensured her the best results of her position. Trade instantly increased, and the Alexandrians were all gratitude for the annexation by Augustus ; put up the temple to him, as protector of shipping ; celebrated him, as Lord of Land and Sea, as Jupiter the Saviour, the Star of Greece, whom Jupiter the Saviour had set in the ascendant ; and the Alexandrian mercantile deputation which waited on him in his last days at Puteoli, entered, wreathed and clad in white, as though offering incense to a god, and exalting him as the author of their life, trade, pleasure, freedom and fortune. The imports from Arabia and India alone, six years after the Battle of Actium, was sixfold what it had been under the last Ptolemies ; then twenty ships went annually to India, and in 25 B.C. from Myosshormos no less than 120 ; from Central Africa imports also increased, and the market for the goods that passed

through Alexandria to Italy and the West must have enlarged with the spread of luxury and civilization in the first century. Caravans and trade-fleets, year in year out, brought treasures from the South and the East, from the farthest lands of fable. The greatest rarities of the world lay there amassed. Gold-dust, ivory, tortoise-shell from the land of the Troglodytes, herbs and scents from Arabia, pearls from the Persian Gulf, jewels and byssus from India, silk from China—all such goods, all of the utmost value, were transhipped hence to Rome, at 100 per cent. profit. In Strabo's time even, the exports exceeded the imports.

This universal trade provided livelihood and wealth to thousands, from the rich merchant, whose ships sailed to the Malabar coast and Puteoli, down to the navvies in the harbour. The looms of Alexandria furnished linen, sought after even in Britain, made from the native flax in various finenesses, and, in the exports to India and Arabia, the national taste of the customers was consulted. No less celebrated, even in the Middle Ages, were the wool-stuffs, with their gay designs, tapestried figures of men and animals for antimacassars, carpets and dresses. The glass-blowers sent out artistic and valuable glass-work in all colours and shapes: the papyrus-makers paper, thick and thin. A paper-manufacturer Firmus, under Aurelian, sought the purple, and boasted his paper would support an army. The oils and essences of Alexandria were also famous. In the incense-works the workmen, to prevent defalcations, had to work with sealed aprons and masks and thick veils, and to leave the shops naked.

This active bustle of industry contrasted with the leisured, unproductive turmoil of Rome, and, together with the medley of faiths and cults, natural to a great harbour, astonished Hadrian on a second visit to Alexandria. 'No one', he wrote in 134 to his brother-in-law Servianus, 'is idle here: every man has his work; even the gouty, the blind and sufferers from chiragra. Mammon is the god of the Jews, Christians and every one'.

The population was correspondingly haughty. Mercantile pride, the knowledge of the indispensability to Rome of the Egyptian corn-supply, were rife. 'If any one praises the Nile', says Dio of Prusa to the Alexandrians, 'you are

as proud, as though you flowed straight from Aethiopia'. Where wealth was prodigious, and millionaires abounded, where the proletariat easily earned enough to lunch on fresh or smoked fish with garlic, on snails, meal or lentils, or on giblest stew in a cook-house, and barley-beer to his satisfaction, luxury and license also prevailed. Egyptian sarcasm in Alexandria became unchecked impudence; emperors and benefactors were not immune, and danger scarcely mitigated the bitter wit. Dio of Prusa congratulates himself on facing the Alexandrians without fearing their so dreaded hisses, jeers and interruptions. Seneca was proud of his (maternal) aunt for being spared calumny for the sixteen years of her residence as wife of the governor of Egypt in a city 'so witty, and ready in abuse of the government'. Vespasian, despite his mildness, was on the point of punishing the Alexandrians for the contumely they showered on him, in consequence of the increased taxes imposed: they called him a salted fish-dealer. Titus interceded, and they cried out to Titus: 'We will forgive him; he doesn't know as yet how to play the Emperor'. 'I have granted this city', Hadrian writes to Servianus, 'all of its requests, its ancient privileges, and new ones as well: they were grateful, whilst I was here, but, as soon as I left, scoffed at my son Verus and Antinous'. Caracalla avenged their sneers in 215 by a frightful massacre.

In Alexandria, too, as Dio remarks, laughter and light-someness were universal, and earnestness and idealism nowhere. There, too, the only interest was *panem et circenses*. Alexandria, even in Strabo's time, had an amphitheatre, but (at any rate 100 years later) the racecourse and theatre were the most popular, and farces, jugglery, animal contests, and, above all, dancing and music were beloved of the people. The Alexandrians were thoroughly musical: the illiterate even detected a citharist's every false note. In wind and string instruments they were especially adept. Alexandrian music, probably a Hellenistic fusion of Greek and Egyptian style, soon became popular at Rome, and strongly influenced Greco-Roman style. According to Dio, vocal and string-music were an infallible sedative for tumult, and the voice and the cither cast a spell over the people. The racing events also led to affrays and fights.

The Alexandrian mob, as a harbour-mob, and as the motley

dregs of the most various nations and cross-breeds, was most inflammable, the least spark setting it on fire and creating a pandemonium in this city of luxury and delight. Demagogues would excite the many and large clubs (*θίασος*), in which, according to Philo, they vented themselves in orgies of drunkenness and impertinence. The slightest occasion—a greeting unreturned, a distress on the means of livelihood, the refusal of a trifling request, the unpopular punishment of a slave—and mobs collected, weapons gleamed, and stones flew; sometimes these uproars ended in mere street songs, but more often the troops had to be called out. In a description of the Empire in the fourth century, it is said that the governors walk in Alexandria in fear and trembling: popular justice is always ready to commit arson and hurl stones.

Religious fanaticism amongst the Egyptians often caused unrest. Diodorus himself witnessed an incident: a Roman, under King Ptolemy Auletes, unintentionally killed a sacred cat; the awe of Rome and the intercession of the king could not ward off his murder. Under Hadrian, the claims raised by different communities to a rediscovered Apis-bull at Alexandria provoked a tumult. Hadrian reasonably expected to find a commixture of Jewish, Christian and heathen practices; but the sects were also in sharp opposition of faith and race; and these animosities often induced persecutions, like that of the Jews under Caligula, described by Philo, and the conflict of Jews and Greeks in 66. On this occasion Tiberius Alexander, a Jewish renegade, the Praefect, to break the resistance of the Jews, had to make use of 5,000 soldiers, who were passing through, besides the two legions in garrison; 50,000 Jews are said to have perished.

Amongst the various tourists to this peculiar and splendid city, those in quest of health and those in quest of learning may be mentioned. A sea-voyage to Egypt was recommended by physicians to consumptives. The kindly heaven, from which never fell any snow, under which roses bloomed in the winter, and not a day passed without sunshine, where the summer was relieved by the monsoons, might well give some hope to the patient who found the climate of Italy too harsh. Also Alexandrian physicians and medical schools enjoyed the highest repute. Galen says—he studied in Alexandria—that, if only because Alexandrian doctors gave

their pupils actual limbs to handle, students should flock there. A contemporary physician mentions that he had often witnessed the swift and painless execution of criminals by adder-bites. At all epochs young doctors crowded to Alexandria, 'whence health went out to the world'. To have studied there was a recommendation.

The other sciences also had their best teachers and schools at Alexandria, much sought by strangers, mainly from Greek-speaking countries. To the last ages of antiquity, and even later, Alexandria remained a great school of philosophy, music, law, philology, literature, mathematics and astronomy (including astrology, alchemy, magic and occult science, in which Egyptians were the experts). The centre of this university was the Museum or Academy founded by the Ptolemies, and the library, in which countless scribes must have been always occupied, and spread calligraphy and shorthand.

Lastly, religious motives induced journeys to Alexandria. 'Nowhere', says the *Gazetteer of the World*, written in the reign of Constantius, 'are the mysteries of the Gods so well celebrated, now, as of old'. Serapis, the god so much revered, the great helper, attracted most of the devout. Severus valued his journey to Egypt highly, because he was enabled to pay his court to Serapis, and this was the pretext of Caracalla's visit in 215. Women from all parts of the Empire will also have flocked to the temples of Isis, the goddess most worshipped by their sex, and have filled their bottles with the indispensable and genuine Nile water.

Both to Alexandrians and to strangers, the East coast, with its famous pleasure and bathing-resorts, and, above all, Canopus, to the West of Abukir, was most attractive, and was thronged year in, year out. The banks of the three miles of canal between Canopus and Alexandria teemed with luxurious hotels. A Greek inscription of such an hotel (or perhaps a club) in elegiacs has been preserved in part. These walls, it runs, are always alive with feasts and young men: not trumpets, but flutes resound here; the blood of steers, not of men reddens the earth; clothes, and not weapons, deck us; wreathed choruses, goblet in hand, celebrate at night the god Harmachis. The 'Eleusis', an initiation into Canopian profligacy, had apartments for strangers,

with apparatus for distant views and every comfort : Canobus itself, a place made for pleasure, with the freshening sea-breeze, the murmur of the waves, and the sunny sky, seemed secluded from the world. At Canobus Apio, the Alexandrian philosopher, realized Homer's Elysium. Patients flocked to the famous Temple of Serapis, an especially holy shrine, to receive the oracles in their dreams. But most visitors went to Canobus to debauch ; the town was proverbial for the extent of the practice. Day and night in Strabo's time the canal was full of barques, with companies of men and women. Many of these boats had rooms in them and grated windows, and were overshadowed by the full Egyptian bean (the *Nymphaea Nelumbo*, now extinct, like the papyrus), and the joyous voyagers might be seen feasting amid scents and flowers, or performing lascivious dances to the sound of flutes. Representations of such scenes have been unearthed at Pompeii : the mosaic of Palestrina contains a banquet at which a female flute-player is playing, under a vine stretched across the canal alive with the blossoms of the bean.

But Alexandria and her excitements and spectacles could not allure voyagers like Germanicus who visited Egypt for its antiquities. From the modernity of the capital, a short journey inland on camels, or up the stream, took the traveller from the bustle and splendour to the awesome silence of dateless antiquity. There must have been many conscientious sightseers, like Apollonius of Tyana, according to Philostratus, who crossed from shore to shore, so as to miss nothing.

Most travellers aimed at Memphis next, not as being the second greatest city of Egypt, but for its ancient monuments. The palaces of the Pharaohs might be ruins, and the colonnades of sphinxes leading into the Temple of Serapis more than half buried under the sand ; but time could not sear the Pyramids. From a distance they could be seen lying towards the West on a desolate rocky plain, like hills amid difficult mounds of sand. Their appearance was then altogether different : the stone steps on all four sides were all covered with a smooth surface filled with hieroglyphs, terminating at the apex. The Arabian writer Abdullatif (circa 1200) says that copies of the writings on the two great pyramids would cover more than 10,000 leaves. The abrasion of this outer cloak took place only in the first half

of the fourteenth century ; a French pilgrim in 1395 found the process almost complete on the Great Pyramid : in 1440 Cyriacus of Ancona could climb up to the top. As late as 1638 (according to Greaves, an English traveller), the second was mostly intact ; and the third one (called the Red Pyramid by the Arabs) as late as the end of the fourteenth century. Natives, from the neighbouring town of Busiris, in antiquity practised the art of climbing the smooth incline, no doubt an exhibition for travellers' benefit : the Arabs did the same in the Middle Ages. The Egyptian priests averred that the depth of the Pyramids underground was equal to their height ; a legend told of Marienburg, and, no doubt, of many other extraordinary buildings. Greek and Roman tourists cut their names on to the vanished surface ; their inscriptions were seen and copied by pilgrims to the Holy Land in the fourteenth and fifteenth century. The sister of Gaius Terentius Gentianus, a high official under Trajan and Hadrian and consul, dedicated her inscription to the memory of her ' sweet brother ' : she had visited the Pyramids without him, wept for him and left this memorial of her grief. A number of other inscriptions on the claw of a huge lion with a human head beside the pyramid of Khafren were discovered, when the building was excavated.

Another objective was the ruins of Thebes, which stretched for two miles on both shores from North to South. Germanicus went there in 19, and perhaps had the first intuition that Rome might similarly disappear. The orientally coloured report states that, at his request, an old priest read out what was left of the hieroglyphs : the old Theban kingdom had once been as mighty as Rome and Parthia of that time. With a host of 700,000 men, the legend says King Rhamses II (1400 B.C.) had traversed and subjugated Libya, Aethiopia, and a great part of Asia : the various tributes of gold and silver, horses and weapons, ivory and fragrances, corn and other products were specified. To this day, in the ruins of Thebes, there are circumstantial pictures and records of Rhamses' wars and victories, and, in the tombs of his officials, lists of tributes, depicting the gathering of the silver and gold and ivory and ebony into the Royal Treasury : in one tomb the amount of grains on the fields from Kush to Naharain is given as 33,333,330.

The vocal statue of Memnon was also visited by Germanicus, apparently the most attractive object in all Egypt. On the West bank of the Nile was a great field of ruins, which Philostratus in his life of Apollonius of Tyana (possibly after the description of Julia Domna) calls the market-place of a deserted city, strewn with remains of walls and columns, stone seats and statues, destroyed both by man and by time. Out of this whirl of fragments, there towered up two seated colossi of King Amenophis III, visible four hours away. Each was hewn out of a rock sixty feet high, naked to the waist, with a youthful expression, upright, the arms close by the body, and the hands on the knees. Since an earthquake, possibly in 27 B.C., had thrown down the upper part of one of them, leaving only the knees and hands on the throne, visitors to Thebes might behold a strange sight. When at sunrise both colossi threw vast shadows over the silent wilderness, the fallen statue gave forth a note. Strabo, the first to report on it, calls it a slight noise, which might be caused by a tap. Others compared it to a breaking string, to a resonant copper vessel, or even with the human voice. Hence the idea arose it was a statue of Memnon, according to Greek tradition, the legendary builder of these palaces: and the son of the rosy dawn was greeting his mother. When this title of Memnon came into general use is not known: but Apio, the famous Alexandrian savant and charlatan (the author of the anti-Semitic pamphlet confuted by Josephus), has cut his name on it, and records eternally that he had heard Memnon three times. He lived under Tiberius and Caligula. The first author to designate this colossus as Memnon is Pliny the Elder in his *Natural History* (completed in 77 A.D.). As the musical statue of the son of the goddess of the rosy dawn the Colossus attracted Roman and Greek tourists. Of the many pilgrims to this sight, some have cut their names, occasionally the date, and other remarks, on to the legs, covering it almost as far as the knees. Of the seventy-two, thirty-five are dated. The first is under Nero, three under Domitian, one under Trajan, most (twenty-seven) under Hadrian: Hadrian's own name, his wife's, and those of several of his following record a visit in November, 130. There are also eight governors of Egypt, and two wives of governors, three commanders of the Thebaid, various officers, two judges of appeal, a priest

of Serapis at Alexandria, a 'Homeric poet' of the Museum, and so forth. The last dated inscriptions are under Septimius Severus. During his residence in Egypt in 202, he had the Colossus restored, a restoration which has lasted to the present day : but the pressure of the heavy blocks prevented the vibration at the sudden change of temperature at sunrise. The statue of Memnon was henceforth dumb, and very soon forgotten.

In many inscriptions, tourists record their worship of Memnon and prayers to him, often in the name of far-away loves, whom they would like to have by them, or in other fashions. The former is the commonest form of tourists' inscriptions in Egypt. They contain a supplication to the national or local gods of the country, under whose mighty protection travellers so far from home wished to be.

In Thebes, after the Colossus of Memnon, Greeks and Romans visited the Tombs of the Kings in the second Libyan range of mountains West of Thebes. The valley of Bab-el-Moluk was, no doubt, the same as now, a desolate home of the dead : 'not a bush, or blade of grass on the bald steep rocks, yellowish cliffs, bestrewn with sand and traversed by dark passages, the haunt of jackals and hyaenas within, and vultures without'. The Tombs of the Kings are rooms, vaults, passages and halls dug deep into the rocks : the Greeks called them pipes (σύριγγες). More than a hundred inscriptions have been found here, hastily scratched on by torchlight, or painted over red : they are mostly Roman ; those dated ranging from Trajan up to Constantius, and none anterior to the Ptolemies. Most of them are mere names and dates, or exclamations of amazement. 'Those who have not seen this, have seen nothing', runs one Greek inscription in the tomb of Rhamses IX : 'happy they, who have'. A high Egyptian official of finance (about the fourth century) remarks he has stayed long in Rome, and seen Rome and Egypt thoroughly.

Similar inscriptions are found at places on either bank, on temples, obelisks, πύλῳνες, and so forth, up to the frontier at Philae and Syene, and as far as Hiera-Sykaminos, the Aethiopian frontier and southernmost point of the Empire. Some are interesting ; at the ruins of Great Apollinopolis (Edfu) in Upper Egypt, 'Ptolemy, the son of Dionysius,

a Jew, praises God', 'Theodotos, the son of Dorion, a Jew, saved from' (there is a blank for some country): the travellers must have been Egyptian Jews, returned from a long and dangerous journey, and, perhaps, out of regard to pagan companions, giving the expression of gratitude a possibly pagan turn. At Philae, the name of Gaius Numonius Vala is hewn in: with him Horace once corresponded at leisure on the advantages, climatic or otherwise, of Velia and Salernum: he came here in Augustus' thirteenth consulate (2 B.C.) on the 25th March: eleven years later he was killed in the flight to the Rhine after the battle in the Teutoburger Wald.

Of the other tourists' sights in Egypt, only a few can be mentioned here. At all of the shrines the priests were the *ciceroni*. Aristides says that, on his four journeys to Egypt, he left no site unvisited, and measured any place he could not find in books with the aid of the priests and prophets. The priests also showed the holy animals, such as the immortal ibis, mentioned by Apio, at Hermopolis. Diodorus says that much might be told of the steer Apis at Memphis, the crocodile in Lake Moeris, the lions in Leontopolis, the goat at Mendes, the steer Mnevis at Heliopolis; but it would be incredible save to those who had seen them. He expatiates on the distinguished men who waited on them, fed them with the best food, gave them warm baths and scents, laid their splendid beds, got them wives and spent great sums on their burial: in his time, as much as 100 talents (£23,576 5s.). Germanicus also visited the steer Apis, which the priests kept in a special stable: Titus attended the consecration of one. The crocodiles knew the priests by their voices, were taught to follow them, and let them open their jaws, clean their teeth, and dry them with linen cloths: Suchos, a tame crocodile at Arsinoe, used to be fed by tourists with bread, wine, and flesh.

Of the great buildings, besides these mentioned, the labyrinth constructed under the erections in Lake Moeris, was a great attraction. The view of Elephantine and Syene just on the tropics, at the frontiers of Egypt, at the summer equinox was one of the wonderful natural sights. At midday, there was no shade, and obelisks, temples and men, everything that was upright shone in full sunshine: at Syene (Assouan)

there was a sacred spring (now vanished) at the bottom of which the sun might be seen, filling the water to the surface. The Little Cataracts of the Nile above Syene were also much visited. Here the stream at high water flows over a rocky island in the middle of its bed, and is calm on either side. When governors and great men came to see the waterfall, the boatmen rowed up the stream on the West beyond the cataract, and then let themselves be hurled back, without coming to any harm. Aristides, at his request, got a military escort from the Roman garrison at Syene, to force the boatmen to exhibit their skill, and himself joined them. The great cataracts in Aethiopia were seen but by few travellers. Similarly places too remote from either bank were scarcely visited: curiosity could not overcome reluctance to inaccessibility. Aristides went through all of Egypt four times without seeing the 'famous porphyry-quarries on the Red Sea' (now Djebel Dôchan), where, after Claudius' reign, hundreds of convicts worked in the waterless waste, and the scorching sun, to transform the hard stone into columns and decorations for the palaces of Rome.

VII. WHAT INTERESTED ROMAN TOURISTS

As to the places and countries visited by tourists, sources both Greek and Roman are equally available and applicable; but the objects of interest were diverse. Whether the Seven Wonders of the World as such attracted travellers to their sites is, in the absence of information, uncertain. They were certainly put together between 284-220 B.C., in the time of the *Διάδοχοι*, and probably at Alexandria, perhaps by Callimachus, before one of them, the Colossus of Rhodes, was destroyed by an earthquake. Their sites lay in the territory conquered by Alexander the Great, and in a circle round Alexandria; they were Olympia (with Phidias' Zeus), Rhodes and the Colossus, Halicarnassus and the Mausoleum, Ephesus and the Temple of Artemis, Babylon with the walls and hanging gardens, Memphis and the Pyramids. The Colossus of Rhodes was afterwards replaced (according to Martial by Apollo's altar of horns at Delos), and the number seven was thus kept up; yet there is no evidence that they were visited as the Seven Wonders. Pausanias, who travelled

much, had never met any one who had been to Babylon (of which then nothing but the walls remained).

Romans betrayed very little curiosity in the national customs of foreign peoples; because most of the tourist countries had been tinged to a large extent with Greco-Roman civilization, and, superficially, were not peculiar, and, secondly, because the past was thus more interesting to the Roman than the present. The object was, step by step, to trace the monuments and remains of antiquity, and, besides this historical aspect, to come to know as many remarkable sights of all sorts as possible, not so much from interest in them, but for their sheer fame, or literary notoriety, or for the sake of their rarity and strangeness. How far artistic interest did essentially, and interest in nature partly, contribute, is a matter which must be deferred to the end.

§ 1. THE HISTORICAL INTEREST

First of all travellers bent their steps to the temples, as best satisfying their cravings for sights and information. Even little towns, both in Greek countries and in Italy, possessed remarkable temples. Thus Marcus Aurelius writes to Fronto of Anagnia that it is a tiny old city with many ancient monuments, temples and ceremonies. The temples would be the finest buildings, the largest and often oldest and most famous, and command a good view. The interest they could awaken is shown by Philo's description of the great Temple of Augustus at Alexandria. It was situated on an eminence above the harbour, and formed a landmark; it was full of offerings, pictures and statues, and its huge precincts were garnished with colonnades, libraries, halls, parks, propylaea, open spaces, and everything decorative.

The precincts of temples often enclosed, besides numerous edifices, parks and preserves of sacred animals and birds; the visitor to them was 'regaled by the beauty of the many trees, the coolness of the canals and the purity of the air'. According to Lucian's description, the magnificent Temple of Aphrodite at Cnidos was surrounded by a park of fruit-trees, planted for their beauty, which bloomed well and afforded ample shades: they were myrtles, laurels, tall cypresses and planes; the trunks all ivy-clad, with vines and grapes pendant from them. In the shady arbour, amidst the hum of the grasshoppers, seats were placed for the banquets

of the supplicants. At the Temple of Apollo at Gryneum in Little Asia, according to Pausanias, there was a 'splendid park of fruit-trees and other trees delightful of smell or sight'. The Isle of Tenos possessed a remarkable temple of Poseidon, in a grove outside the town with ample provision for sacrificial feasts. Near the Temple of the Syrian goddess at Hierapolis, near the Euphrates and the boundary of Mesopotamia, there was a large park for the sacred oxen, horses, eagles, bears, lions, and other animals. Often flocks of sacred geese were kept near the temples.

Temples also abounded in dedicatory gifts and rarities, pictures, sculptures and treasures of art, for motives of piety, of safe deposit and exhibition. Augustus' gifts to five temples in Rome (that of Jupiter on the Capitol, of Julius Caesar, Apollo, Vesta and Mars Ultor), out of the booty of war, according to his own statement, cost 100,000,000 sesterces in all (£1,087,500). Pliny the Elder says that dedicating his book to Titus will enhance it, just as many objects gain value through consecration in temples. Libraries used also to be left in this fashion : temples thus became museums, not only for art but for history and natural science ; though necessarily chance collections, as embracing and large as modern galleries. The Temple of Apollo at Rhegium (Reggio) once received a legacy of a parchment bound in ivory, an ivory box and eighteen pictures. In shrines at Athens, Delphi, Olympia, Rome, not to speak of others, many of the most celebrated pictures and statues might be seen, and at Rome collections of cut stones. Pompey gave the gallery of gems of Mithridates to the Capitol ; Julius Caesar six similar collections to the Temple of Venus Genetrix ; Marcellus, the nephew of Augustus, one to the Temple of Apollo Palatinus. In Christian churches the tradition continued ; and in the Cathedral of Girgenti the so-called sarcophagus of Hippolytus has been preserved, and in that of Siena, the group of the Three Graces.

Natural freaks (as also in Christian churches, e.g. a cayman in Notre Dame at Cimiez) were usually kept in temples. There, according to Pliny, the hugeness of elephants' tusks might be learnt. In Cicero's time the largest examples were in an ancient temple of Juno on a promontory of Malta : according to the inscription, they had been stolen for King

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Massinissa without his knowledge, and by him restored; there were also masses of ivory, unworked and carved into figures of Νίκη in ancient style: Verres sacked them all. In the Temple of the Syrian goddess at Hierapolis, barbarian costumes, Indian jewelry and elephants' tusks were to be seen; all ascribed to the loot brought back by Dionysos, the supposititious architect, from India. Pausanias surmises that the tusks were bent horns, and confirms it by an elephant's skull he saw at the famous Temple of Diana at Capua. The skin and jaw-bone of a snake 120 feet long, killed by catapults by the river Bagradas in the first Punic War, under the orders of Regulus, were preserved in a temple at Rome down to the Numantine War. Hadrian gave an Indian snake to the Temple of Zeus Olympios he built at Athens, and the hide of a bear he had slain to his Temple of Eros at Thespieae. At the Temple of Isis in Caesarea, in Mauretania, in Pliny's time, a crocodile from a neighbouring lake was exhibited: it had been given by King Juba as a proof that the Nile sprang from that lake. Hanno the Carthaginian on the West coast of Africa found and killed three 'hairy savage women', which the interpreter called gorillas (they must have been gorillas rather than chimpanzees). Their skins were kept in the Temple of Juno Astarte, until the razing of Carthage. In the Jugurthine War, the soldiers of Marius lighted on animals like wild sheep, whose gaze was fatal, and called gorgons. Numidian cavalry soon laid several low, and Marius sent the skins to Rome, where they were treasured in the Temple of Hercules near the Ara Maxima on the Forum Boarium. Pausanias saw the skeleton of a whale at the Temple of Aesculapius at Sicyon. At Erythrae, in a temple of Hercules, horns of Indian ants were exhibited (they cannot have been marmots, as the word generally implies). A frequent sight in Greek temples, according to Pausanias, consisted of Indian nuts (probably cocoanuts), and reeds as thick as tree-trunks: Pliny saw the root of the cinnamon tree on a golden plate in a temple built by Livia on the Palatium, in honour of Augustus: in a temple of Aesculapius at Panticapaeum, a dish was kept, which had burst by the water freezing in it. The great crystal, which Pliny had seen, of 150 (Roman) pounds in weight, was given by Livia to the Capitol; as a sample of the black spectrous obsidian

Augustus exhibited in the Temple of Concord four elephants made out of it; Caesar bestowed a breastplate made of British pearls on the Temple of Venus Genetrix.

Curious vessels, instruments and works of art were also to be found in the temples; such as a leaden forceps in the Temple of Apollo at Delphi (showing, according to Erasistratus the physician, that only the lighter and more accessible teeth ought to be removed); or, at a temple in Smyrna, a distorting mirror; at Erythrae two *amphorae* of remarkably thin clay, made by a master and his pupil, vying which could make the finer vessel. Varro saw a flute with four stops in a temple of Marsyas, an obsolete instrument; and St. Jerome mentions a huge bronze ball on the Acropolis of Athens beside the Statue of Athene, used as a test for athletes competing in the ἀγῶνες: he was too weakly to move it. Foreign weapons and implements were also stored up in temples: in the temple of Aesculapius at Athens Pausanias saw a Sarmatian breastplate of horse-hooves, and linen breastplates in the Temple of Apollo at Gryneum and elsewhere. A bison's horn cased in gold, part of the booty of the war with the Getae, was given by Trajan to Ζεὺς Κάσιος at Antioch.

Freaks of Nature were also occasionally thus treasured up. The Pergamenes had bought a basilisk's skin at a high price, to protect a temple, which was decorated by Apelles, from spiders and birds. At Gnatia, Horace jeers at incense said to burn on an altar without fire; a superstitious Jew might believe such fables. St. Augustine tells of a candelabrum in front of a temple of Venus with a lamp, unextinguishable by wind or rain, and explains it as asbestos or the magic of some daemon inside.

Yet more common were objects of historical interest, relics of great men, of all ages. The sword of Julius Caesar, given to Vitellius, came from a temple of Mars. Vitellius gave the dagger with which Otho had killed himself to another temple of Mars at Cologne: Scaevinus, preparatory to his conspiracy, took a dagger from a temple of Salus or Fortuna, with which to kill Nero: Nero dedicated it to Jupiter Ultor on the Capitol. Varro saw the spindle and distaff of Tanaquil in a temple of Sancus, and a royal garb made by her hands, and worn by Servius Tullius, in a temple of Fortuna at Rome. In the

disused temple of Jupiter Feretrius Augustus could still view the linen breastplate which Aulus Cornelius Cossus had wrested from the King of Veii Tolumnius in single fight, and consecrated. The ring of Polycrates (with a sardonx) was exhibited at Rome in the Temple of Concord in a golden horn presented by Augustus. King Amasis of Egypt had granted linen armour to the Temple of Athene at Lindos in Rhodes, every cord consisting of 360 threads; Mucianus, the friend of Vespasian, saw it in tatters from centuries of handling. Delphi possessed an iron chair of Pindar. The armour of Masistius, who led the Persian cavalry at Plataeae, was kept in a temple at Athens, together with the sword of Mardonius, the genuineness of which Pausanias doubted. The lance of Agesilaos was to be seen at Sparta; the harness and lance of Alexander the Great at Gortys in Arcadia, and Mithridates' armour at Nemea and Delphi; a candelabrum in the shape of a fruit-tree, part of Alexander's Theban booty, and dedicated by him to Apollo at Cumae, could be seen in the Temple of Palatine Apollo at Rome: of four statues, which had supported Alexander's tent, two might be seen in front of the Temple of Mars Ultor, and two in front of the Regia (the dwelling of the Pontifex Maximus).

But the Heroes, celebrated in poetry, and taught of in the schools, were better known than the historical figures, and their relics more appreciated; the genuineness of them was equally accepted, for tradition ranked with history, even though fabulous in part. And of heroic relics, Trojan remains were the most common and the most valued. They were widely distributed: an egg of Leda, that hung from a temple-roof at Sparta, probably an ostrich egg; an *Electron* goblet given by Helen to the temple of Athene at Lindos in Rhodes, said to be the size of her breast; and the ship of Aeneas, preserved down to the time of Justinian at Rome; and at Geraistos in Euboea a ship dedicated by Agamemnon to Artemis: at Cassiope in Corcyra the petrified boat of the Phaeacians. The sceptre of Agamemnon, forged by Hephaistos for Zeus, was to be seen at Chaeroneia, and his shield and sword in a temple of Apollo in Sicyon's *ἄγρᾱ*, where also were the cloak and the armour of Odysseus, the bow and arrows of Teucer, the web of Penelope, the dress of one of the wooers, the rowing-poles and helm of the Argonauts, the

kettle, in which old Pelias had been boiled, the skin of Marsyas, and so forth. In a Lycian temple there was a papyrus letter of Sarpedon: Pliny is only surprised because Egypt then closed her gates on strangers, and papyrus was elsewhere unobtainable. But earlier relics there also were: in Phocis at Panopeus, remains of the clay, whence Prometheus made men, in front of a temple of Prometheus; these remains smelt like human skins: at Olympia an ivory horn of the goat Amalthea, who suckled Zeus; in the Temple of Samothrace cups consecrated by the Argonauts. The same thing might be seen at two places, e.g. the hair Isis tore out in agony at Osiris' death, at Coptos, and at Memphis. Two cities in Cappadocia lay near each other, both named Comana; at both Iphigenia's sword might be seen. The Heroes, on their wanderings, had left relics even in the Westerly lands; or they had arrived in some other fashion. In Gades a golden belt of Teucer was to be seen; at Circeii a goblet of Odysseus, at Capua the loving-cup of Nestor; at Beneventum, Procopius even saw the tusks of the Calydonian boar, slain by Diomedes, the legendary founder: they were three spans long. Even in barbarian countries, reminiscences of Greek legend might be found, brought there by Greek travellers, and clung to by the natives. Thus at the Isle of Meninx (Gerbi), amongst other relics, an altar erected by Odysseus; or, at the mouth of the Phasis Arrian saw an iron anchor of the *Argo*, with an appearance of modernity, despite its titanic size and ancient style. But an ancient stone anchor he accepted as credible. In the Caucasus he was shown the mountain on to which Prometheus was bound. In Procopius' time the city of Apsarus in Colchis lay in ruins; yet the natives exhibited the grave of Absyrtus, the brother of Medea. Joppa in Palestine was reputed the spot at which Perseus released Andromeda: the bones of a sea-monster furnished the excuse to the Greeks and to the Jews, who here placed the landing of Jonah; Scaurus transported these bones to Rome; but, in Josephus' day, the traces of Andromeda's shackles were to be seen, and in Pausanias' time, a blood-stained stretch of water, in which Perseus bathed after the fight.

Visitors stranded in a town without a host generally engaged guides (*περιηγηταί*) or explainers (*ἰεργηγηταί*) at the temples,

and, in Greece, in the smallest towns they did not fail. The certainty of their supply is evidenced by Lucian's *True History*, in which they narrate to tourists from the upper world the reasons of the punishments of the damned. Generally priests and temple-servants acted as *ciceroni*; official guides being only found at the largest and most frequented places. Occasionally these might be well-informed men, authors of monographs on their city's antiquities, like a physician and *περιηγητής* at Hermione; but most of them were mere parrot-guides. Their company, now and then required, might often be irksome, especially to cultured men and at places like Olympia and Athens, when they gabbled out their explanations and popularized stories, 'and gave directions as to the art of the place'. Pliny mentions a statue of Hecate: in the Temple of Diana at Ephesus in dazzling marble; the vergers warned tourists not to gaze on it too long. 'If', says Lucian, 'the legends were banished from Greece, guides would starve; for truth is unpalatable'. In one of Plutarch's shorter works a visit is recorded made by a company to Delphi. Nothing could induce the guides to abridge their commentaries on what all had agreed to visit: they read out loud every single inscription, but could not answer any question outside the official patter.

In Greece and Little Asia guides entertained tourists with anecdotes of the heroes, a more congenial subject to all, and more familiar to the educated than historical figures. Roman accounts of travel show this clearly. Pomponius Mela's reminiscences are more mythological than historical. In the *χωρογραφία* (now lost) utilized by Solinus, Nature and mythology are the two features. The lists appended to the itineraries of the archipelago, contain one isolated reference to white marble of Paros, and otherwise merely legend; the birth of Juno at Samos, of Apollo and Diana at Delos, the abandonment of Ariadne at Naxos, and the advent of Dionysus to save her. Greek legends localized in the East maintained themselves well, such as the Memnon myth at Thebes, the Prometheus myth in the Caucasus, the Argonauts at Colchis, and the Perseus legend at Joppa. Tacitus, in his curtailed account of Germanicus' journey in Egypt, does not omit the derivation of Canobus from Canobus the steersman of Menelaus; though Aristides learnt

from an Egyptian priest that the word meant 'golden ground', and had been used ten thousand years before the landing of Menelaus. Yet the tale died hard: Ammianus Marcellinus repeats it.

Both Greek and Roman tourists enjoyed being told on the spot the legends 'a people amorous of its past wove into its grey beginnings'. In the absence of ruins, even traces of antiquity were descanted on. As Aristides says, everywhere talk ran on the bygone: any nook must be the remains of a *τροπαῖον*, a monument, spring, the chamber of Helen or Harmonia or Leda. From the Troezenian Temple of Aphrodite Phaedra gazed down on Hippolytus, who was running on the course: and a myrtle with pierced leaves had been pierced by her in her misery with a hairpin. On this stone in the harbour of Salamis old Telamon had sat and followed with his eyes the ship on which Ajax was sailing to Aulis. At Aulis there was a spring by which the plane had stood, on which, before the eyes of assembled Greece, a snake devoured a sparrow and her brood of nine: a relic of the wood was preserved. Near Sparta, on the road to Arcadia, was a statue of Modesty, where Icarios had overtaken the chariot on which Odysseus was bearing away Penelope: Icarios repented him of his consent and besought his daughter not to leave him: Odysseus bade her choose between father and husband: she veiled herself. Icarios turned back: the statue marked the spot. It was a land where every stone had its saga.

The reminiscences of great men of later times were also sought: Roman *pietas* offered sacrifice at their graves. Thus, in 191 B.C., Manius Acilius Glabrio ascended Oeta, and sacrificed at the Pyre of Hercules. Caracalla imitated Alexander the Great, sacrificed at the tomb of Achilles at Ilium, and Trajan at the house at Babylon where Alexander died. Hadrian restored the grave of Ajax at Troy (it had been laid waste by the sea), and set on the grave of Epaminondas an inscribed stone, sacrificed at Pompey's grave, and worthily restored his tomb. Germanicus sacrificed at all the tombs of the great men that he visited; an epigram of his to Hector's *manes* has survived. Pausanias mentions amongst the tombs shown to tourists in Greece, that of King Codrus on the Ilissus, of Aristomenes of Messenia, of Demosthenes

at Calauria, and others. Every city treasured the memorials of its great men: Thebes possessed the tomb of Pindar and remains of his house by Dirce. But Athens, in this respect, was the richest of all, and the most zealous, a thronged cemetery of greatness.

But the main centres of interest in Greece were the Persian battlefields and camps. On the plain of Marathon, the tombs of the fallen, of Miltiades and the marble trophy were preserved, and, at night, the neighing of the horses and trampling of the hosts might be heard. The ruins of temples burned by the Persians were still seen by Pausanias. Later epochs were also commemorated. 'We saw', Arrian writes to Hadrian, 'the Black Sea from the same spot as Xenophon did and you too'. He replaced the altars of unhewn stone with ungrammatical inscriptions by marble altars correctly inscribed.

The steps of Alexander the Great in Greece and the East were lovingly tracked out. In Plutarch's time an ancient oak on the Cephissos was shown, under which his tent had been spread at the Battle of Chaeroneia, and near it the general grave of the Macedonians. King Mithridates, on his campaign in Phrygia, stayed for the night, for good luck's sake, at the same inn as Alexander. At Tyre a spring was shown at which Alexander dreamed he captured a satyr: a dream interpreted as referring to the taking of Tyre. At Minnagara (on the Lower Indus), the Egyptian merchant in India would visit the spots consecrated by the memory of the Macedonian army, by chapels, altars and encampments and wells. The crypt at Alexandria, in which Alexander's body was preserved in a glass coffin in honey, was probably seen by all the Emperors, who visited it, though forbidden to ordinary tourists. We know of the visits to it of Caesar, Augustus and Severus, who walled it up: but Caracalla also saw it. The Mohammedans revered a so-called tomb of Alexander at Alexandria. 'Just as you', Pliny says, in describing Trajan's distant campaigns, 'are shown the sacred remains of great generals, the time will come when posterity will long to see, and will bring their children to see, the field where you sweated, the trees that afforded you rest, the rocks which protected your slumber, the houses you honoured as a guest': a prophecy fulfilled, accord-

ing to Ammianus Marcellinus, who says, speaking of Julian's march in the valley of the Euphrates, that in the town of Ozogardana the tribunal was shown whence Trajan had addressed his host.

In Italy and the West, in the almost complete absence of legend, memories of Roman history were the only features, zealously sought after. At Laurentum, the encampment of Aeneas was shown, which was called Troy ; at Liternum olive-trees, planted by the Elder Scipio, and a huge myrtle overhanging a grotto, where a snake guarded over his *manes* ; at Baiae jewelry and a little cloak given to Tiberius as a child by the sister of Sextus Pompeius ; at the bottom of the spring of Aponus near Padua dice he had thrown in ; at Capri the place whence he flung his tortured victims into the sea ; Horace's home at Tibur, and the houses where great men and emperors were born. Augustus was born on the Palatine at Capita Bubula (Oxheads), and that part of the house had been turned into a chapel : but, near Velletri, a little room like a store-cupboard on an estate was reported his birthplace, which in Suetonius' time was haunted and terrified any one who entered without reason and impure intentions. Titus was born in a dark little room at a poor house in the Septizonium, which was kept and shown in Suetonius' time. 'The fortunate home that heard Domitian's first cry, and saw his first attempts at crawling' (Martial) was converted by Domitian into a sanctuary of the Flavii, and gleamed with gold and marble. The house of Pescennius Niger on the Campus Jovis at Rome was visited in Diocletian's time, and still named after Niger. Seneca in the villa of Scipio Africanus at Liternum, comparing the changes of time, did reverence to the *manes* of the great man and his supposed coffin : he saw 'the freestone villa, the walled-in park, towers on either side to guard it, a huge cistern, and near by, outbuildings and plantations, and a small narrow old-fashioned bath-house. In this nook the Terror of Carthage washed himself after field-labour, for he cultivated the land himself. Under this mean roof he stood, on a wretched plaster-floor.'

Historians, of course, aimed at seeing the localities of their subject, and Suetonius was especially conscientious. Appian visited the scene of the murder of Cicero near Caieta,

and Plutarch the battlefield of Bedriacum and the monument of Otho.

Similarly Jews and Christians in Palestine and elsewhere visited Biblical sites. Josephus mentions the remains of Noah's Ark on a mountain in Armenia (placed by others in Adiabene), and the pillar of salt into which Lot's wife was turned (he had himself seen it); and, near Hebron, the graves of the grandsons of Abraham and a huge terebinth as old as the world. By the beginning of the fourth century, Christian pilgrimages were common, and no place famous in either Testament was left unvisited. We have as authorities the Pilgrims' Route of 333 A.D. from Bordeaux to Jerusalem, and the tale of a noble Gaulish pilgrim of her journey to the Holy places (383-5). The thornbush, whence God spake in fire to Moses, was then in a well-kept garden in front of a church with cloisters round it, and the spot where Moses stood was also shown. At Carrhae in Mesopotamia, the spring at which Rebecca tended the camels of Abraham, and the one at which Jacob gave drink to Rachel's flock were visited; and near them was the huge stone which Jacob lifted off the well. But the Gaulish lady did not see the pillar of salt, but only the place of it; she will not deceive her sisters. But it was visited by a pilgrim from Piacenza in 510 and was still upright; and he says it is not true that animals had sucked it down.

§ 2. ART AS A MOTIVE

History, in the manner described, was the main incentive for Roman tourists, as the following lines of a Roman poet under Nero on the wonders of Etna show: 'To behold beautiful temples with ancient treasures and sacred antiquities, we face the dangers of land and sea; greedily seeking the tales of old lore from folk to folk; now glad to see the Ogygian walls of Thebes, built by two brothers scarce akin: there we live the ancient times, gazing at stones which moved to song and string, and at the altar whence arose the smoke from the double offering; and we wonder at the spot where the Seven Heroes wrought and Amphiarus was swallowed up. Or the Eurotas and the City of Lycurgus and their devoted company who followed them unto death enchants

us. Or we see Athens, proud in her minstrels and her protectress Athene. Here Theseus forgot to hoist the white signal to his father on his return ; Athens, too, bears the guilt of the tragic fate of Erigone, now a famous star : thence was born Philomela, who now inhabits the vocal woods ; Procne, who nests on roofs ; Tereus the wild, who hops about on bare fields. We gaze on the ashes of Troy, and Pergamus that fell with Hector's fall, see the little mound of the great Hector, Achilles the swift, and the avenger of Hector.'

He, however, proceeds on to art as a further motive : 'Yea, Greek pictures and statues attract many : the *'Αναδυομένη* with her dripping hair, Medea the terrible, with her little ones playing at her feet, the sacrifice of Iphigenia with the father veiled, or some work of Myron. These many works of art make many cross land and sea to visit them'.

Of course, cultured Romans on their travels saw the treasures of art in Greece and Little Asia. Cicero says of Pompey, that nothing could detain him in Greece ; he would not even look at the statuary and painting of Greece, which others generally pilfered. Cicero also mentions several works of art stolen by Verres from private owners and from temples, which every visitor had been taken to see. In the chapel of Heius at Messana there was a Cupid of Praxiteles, a Hercules of Myron, two *κἀνηφόροι* of Polycletus. The house, though private, was a general tourists' resort. In Syracuse a picture of a cavalry battle of Agathocles in the temple of Minerva was a principal feature, as at Segesta the statue of Diana, which Cicero as Quaestor also saw. Propertius, in Athens, aimed at studying Plato and Demosthenes and Menander, and also the art and sculpture in bronze and ivory. Apuleius notes his seeing the portrait of Phidias on the shield of Athene on the Acropolis of Athens.

Works of art of universal fame and individually known to any cultured man, such as the larger cities of Greece still possessed even under the Empire, were always and sometimes expressly visited, though many of those mentioned by Cicero as being in Greece and Little Asia had been removed to Rome. In Cicero's time Thespiae was always visited solely for a Cupid of Praxiteles, and, according to Pliny, Cnidos for his Venus, reputed by some the masterpiece of the world. 'You travel to Olympia', says Epictetus, 'to

see the Zeus of Phidias, and deem it ill-luck to die without having viewed it'. This remark is addressed to Greeks, but may well have been applicable to Romans.

But everywhere history and not art was the object of Roman travel; art is only incidentally mentioned. Generally interest in art was superficial, stimulated only by the celebrated name or work. Once seen, and that was all; the tourist, says Tacitus, came and looked at the picture, and went away satisfied. The Roman saw in order to have seen, like modern Englishmen whose interest is mainly historical: Atticus' letter to Cicero on Athens is typical. 'Places', he says, 'containing tracks of those endeared and revered, make a certain impression on us. My darling Athens attracts me, not so much for her Greek buildings and monuments of ancient art, as for her great men, where they dwelled, sat, talked and lie buried'.

§ 3. NATURE AS AN INCENTIVE TO TRAVEL

Nature, much more than art, attracted the Roman: more recreation, says Atticus, is afforded by Nature than by art. But the feeling was very different from that of our days, not direct, but aroused by celebrity, rarity or sanctity.

Its main differentia was its religious character: the ancients attached to remarkable phenomena a divine or daemonic content, which evoked awe. This awe the Greeks personified in myths: to the Italians it remained a strange present mystery, a shapeless 'weaving and swaying of impersonal spirits' pervading all Nature. The religious sense, which felt every single instant the influence of protecting powers, was most excited by free Nature. 'Wherever some intimate place aroused pleasant recollections, or some fine view stirred the soul, some fruitful valley or fertile field provoked the sense of a divine boon, they would erect a simple altar, with a sculptured snake in gratitude to the unknowable *genius loci*.' However much the old religion might have changed in the course of the centuries, the piety of Nature remained alike to Romans and to Greeks, and its evoking causes, ever the same, never lost their hold on man's soul.

One quotation from Seneca may exemplify the many expressions of this religion of Nature to be found in Roman writers

and poets. 'You see a grove. The ancient trees are thickly clustered together; their height and their interlacing foliage shut out the sky, a huge darkness in the open fields. And a bewilderment seizes you, teaches you the presence of a god. Or some deep grotto has been hollowed out by Nature alone, and has eaten its way far into the solid rock; the soul feels a something higher: and it is meet to place altars and reverence the well-heads of great streams, the spot where a torrent bursts forth from the dark earth, where hot springs bubble up, or lakes unfathomable or mysteriously sombre.' In such solitudes, divinity seemed nearer and more present; and, more than in the turmoil of streets, was the religious sense manifested: the twilight of caves or old trees, or enclosed hills, moved the wanderer to involuntary worship. Thus places, naturally beautiful, were frequented not only for their beauty, but to worship the god of that locality.

'Living water, that came to light without man's work, a *caput aquae*, with a *perpetua causa*, as the jurists say, received worship, both in and after Pagan times.' Into these sacred wells offerings would be thrown, coins especially (they are now often found in river-beds and springs), and chapels erected. Thus there was a temple at the source of the Seine at the end of the first century; and a magnificent shrine, built in a semicircle on to the sheer cliff, overlooking 'the loveliest of views' (its ruins are still imposing), was erected over the spring in the Djebel Zaghuane, with its crystal waters: it fed the aqueducts of Roman Carthage, which were probably built by Severus and Caracalla; the Arabs included it in the Wonders of the World. Thus, too, the source of the Clitumnus in Umbria attracted visitors no less by its sanctity than its beauty. From a cypress-crowned hill it welled forth, ice-cold, of a transparent green, reflecting the ashes on either bank, expanding into a navigable stream lined with country-houses. At the sources stood an ancient temple and several chapels (one, reconsecrated for Christian use under Theodosius still exists): walls and columns were covered with inscriptions from the numerous visitors. Caligula once journeyed to Mevania to see the grove and source of the Clitumnus. There must have been many others; the Po, Pliny says, springs from a beautiful well-head.

Of the grottoes the most famous was the Corycian on

Parnassus. Pausanias calls it the greatest and most beautiful he had seen, and another of the same name near Corycos in Cilicia, a huge ravine; Pausanias describes three other great sacred caves in Little Asia. It was not strange if the wonderful stalactites and formations, the drippings of water from the roof, and the subterranean streams in these twilight or torch-light darkneses made the caves seem the dwellings of gods and nymphs, and the noises the music of daemons. The recesses of the Corycian Grotto in Cilicia, according to Pomponius Mela, awed off any one from penetrating them. All the larger caves had their deities and images of them.

Equally natural was the veneration of giant trees. 'Once', says Pliny, 'trees were the temples of the gods, and to this day the simple dedicate a tall tree to a god, and we revere images gleaming with ivory and jewels no more than the awing silence of groves'. In the depths of forests the mysterious fear, which to the ancients signified the approach of godhead, was felt most deeply. Pausanias gives a list of prehistoric trees in Greece, the willow at Samos, the oak at Dodona, the olive on the Athenian acropolis. The palm of Apollo at Delos which Odysseus had revered was said to be standing in Pliny's time; a natural impossibility for the date-palm. The oldest trees in Rome, according to Pliny, were a lotus-tree on the Vulcanal, said to be older than the city, a cypress of the same age, which fell in Nero's latter years, a lotus-tree in the courtyard of the Temple of Lucina (which was 450 years old), itself said to be older, and a few others, besides huge trunks in which several men could stand. Such trees were evidently much visited; amongst them were the pine on Mount Ida (220 feet in height) on which Attalos I of Pergamus had written, and several huge planes. 'What were more to be desired in the barren mazes of rocks in the South, and more to be worshipped and admired, than the tree with full bright foliage on a green-grey trunk, with murmuring brooks at its feet, refreshing the succeeding generations of men?' Pausanias gives prominence to the plane at Caphyae in Arcadia, planted either by Menelaos or Agamemnon. 'Greece derived trees and joy in them from Asia, where the plane and cypress had long been revered by the Iranians and the tribes West of them.' In Aulo-crène in Phrygia in Pliny's time, the plane was shown which

Apollo had selected for its height to be a gallows for Marsyas. One of the largest planes was in Lycia by a spring, no doubt also having its myth; its hollow trunk was eighty-one feet round, and its foliage at the top still spread a broad circle of shade: Licinius Mucianus the consul 'dined inside it with eighteen guests, and rested after the banquet, and acknowledged the view finer than from the gaudy marble halls of Rome'. At Gortyn in Crete was the ever-green plane, under which Zeus had embraced Europa, and celebrated in poems, Greek and Latin, which were perhaps nailed on to it.

Literary fame was a second great advertisement for tours to particular places, just as Jean Paul's Titan popularized the Borromean Isles and Ischia, at any rate up to the forties, and Scott his own highlands. A much-described district would be largely visited: most of the places already mentioned were thus celebrated. Pomponius Mela's account of the Corycian Grotto in Cilicia has a poetical ring, like Pliny's of Tempe, 'on both sides soft inclines rise till lost to view: the Peneus flows through with grassy-green banks, between avenues, with birds singing from the tree-tops'. Tempe was one of the places, imitations of which decorated Hadrian's house at Tibur. Seneca inquired of his friend Lucilius, who had toured through all Sicily, only after the real nature of the whirlpool of Charybdis: he already knew that Scylla was a harmless rock. St. Jerome, in a brief account of his journey from Italy to the East, says he had all the old legends of Scylla told him at Rhegium, of Ulysses' danger-ridden course, the songs of the Sirens and the insatiable maw of Charybdis. 'Travelling', says Seneca in one of his letters, 'will do you good by giving you knowledge of peoples, shapes of mountains, plains extending to unknown lengths, valleys with eternal waters trickling through, or some unusual river, such as the Nile with its summer floods, or the Tigris which vanishes from sight, and re-emerges as broad as ever, or the Maeander, the common-place of poets, with its contortion in and round about itself, but you will not become better or more sensible'. These rivers attract people, not for their beauty, but their greatness, fame or strange qualities. Apollinaris Sidonius, in a letter to a friend, describes his journey to Rome, and tells what famous cities, battlefields, sacred mountains, or poets' streams he has seen. 'As we are born

to lofty things', says the author of the *De Sublimitate*, 'we admire not little streams, however clear and useful, but the Nile, the Danube and the Rhine, and the Ocean'. The disappearance of the Tigris 'into a yawning cleft' and its 'underground flow', real or fabulous courses of other streams, exercised many poets. These quotations are from verses of Nero: Lucan and Dionysius (under Hadrian), the writer of a geography in verse, also deal with the same topics.

Thus we come to the third great attraction, abnormal phenomena. The floating islands in Lake Vadimonis near Ameria, Pliny the Younger says, are passed by, as being in Italy: similar, not more remarkable sights are sought abroad. Romans and Greeks in the West travelled to Gades or the West coast of Gaul to see the tides of the Atlantic, as did Lucian's friend Sabinus in Gaul. Philostratus had also seen these tides, and makes his Apollonius go to Gades for the purpose: he tells the superstition believed to this day on certain coasts, that the soul cannot depart the body except at ebb-tide. Strabo, Apuleius, Galen and Cassius Dio describe a ravine near Hierapolis in Phrygia, out of which carbonic acid came forth, and killed men and animals (except, as they said, eunuchs): they experimented with birds and other animals. This place was much frequented, a building was put up affording a more convenient view: Dio calls it a theatre, and Strabo does not mention it; in the time of Ammianus Marcellinus, the sight had been forgotten. Naturally, all spots, whence deadly fumes arose, believed to be descents into the Nether world (Averni, *Χαρόνεια*) were similarly frequented: such was the lake near Cumae still called Lago d'Averno, with its solfatara, and made world-famous by Virgil. To count up only the celebrated real or imaginary freaks of Nature, all more or less fabulous, would be impossible: and sufficient have already been instanced.

Next, an immediate interest in Nature is proved by the well-known Roman love of country life. It may have been occasioned by the insanitary condition of Rome in the summer: but it was also the desire to escape the bustle and dirt of the city, and enjoy the quiet and solitude of the country, to have, as a Greek writer says, 'the refreshing sight of mother earth'; and often enough, man's work seemed mean in comparison with the sempiternal splendour of Nature.

Hellenistic poetry evoked many echoes of this sentiment, and amongst the commonplaces of rhetoric was the contrast of town and country, art and nature, supercivilization and the life of nature. But a true feeling for nature is to be met with in many prominent Roman authors. The country, said Varro, was given by God, and the town was made by man; he preferred the fruit-stores at Scrofa's villa to the picture-galleries of Lucullus. Lucretius, too, was content to lie by the brook on the grass under a lofty tree in smiling weather on the flower-clad lawns, and to leave to others the golden halls of luxuries and lamplight and banquets and lyres. Atticus says in Cicero he could not sate his eye with the view of the islands in the Fibrenus, and despised gorgeous villas with their marble floors and rich panelling: their garden-canals were nothing beside his stream. So Seneca the Elder: 'I can scarcely believe that those who copy in their houses woods and seas and rivers have ever gazed on broad green stretches with a torrential or quiet river; have seen the sea from a height in summer calm or winter storm. Who, after viewing these mighty things, were content with the petty?'

Virgil's description of the happiness of the rustics is well known, 'were they but conscious of it'; as also his longing for the calm, pure, peaceful life of the country, his joy in valleys, refreshed by cool streams, in woods and fields and grottoes and lakes, in the lowing of oxen, and sleeping under the trees; his yearning after the dales of the Spercheus, the theme of Greek verse, and the umbrageous combes of Taygetos and Haemos. And Horace was the most eloquent on this contrast. In the country the winter was mild and the summer cool; and sleep sound; the fragrant grass brighter than bright stones, the natural spring cleaner than the fountain with its leaden pipes. So, too, Propertius praises the splendour of autonomous nature over against trim gardens; the glories of the meadow-flowers, and the clinging strength of the ivy, and the trees in the lonely ravine, the brook in its own path and the pebbly shore. Martial, too, a lover of country-life, is sympathetic towards real ruralities untainted with town. Juvenal deplors the decoration of the grotto of Egeria, and says her godhead was nearer in a clothing of grass than in a mantel of marble. Not only poets, prose-

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writers as well celebrate the superiority of Nature to human makings, and dwell on the refreshing glimpses of the silent green, the murmuring river, or the distant view, the songs of the birds and the fresh breeze, where in solitude time may be dreamed away: and, to the Romans, Nature was the true place of birth of poetry and thought.

This love of Nature was evidenced in the plans of the city homes of the rich, in which gardens and views were deemed essential. According to Pliny, Epicurus was the first architect of gardens in town. At any rate, the custom came in at the time of the *Διδόχοι*, and the feeling for Nature was more or less similar to our own. In laying out houses, this epoch took account of this passion and invented the *Cyzicene* rooms. 'These lay North, had in the middle a door, and on both sides Venetian windows, and from the two *trichinia* in them there was a view into the open. They were evidently designed for the enjoyment of Nature in the summer. Vitruvius mentions them as a part of a Greek house, occasionally, in his time, used in Italy. *Cyzicene* rooms spread in Italy with Hellenistic influence. Pliny the Younger in two gardens had them.' By Sulla's time Roman city houses had gardens and parks. The six lotus-trees in Crassus' garden on the Palatine were in 22 B.C. valued as high as the palace itself, at 3,000,000 sesterces. Cicero's friend Atticus had his house on the Quirinal; it formerly belonged to one Pamphilus; he inherited from his maternal uncle: its main feature was the park. Sallust's exaggerated phrase of palaces built like cities, points to the frequency of large gardens in Rome. Horace, too, makes repeated allusions to little woods and groves between the gaily statued peristyles: a house with a wide view on fields was highly recommended. The tendency was always to assimilate the city house to the country villa. Martial describes the *Petilian* palace, which was on the highest part of Rome: it was a *rus in urbe*; its vintages better than those from a *Falernian* vineyard; carriage-drives might be had inside the grounds, and sleep was immune from the noise of the streets and the glare of day. In Philostratus, the owner of a large house in Rhodes, which cost twenty-four talents (£5,700) to build, remarks that he need not go out much, as there were walks and groves in it. Even bath-rooms might have distant

views. Seneca observes that the luxurious rich deemed bath-rooms without large windows looking out on fields and seas only fit for moths. Nero's Golden Palace, the type of pomp, was not noticeable for gold and silver, 'a usual luxury', but for its lawns and ponds, and mock-forests and views. A jurist of the second century, writing of charges on estates, says that they consist not in doing something, but in allowing or not doing something, as e.g. that a man need not decorate his house with paintings, or lay out a garden, or arrange a beautiful view.

If this was so inside towns, in the country villas would always be on eminences. Martial praises the villa of his friend Julius Martialis on the Janiculum for its view. All Rome and the Campagna up to the Albanian mountains could be discerned, and all the little towns, the busy main roads, the Tiber up to Ponte Molle with its burden of boats. The position of the Younger Pliny's Tuscan villa can be instanced as the Roman ideal. A broad plain could be seen framed in, like an amphitheatre, by the Apennines: from the loftier peaks old forests clad the slopes, with intervals of corn-fields, vineyards, green flowering meadows, and in the valley the Tiber and many streamlets. This lofty view was a great pleasure; it was more like a picture; and the eye was charmed with variety.

Hardly ever in ancient literature, as we may expect in the South, is a waterless country praised. It was not only the pleasant gaze on the limitless blue of the sea, on the reflections in the lakes, the silvery brooks and streams, and foaming waterfalls that attracted men, but also the cooler atmosphere. Further, in the South, in the absence of water everything is grey and dry; only on the banks is the green fresh, the vegetation luxuriant, the trees shady. 'What is fairer than water?' asks Petronius. The shores of inland lakes, narrow dales with trickling rills and ravines, broad river valleys attracted the lovers of Nature.

The Vale of Tempe, ideal scenery to the ancients, 'unites the charm of the river valley with the wild grandeur of a rocky ravine'. The river Peneios here enters a ravine some four miles long, between steep offshoots from Ossa and Olympus descending sheer down, covered with foliage. Olympus presents but sheer rock, but on the right bank there is a narrow belt of fertile land, sometimes widening

into little plains, containing springs, and covered with grass, laurels, planes and oaks. The river flows through peacefully, here and there forming an islet, varying in breadth to a narrow rock channel, canopied with plane-trees, impenetrable to the sun.

Thus in all descriptions of Nature vegetation and running water are the first constituents. Horace's shady valley in the Sabine Mountains had its main charm in the spring Bandusia with its babbling waters and ancient oak, clearer than crystal and cool even in the dog-days. Catullus loved above all things, 'beyond other isles and peninsulas guarded by Neptune in lakes and waves', Sirmio on Lake Garda: no doubt it was then laid out garden-fashion: there are Roman ruins on it, perhaps of *thermae* of the date of Constantine. Far and wide, says Seneca, there is no lake whereon the villas of the Roman rich do not project, and no river. Pliny exalts Trajan for not copying his predecessors and expropriating other owners, welding all these ponds, lakes and woods into one man's sole domain. On Lake Bracciano there are the ruins of a *Sans-souci* (Παυσίλυπον) of Tiberius' time, belonging to Metia Hedonium. Pliny the Younger shows that Lake Como was lined round with villas, as it was in Cassiodorus' time, whose ranting betrays an intense love of Nature. He calls the site of the city of Comum so beautiful, as to have been built for pleasure. The sea is shell-shaped, its borders marked by the white foam, and cased in by high mountains: the shores, decorated *praetorium luminibus*, with the splendours of its palaces, are belted round with olive-woods. Vineyards hang down from the hills, their ridges crowned with wreaths of chestnuts. Snowy waterfalls percolate into the lake. A Carolingian poet celebrates the beauty of Como, its green grass ever spring-like, the olives on all sides, and laurels and myrtles, granates, damsons and lemon-trees. Less famous scenery, however, had its water-mirrors. Apollinaris Sidonius, in a modern-sounding passage, describes the rivers of Lombardy: 'the Lambro with its bulrushes, the green Adda, the torrential Etsch, the tardy Mincio'; and the oak woods on its shore, with the many singing-birds, and the thickets of reeds, in which the birds nested.

The course of the Anio, 'the most delightful of rivers', was

beshaded with woods, and lined in for all its length with villas, the most famous being Nero's at Subiaco. Tibur with its resounding grotto of Albunea, the fall of the Anio and the grove of Tiburnus owed its celebrity to the waterfall. On the estate of Manilius Vopiscus, described by Statius, were two palaces on either bank, on a calm spot intermediate between two waterfalls. A thick lofty forest came to the verge of the water, which reflected the leaves. It was cool there even in the dog-days, and the July sun could not parch the inner rooms. According to the Elder Pliny the shores of the Tiber were more lined with villas than any other river. Herodes Atticus owned a villa at Cephisia, which is still, through its cool situation, its many wells, gardens, olives, cypresses, planes and silver poplars, an 'oasis in the Attic desert'. There, according to Gellius, there was the shadow of immense groves in the greatest heat, and the melody of streams and birds ever to be heard.

In the manner of the feeling of nature of his time, and, like the Greek sophists, Josephus paints the region of Lake Gennesaret as a 'country of marvellous beauty', extraordinarily fertile, thanks to the well of Capharnaum. So, too, a notable Gaulish pilgrim of the fourth century says she had never seen a lovelier land than Yessen (Goshen), a country of vineyards, balsam, orchards and cultivated fields. Procopius and Luxorius depict the pleasure-gardens Rome erected near Carthage (in which the Vandals debauched at ease), and Luxorius extols the groves full of song-birds, the clear brooks and their mossy banks, the fragrant flowers, and the pavilions and watchtowers rising from the meadows.

But, of all regions, the ancients most loved the seashore: seashores and beautiful scenery were almost synonymous. Ancient poetry and legend is full of eloquent appreciations of the beauty of the seacoast. One passage of Catullus may be reproduced:

Hic qualis flatu placidum mare matutino
 Horrificans Zephyrus procliuas incitat undas,
 Aurora exoriente uagi sub limina solis,
 Quae tarde primum clementi flamine pulsae
 Procedunt (leni resonant plangore cachinni),
 Post uento crescente magis magis increbrescunt
 Purpureaque procul nantes a luce refulgent. (lxiv. 269. . .)

Ancient art, too, derived much inspiration from this theme, the sea, which to Romans and Greeks was the noblest and fairest sight. 'How mighty', Cicero exclaims, describing the wonders of creation, 'is the beauty of the sea, the view of its hugeness, the manifold isles, and delightful coasts'. It was an inexhaustible and perennial pleasure. Marcus Marius, the friend of Cicero, had a passage broken through on his estate at Stabiae (Castellamare) to gain a free view from his villa on to the gulf in the morning shimmer. Cicero writes to Atticus from Puteoli: 'Do I enjoy the view from the heights more, or the sea close at hand? I do not know. I cannot discriminate'. The letters of Cicero and Pliny the Younger are full of such expressions. Plutarch brings forward as a common saw, that a sail along the coast and a walk on the shore is the supreme pleasure. Libanius, in his panegyric on Antioch, tries to compensate the absence of a sea view by the absence of the seamy side of a sea-resort. The most characteristic proof, however, is Justinian's decision that no one in Constantinople might obstruct the view of the sea, a *πράγμα χαριέστατον*, by buildings less than 100 feet away. Procopius, too, exalting the beauty of the situation on the Hellespont, describes the Emperor's dwellings close on the shore, and the effect of architecture and the mirroring sea.

But the sites of Roman villas testify to this love of the sea, much more than does their literature. The villas lined the whole coast from the Gulf of Spezzia to the Gulf of Salerno and further still. How intensely Romans aimed at enjoying the sea in every fashion, and, the richer at least, built out into the sea; how they multiplied and variegated the views of it is shown by the facts already brought forward, and Pliny the Younger's special account of his villa at Laurentum. There was a dining-room built out on the coast so far, as to be sprayed if the wind were in the South-West. Through the folding doors and the windows (which went to the floor) the sea was seen from three sides. One window of a large room afforded a view of the broad calm sea. The warm sea-water swimming bath also afforded a view, and an upper window looked out on the sea and the coast. From the three windows of an alcove views of sea, villas and coast could be seen together or apart and so on. The villa of

Pollus Felix on the heights of Surrentum gave a view from every window on to Ischia, Capri and Procida, and, above all, on the sea ; at sunset 'the shadow of the wooded hills fell on the water and the palaces seemed to swim in the crystal surface'. Of the pleasure resorts on the West coast of Italy, and the North coast of Egypt we have already spoken. Near Old Canobus the foundations of a building might recently be seen, like the Roman villas, built into the sea. Fragments of statues lay about on all sides. In Greece ruins of Roman villas are met with on the coasts.

Such was the nature loved by antiquity and celebrated in literature. But any wild or savage scenery, any majesty, or terrible or sombre monotony they did not admire : valleys and hills and the coastlands were all they liked. Mountains were beautiful, as a graceful definition of the horizon, or framing of the landscape : but there was no charm for them in the hills or the mountains as such, or in the melancholy splendour of a desert ; in the enchantment to us of the modern Campagna. Catullus, who was delighted with the peninsula Sirmio on the level shore of Desenzano, would have had not a single word of praise for the Riva and its bare cliffs.

Ancient love of Nature was as intense, but narrower than that of modernity. It is typical of it that *amoenus*, charming, was the most frequent expression of admiration. Quintilian says that *species* or beauty is attributable to the 'level, charming and marine regions'. To these three categories may be added the countries mentioned as the most desirable in Lucian's *Ship*, in which all the pleasures purchasable by a Fortunatus are dealt with, viz. the environs of Athens, the Eleusinian territory by the sea, the land of Sicyon, and 'any shaded, well-watered and fertile part of Greece'. Hermogenes the *rhetor* mentions as examples of things pleasant in description and in actuality 'the beauty of a region, various plantations and kinds of running water', and similar features, recalling somehow the plane by the brook in the Phaedrus. Libanius praises Julian the Apostate for selecting Athens and not Ionia as his residence as Prince, because of the gardens and fields on the shore.

But express disclaimers of the beauty of mountains can be found. Cicero says, as an instance of the power of habit, that we can come to like any region we have long dwelt

in, 'even mountainous and hilly parts'. He makes Atticus, astounded at the beauty of the Isle of Fibrenus, say he had near Arpinum seen only rocks and hills, and wondered how his friend could like it. A further proof of this distaste for the heroic in nature is afforded by the fact that Cicero never mentions the two falls of some twenty-five metres of the arms of the Liris, enclosing the Isola, one being perpendicular, and the other a sharp incline; nor does any one after him. Virgil's admiration for 'Father Apennine', with his swaying rustling oaks and snowy head and confident gaze heavenwards, is derived from a distant view. In his enthusiastic laudation of Italy's beauty, Virgil praises her fertility in corn, oil, wine, herds, her climate, cities, peoples, lakes and seas and mines; of her mountains no single word. Seneca's impugning of Corsica as a horrible rock may be coloured by his dislike of his enforced residence and his habitual exaggeration; but it also shows that that age had no eye for the rich colouration of that island. The suburb of Antioch at the foot of Mount Casius is celebrated by Libanius, because the mountain did not terrify the inhabitants, but lavished all that joy can demand; wells and trees and gardens and blossoms, and song-birds, and a very early springtime.

To the beauty of the Alps the educated world was blind: Livy characterizes the feeling in speaking of the *foeditas* of them. Modern travellers to the desolations of ice near the North Pole have been equally impervious to the majestic terror of the scenery. At a time when every year hundreds and thousands of Romans crossed the numerous Alpine roads, and Switzerland was a Roman land, travellers had no eye save for the difficulties of the narrow mule-paths, the wilderness of ice and snow, and the horror of the avalanches. This lack of sympathy with the enchantment of the terrific in Nature is why 'of the eternal snow in the Alps, ruddy at sunset or sunrise, of the marvellous blue of the glaciers, of the magnificence of the Swiss landscape, no ancient said one word: it is why Silius Italicus describes the Alps as a horrifying barren desert, whilst lovingly dwelling on Italy's ravines and wooded shores'.

Mountain-climblings are very seldom mentioned in antiquity, and their infrequency and failure augmented their severity. They were regarded as ordeals, as Pliny's praise of the elder

naturalists shows, who indefatigably sought for herbs 'even in pathless mountains and remote deserts': and none of the ancients knew of the Alpine plants. Polybius says, in a comparison of the Greek mountains with the Alps, that the former, such as Taygetus, Parnassus, Olympus, Pelion, Ossa, Haemus and Rhodope, required only a day's ascent; the latter required five days. If, therefore, the Greek mountains were often climbed, it may have been for the view. It is possible that the Greeks, after Alexander the Great, took over with the 'inheritance of the Persians', the Persian love of panoramas. Strabo mentions a marble *belvedere* erected by them on Mount Tmolus near Sardes, affording a view of the whole valley of the Cayster. A rather scanty description of the view from Olympus in Apollonius Rhodius may be based on personal experience: 'beneath the nourishing earth was seen and the cities of men and the Holy streams, and on high peaks, and, all round, the sea'. A measurement of the height of Olympus by the plumb-line and instruments by one Xenagoras worked out at 4,814·3 feet. King Philip of Macedon in 183 B.C. undertook the ascent of Haemus, not for the sake of the view, but in the belief that the Adriatic could thence be seen, and the directest road made out. The danger of the expedition made him leave his son Demetrius behind. The summit was reached after great efforts on the third day, and altars were erected to Jupiter and the Sungod. The belief that the Adriatic and the Black Sea could be seen thence was perpetuated. Strabo contradicts Polybius in the matter, but Pomponius Mela re-affirms it. Pliny makes the height of Haemus out at six miles (1·198 geographical miles). 'Those who have ascended to the eternal snow of the summit of Argaeus near Mazaca in Cappadocia, report, says Strabo, 'that two seas can thence be seen, the Issic and the Pontic: but such people are few'. 'Hence', says Solinus, 'it is believed to be inhabited by a god'. But Mount Neptune at the North end of Sicily may often have been climbed, and the view was said to extend over the Tuscan and Adriatic Seas.

The only mountain, unquestionably often ascended, was Etna. Strabo says the station for the ascent was the little town of the same name at its foot. Shortly before his writing, a small company had climbed up, and he gives their account

of the principal crater. But, as Vesuvius was then quiescent, these ascents will have been actuated rather by science than an interest in Titanic Nature. Seneca begs his friend Lucilius, imperial *procurator* in Sicily, to ascend in his honour—he would gladly have done it himself—and inform him how far the eternal snow is from the showers of fire. The poem on Etna, probably by Lucilius, is purely scientific, and says absolutely nothing on the view to be obtained; whilst, nowadays, even in scientific reports of ascents, the view is always described. Hadrian ascended Etna to see the rare sight of the sun emerging from the sea, which from the summit has the appearance of a long crooked streak. The so-called Tower of the Philosopher on Etna, once a large building with several rooms, was found by Fazello in 1541 still to consist in a well-preserved brick edifice; it was certainly of Roman origin, and, according to Gemellaro's theory, built as a night-shelter for Hadrian on his ascent. Mount Casius was climbed by Hadrian and by Julian, as the sun could thence be seen at second cockcrow. From the top of Mount Ida it could be seen before daybreak.

For all these reasons even the later Empire must be denied the sense of the beauty of mountain scenery. If individuals possessed it, there is no evidence of it. Seneca's remark that those weary of the Campanian paradise, seek the wildernesses of Lucania and Bruttii, only confirms the position; for the strength of the desire for change is shown, according to Seneca, in the longing for an absolute contrast. Cicero, in speaking of the magnificence of creation, cites, besides the endless variety of vegetation fed by cool inexhaustible wells, clear streams, and green banks, lofty vaulted grottoes, sharp crags, jutting mountains and limitless plains: but this observation of the beauty of Nature refers to her wonders of size, variety and strangeness; for he goes on to add 'the hidden veins of gold and silver and the boundless masses of marble'. Thus the Roman feeling regarded mountains and rocks as parts and backgrounds of beautiful scenery, and was insensible to the rough, sombre or desolate, the grotesque and savage, as well as the majestic in Nature.

VIII. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MODERN FEELING FOR THE ROMANTIC IN NATURE

§ 1

The love of mountainous scenery and the romantic in Nature is to-day so universal and so primary that it has been ascribed to antiquity without or in despite of evidence. It is alleged 'that the epithets wild, savage, horrible might long be used before thought becomes aware what high feelings such scenes arouse; that words and feeling often go apart'. Such a contradiction may exist awhile, but demands strong proof and inexorable reasons.

In general, however, our thesis is undisputed, and accepted as a characteristic of antiquity. To Greeks and Romans, says Humboldt, only the homely was pleasant in a landscape, and not what we call wild or romantic. Yet the love of the romantic was foreign to the Middle Ages, and a long period after the Renaissance, or, at least, found but doubtful and isolated expression until about 1750: its universality is hardly one hundred years old.

In German medieval poetry, Nature is an infrequent theme. In Court heroic poems and lyrics conventional decorative epithets occur, such as the gentle May, the song of the birds, or scenery supplied a foreground. 'From the *Minne-dichter* no one could surmise that the noble poets inhabited and visited thousands of lofty castles in many lands. In the Latin poems of the clerics there is none of the glimpse afar, nothing of real scenery.' 'Knight and poet were blind to Nature's greatneses, or charms, or colours, to the evening glow in the sky, the finely wrought lines, steep rocks, snow-capped mountains, glaciers, rushing streams, waterfalls.'

Old English poetry contains unambiguous expressions of distaste for the mountains. An ideal scenery depicted by Cynewulf in the eighth century tells of green, flowering fragrant fields, blossoming trees, cold clear brooks and wells: but nothing of 'mountains, hollows, ravines or hills, nothing wild or irregular'. Thus too in *Sir Orfeo*, an epic of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, a beautiful district is brilliant like the midday sun, level, green; no valleys and no hills. Chaucer speaks of sheer cliffs, as horrid chaos,

not the work of an all-wise God ; he is thinking mainly of the danger to mariners : but the phrase, referring to a beautiful garden rich in green and flowers, and the work of man, clearly indicates his preference. In Shakespeare there is no sign of the impression produced by mountain scenery, nor in *Cymbeline* of its influence on character. Shakespeare seems ' caught by the spell of Nature and her nearest view, as though some Avon thicket with flowers and shadows possessed him. But for the distant he has no single word to say ' (Jacob Burckhardt, 1889).

Dante has the same preference for the broad fruitful plain, and found rocky districts ugly. The monotonous Lombard plain he calls *lo dolce piano*, from Vercelli down to Marzabo ; and, as examples of sheer savagery, he speaks of the road between Tra Leric¹ and Turbia. But Petrarch had a quicker intelligence for those incomparable shores, despite their steep rocks. He delights in the range by the *riviera di Levante* as charming in its sharp declivities and vegetation, and in the meandering coast of the Gulf of Genoa with its splendid outlines and shifting views. But this larger appreciation is unique even in Petrarch. In 1350, contemplating Lake Garda with its sea-like waves (a reminiscence of Virgil), his eye gazed long on the broad fertile plain to the left. In his description of the Roman Campagna he emphasizes the richness of the hills in flocks wild and tame, the many springs, the tilled fields, the bounty of Bacchus and Ceres, the beauty of the near lakes, rivers and the sea : his admiration of the Vale of Vacluse recalls Virgil or Horace. He is always exulting in his hermitage amid the lowing herds, the bird-songs and the rustling water, the abundant olives and vines and crops. Enea Silvio Piccolomini (Pope Pius II), in his inspired description of Italian scenery, says nothing that Pliny the Younger might not have written.

But if medieval literature shows not a sign of a sense for the Romantic in Nature, some few may have had the appreciation of educated Europe, North and Central. 'How far paintings of scenery, which developed fully by the end of the thirteenth century, can be regarded as an index of the feeling for Nature, is a question incapable of a simple reply. The lay and the expert in art do not hold the same

¹ Tra Leric e Turbia la più disorta, La più romita via. . . . (P. III. 49).

views, as modern landscapes show. The masses of to-day idolize mountain scenery, but art by predilection paints what common opinion deems ugly. The public appreciates such pictures, because the artist reproduces latent beauty to the less sensitive eye of his gazer. The same may have been the case for the older school of landscape painting, and, all the more so, the more we go back in the history of art.'

For this reason alone W. H. Riehl's very instructive monograph *On the Eye for Scenery* must be wrong, in concluding from the practice of German fifteenth and sixteenth century artists of introducing craggy backgrounds, that bare mountainous scenery was esteemed the ideal: not to speak of the rule not being as universal as Riehl thinks. Pure mountainous scenery is only introduced when in character; on pictures of hermits, of the Night at Gethsemane, the Road to Calvary, etc. And the backgrounds are never wide views or agricultural. The artist rather intends a combination of various imaginary sceneries, including rocks. A frequent composition of this sort consists in the rockwork framing in the foreground, and jutting into the horizon behind a designedly level centre-piece. This conventionalism is instanced, by a view of Cologne with sharp crags all round. In these cases the brokenness of the cliffs becomes, partially at least, a mere matter of style. The late Gothic period delighted in sharp, broken, dented lines, both in the arbitrary architecture and the crafts, and the copying of bodies and costume. The same style was thrust upon inanimate Nature. For it is observable that this seeming predilection for mountainous landscapes is far commoner in woodcuts and etchings, and is comparable to the fondness for leafless and contorted trees.

Italian landscape is quite different. Its tone is that of the gay idyll, even in representations of history and the Crucifixion. Leonardo da Vinci is an exception, and is in advance of his time in this, as in much else. He loves mountains, not only his own Apennines with their delicate contours and calm surfaces, but the Alps, which he visited as a man. He puts an Alpine background into the portrait of his fellow-Florentine, Monna Lisa. He may be said to be the first man in the world to sympathize warmly with the wild majesty of the high hills. This comprehension of mountains is something quite different from the interest in their detail in Dürer's

notebook in the Tyrol, or the arbitrary combinations of an Altdorffer, Patinier, or Bles. A few of his pupils tried, to imitate him ; but this was all the influence he had on the public or on artists.

Italian landscape developed to an equal weight with the figure, and, at last, to independence in the Venetian school, especially in the masters, born on the *terra firma*, Giorgione di Castelfranco, Palma di Bergamo, and Titian. Titian was born in the Alps, and draws mountain-landscapes, though they never dominate, as much as in Leonardo da Vinci's Monna Lisa, Maria e Anna (at Paris), Risurrezzione (at Berlin). He affects a hilly foreground inhabited, with leafy trees, and the mountains afar. Leonardo loves the phantastic or terrifying, but Titian pours into his mighty scenery a feeling of majestic peace and jocund solemnity. His is the harmony taken up by Carracci, Poussin and Claude ; he created the classic landscape.

However few or many the lay who realized these first interpreters of landscape, it is certain that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries North and South differed much in their feeling: the one is classical, and the other Romantic. Probably, Northern art, if freely developed, would have created a public with the same tendencies. But the Renaissance spirit conquered the North in aesthetics and in the aesthetics of Nature ; Italian art and its pupil French art overcame Germany. The reaction of the German genius in the seventeenth century in the Dutch School, scarcely affected ordinary taste. Even in Holland the realists who had no lack of the romantic spirit did not gain the approval of the majority of the educated ; these rather sided with the Italian style. The eighteenth century paid absolute homage to decadent classicism.¹

Travellers were few who visited the mountains before the eighteenth century for scenery's sake ; in the diaries of those who were forced to cross them, there are few expressions of admiration. Magister Thietmar in 1217, on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, found Mount Carmel beautiful (*visu delectabilis*), 'because it abounded in dales, and was good grazing-ground'. The same qualities awarded a certificate

¹ G. Dehio.

of 'pleasant' to Mount Lebanon from four men who travelled to Jerusalem in 1556; the same view was expressed by Leonhard Rauhwolf (1573-1576), a physician and botanist of Augsburg. Enea Silvio visited Scotland, and speaks of the customs, saying nothing of the scenery. But Leonardo Bruni of Arezzo describes his impression of the Alps on his way through the Tyrol and Arlberg (Mons Aquilae) to the Council of Constance. 'So huge are the mountains and rocks, so manifold and broad the ridges, so awing the peaks and numberless ascents, that one fitly wonders what the mother and shaper of the world, Nature, was thinking of. At the sight of these eternal and unbroken masses, a shuddering and awe (*horror quidam . . . religio*) seized me, which the memory of them still recalls.' Trent he calls an agreeable town 'considering the surrounding country', for above and below, is the plain, and it is well situated on the river. Tramin is a beautiful and rich spot, but *terribiliter* overshadowed by frowning rocks. The Lake of Constance he liked exceedingly.

German pilgrims to the Holy Land generally passed through the Tyrol, especially after the construction about 1480 by Duke Sigismund of Austria of a good road on the traces of the old dangerous one, between Brixen and Bozen, the Kuntersweg (named after a citizen of Bozen, who built it in the fourteenth century). Felix Fabri, a preacher-monk, of Ulm, crossed by the Kuntersweg on both of his pilgrimages to the Holy Land in 1480 and 1483 both ways: before and after reconstruction. He says: 'The mountains are very horrible, and one is either in the glare of the sun or the chill of the ice; they stretch up beyond the clouds; but the valleys are very pleasant (*amoenae*), very fertile, and produce all the delicacies (*deliciae*) of the world, a real paradise. They are densely inhabited, and there are also many mines, especially silver-mines'.

In the travels of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, horror seems to have been the only or the main feeling produced by the majesty of the mountains. Georg Sabinus (the son-in-law of Melanchthon and first Rector of the University of Königsberg, 1544) speaks in his journey to Trent only of the difficulties and horrors of the Alps, the yawning abysses, huge piles of snow, the cold, the avalanches, the

storms and torrents, which rolled obstructions down. Sebastian Münster shuddered on the Gemmi Pass, and describes the Swiss valleys as pretty, and the mountains and rocks and the Vale of the Rhine as cruel and frightful. So also Samuel Kiechel of Ulm, in his long tours from 1585-1589 aiming at the Holy Land, visited Prussia, Sweden and Poland, but not Switzerland, and returned by Venice and the Tyrol. The mountains impressed him, too, as merely unpassable, and uninviting in contrast with the 'beautiful country'. He was most at home in the garden-like plains, near the Hague, Delft, and Verona to Mantua, all 'beautiful, level or fertile or pleasant'. The Lombardy flats were his ideal. Kiechel speaks of the banks of the Nile and the 'pleasant air, the which, if but Christians dwelt therein, were as pleasant a passage as from Padua to Luza or Fusina to Venice'. Heinrich Schickhart the architect in 1599 accompanied Duke Frederick of Würtemberg to Italy, and 'is glad' on his way back near Nesselwang (between Füssen and Kempten), to leave 'the horrible wearisome mountains, which took ten days to cross'. J. Furttenbach, in his *Novum Itinerarium Italiae* of 1627, characterizes the Splügen, as a 'savage disgusting wilderness'. Opitz travelled far, had been in Transylvania; but in his bucolic poem *Zlatna* never mentions the charm of any scenery. Paul Fleming's poems do not contain one word of nature-impressions in his journey to Persia. Landgrave Ernst von Hessen Rheinfels, in his *Travels* (from 1636-1642), passes over the sea and the Alps and Italy without expressing admiration, but celebrates Lombardy 'as a goodly land, wherein one fareth as in a garden, and seeth nought but fair corn-land and rows of trees'.

The dwellers in the plains were cowed at the first sight of the terror of the mountains, and the danger of them rendered habituation all the harder: but the hillmen could fully appreciate their own country. For whilst in 1481 the Swiss Abbot Albert von Bonstetten of Zürich describes the Gotthard, as Silius Italicus might have done, in the sixteenth century, Konrad Gesner (1516-1565), the Linnaeus of his time, a physician, naturalist and litterateur, speaks as enthusiastically of the mountains as any modern might. 'As long as I may live', he writes to a friend at Glarus in a letter 'On the admiration of mountains', 'I have resolved to climb at least one mountain

every year, partly to examine the flora, partly for health of mind and body. What a pleasure it is to behold the huge mountains and to stand above the clouds! It awes the soul to be surrounded with the snow cathedral built by the World-architect in a single day! How empty and lowly their life, who crawl about on the level to earn and live for the day; who know not the earthly paradise'. Mount Pilatus or the Brocken (Fracmont, *mons fractus*) attracted him more than the Rigi, as it did others of his contemporaries. The ascent of Pilatus had been forbidden because of the evil spirit of the mountain; up to 1769, it was allowed only conditionally: in 1518 four Swiss (amongst them Vadius and Myconius) made the ascent: a climb repeated by Gesner with three young men, under the sanction of the town of Lucerne: on their return they were feasted. Gesner, in his description of the ascent, says that all the senses are delighted, but the eyes especially. Nowhere is Nature so sublime as on the heights: the panorama extends over meadows, rocks, caves, valleys, ravines, hills, and scenes in all four seasons. It is the healthiest and noblest exercise for mind and body.

The succeeding epochs find only in the Swiss admirers of the Alps. Joseph Jacob Grasser of Bâle says of the Alps in his Latin description of a tour from Frankfort to Italy through Switzerland (1624): 'Here the painter finds colour but Nature out-does art. The ravines, the tortuous paths, the waterfalls, the bridges, the lakes and meadows and huge trees, earth and heaven are ever fresh, ever astounding and interesting'.

Jacob Scheuchzer, town physician of Zürich (1672-1738) from 1702-1711, used with his pupils to tour in the Alps and could 'testify that the wild lonely spots delighted and aroused him more than Aristotle, Epicurus and Descartes. *Etiam hic dei sunt*, as the pagan philosopher said. The measureless bounty, wisdom and power of God is seized and grasped: the Alps are the armoury of the wonders of Nature; and God's own special temple, far above any human architecture.' He, too, exults in the rearing vistas of meadows and glaciers, valleys and hills. But the heart of the Alps was still unknown, even in Switzerland, and traditionally feared. Scheuchzer (whose writings were utilized by Schiller for his Tell) believed

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the deepest crevices were occupied by dragons, varieties of which he depicted in his *Natural History of Switzerland*. In 1751 the Swiss believed in a sea of ice from Glarus over the Gotthard and the Grimsel to Lauterbrunnen, whence the glaciers were off-shoots. G. S. Gruner of Bern, in his exhaustive three volumes on the *Ice-Mountains of Switzerland* (1760), 'lacks words to express the horror of the great heights'; Guttanen, a pleasant valley, is described as 'combining all the terrors of Nature'.

Travelling, when it revived in the sixteenth century, aimed at utility rather than enjoyment, and only knowledge could be an incentive to dangerous and costly journeys. 'Traveling', said Muret (1526-1585), 'is useful and pleasant; but the wise man follows Horace's maxim, and praises foreign lands from his own home'. But the letters of Justus Lipsius (1547-1606) shows that after 1550 the grand tour was the finishing touch to a gentleman's education: in 1578 he writes from Antwerp to Philip Lanoy at Douai, approving his intention of going to Italy: 'Of old, and nowadays, great men have always travelled'. But the use of any sensible voyage was increased knowledge of manners and customs and constitutions of foreign lands, and a broadening of the mind. He recommends in Italy the places of historical interest, and the study of the social life, and scarcely refers to the country, 'which in Italy is varied and beautiful'.

Similarly, Caspar Stein, a physician of Königsberg (1592-1652), composed an account of his European travels from 1612-1621 in an (unprinted) work, entitled *Peregrinus, sive Peregrinator terrestris et coelestis*. Martin Zeiller, the seventeenth-century Baedeker, published a series of special handbooks for Germany, England, France, Italy, Spain and Hungary, and a *Fidus Achates* (Ulm, 1653, 16°.) containing 160 itineraries. He, too, only mentions the sights (divided into the three categories of ecclesiastical, secular, and private), and practically only deals with the towns. In the *Mercurius Helvetiae* of Dr. J. Wagner of Zürich, 1701, entitled 'An exhaustive description of all places, cloisters, and castles alphabetically arranged', not a word is said of the mountains. Nature was an incidental pleasure, not worth recording in a guide-book.

Up to the eighteenth century, the mountain-world was

practically unknown to the cultured of Europe, partly as being inaccessible and uncomfortable, and partly the rugged rather frightened than allured. Thus the feeling of Nature, being crippled, was narrowed down by its own limitations.

This is not inconsistent with earlier expressions of liking for distant views of hills. Conrad Celtis (1459-1508) praises a lofty castle and the delightful banks of the Neckar near Heidelberg, and also the panorama of the Alps, visible on the heights near Freising above the rushing Isar. Leonhard Rauhwolf (1573-76) liked standing on the flat roof of a Maronite cloister in Lebanon, and thought it 'the fairest spot, in view of the high snowy mountains; especially at daybreak, with the cedars in sight, and other hills, used as pastures, with the dark deep valley below'. There is no sign of romanticism in this; for the ancients recognized mountains as backgrounds.

A newer feeling is manifested, as J. Burckhardt pointed out, in a letter of Mme de Sévigné, 'who felt the full spell of landscapes near and distant. In many of her letters one may remark her delight in the beauty of trees and woods, the golden autumn-tints, the sunset-hues and the moonlit nights. But on her travels her outlook is widened, and she is almost alone in enjoying the scenery on the lower Seine and Loire, and the outlines of Mont St. Michel. Of the lofty Grignan and Mont Ventoux, which looks out over Provence and Languedoc, she says (3rd July, 1689): '*j'aime fort tous ces amphithéâtres*'. And even in a hard winter when Grignan was all snow (3rd February, 1695): '*nos montagnes sont charmantes dans leur excès d'horreur*'; and she longs a painter to depict '*l'étendue de toutes ces épouvantables beautés*'. Addison's Travels (1701-1703) in Switzerland and Italy also betray the awakening of the newer feeling. The tour of the Lake of Geneva, which took five days, aroused his wonder. The views of the Alps from a Carthusian monastery at Ripaille, 'with the many rugged peaks and precipices, filled his soul with a sort of agreeable shuddering at this most misshapen scenery'. He was apparently surprised that the terrible could be beautiful. H. C. Brockes, the author of *The Earthly Pleasure in God* (1680-1747), saw the Alps in 1703, and felt a mixture of fear and delight; he calls the ice-floes gruesomely beautiful; many years later in the

Harz he recognized anew that the rude mountains inspire at once terror and pleasure.

Lady Wortley Montagu (1690-1762) fully understood and liked wild beauty. True, she speaks of the 'frightful precipices separating Bohemia and Saxony, and the horrible Alps so much talked about'. She describes crossing Mount Cenis (25th September, 1718), as a 'prodigious' view of mountains of eternal snow, clouds far beneath her, huge waterfalls whirling confusedly from the cliffs, which would have been 'entertaining' to her, had it not been so intensely cold. In a letter dated the 11th December, 1758, from Venice, she intends visiting the unknown Tyrol, from the reputation of its beauty: she had always most loved valleys set in with high hills. Her favourite spot was Lovere, on Lake Iseo, shut in by unsurmountable hills and enchantingly remote, and she calls it the most beautiful romantic region that she has seen. Whilst sailing down the Danube from Regensburg she enjoyed the kaleidoscope of populous towns and romantic desolations, isolated from all human traffic, and the shores with their delightful variety of woods, rocks and hills, planted with vineyards, cornfields, cities and ruins.

Gray (1716-1771) had the full modern feeling: as his impressions of the Grande Chartreuse near Grenoble show. On the one side, a rock overgrown with trees, on the other a sheer cliff, a thunderous torrent and a deep precipice gave him the sense of the most romantic and marvellous scenery he knew of. Every torrent and rock seemed full of poetry and religion to him; and ought to convert atheists; fancy could easily see spirits there at noon even. According to H. A. J. Munro, a visit to the Lake District filled him with the same sense of the picturesque. Scott is wrong in attributing to Gray in *The Fair Maid of Perth* (chap. i) the expression 'beauty in the lap of terror': he was thinking of Shelley's, 'A tranquil spot that seemed to smile, even in the lap of horror' (*Alastor*).

But as long as Switzerland was a mere stage on journeys and a difficult one at that, such emotions are few and far between. In *Grandison* (1753) the passage from France to Savoy, from spring to winter, was a mere experience of snow and biting cold winds; and everything seemed 'excessively miserable' in that 'worst of lands' Savoy. But less inclement conditions in a hurried journey did not create

a more favourable view. For the most part the ancient feeling reigned unchecked ; and to most travellers the Alps inspired only horror. Even President de Brosses (1709-1777) in his *Lettres d'Italie* follows Misson, the author of a popular guide to Italy in four volumes, in seeing only bad cobbled roads, and in preferring the fertile plains : but he shows very little feeling for Nature. He considers French gardens better than Italian, of which few equal St. Cloud and Marly, and the waterfall at Tivoli better than the one at Terni as more accessible.

Thus, too, in the popular description of his travels through Germany, Switzerland and Italy, from 1729-1731 by J. G. Keyssler (a third edition was published in 1776). He makes much mention of natural features, such as the waterfall at Terni, the view of Genoa from the sea, and delights in distant views ; but his strongest epithet of admiration is 'pleasant', and he prefers any fertile tilled plain to the most magnificent scenery, which he does not imagine could be beautiful. Thus he extols the monotonous country round Mantua. 'Panegyric falls flat at this fertile plain, planted with rows of trees and vineyards, especially at this season of nightingales. In Italy such scenery is common, and almost ceases to awake surprise. But I am sure that any one accustomed to the hilly Tyrol, Salzburg, the Harz, the Saxon hill-towns, the forests of Thuringia and Pomerania, the sandy stretches of Silesia, or Brandenburg or Mecklenburg, or the moors of Lüneburg or Westphalia, any one from these suddenly transported to the choicest parts of Italy would be supremely delighted.' The Salzburg and Tyrol Alps, the Lüneburg moors and the Mark pine forests are all branded unfertile or ugly and not 'pleasant'.

In 1729 Haller's *Alps* appeared ; it was inspired by a great scientific exploration in 1728. This poem was very popular (by 1777 it had passed through thirty editions), and 'attracted the attention of Europe to Switzerland, shedding glory on land and people for half a century. The book heralded in the unbroken succession of tourists to Switzerland, admirers, not only of the singular character of the country, but also of its inhabitants'.

For the next few decades this new attention was concentrated on the customs of the country : for Haller painted

the Arcadia of this people of herds, with the Alps as a general vague background. Haller's diaries of his tours in Germany, England and Holland (1723-1727) show how little the poet admired scenery. His sense of it was most satisfied in Holland, a 'very pleasant' country, with straight canals and avenues, gardens, fields and pastures; where no tree grows beyond its measure, no spot is uncultivated. He is most pleased at the moonlit road in Leiden, a long waterway lined with trees. The road from Amsterdam to Utrecht is 'an enchanted land. Every village, every fen is amid gardens and country-houses, the river is full of swans, the land thoroughly tilled; it is a picture of perfection'. He agrees with Johnson that mountains are 'unnatural protuberances on the face of the earth', and includes hills as well: for Heidelberg he finds 'unpleasant, in the valley of the Neckar, between hills'.

Haller's *Alps* did not make foreign tours in the Alps any more frequent. The Swiss patricians even designed their houses with the garden pavilion looking out on the main building, and the wall shutting out the view of the Alps; just as in Coppet the gardens exclude the view of the Lake of Geneva. Voltaire's room at Ferney did not open on to Mont Blanc, because the snow dazzled his eyes; and he never once essayed the climbing of the Alps he could always see. Klopstock from the 23rd July, 1750, to February, 1751, stayed at Zürich, but to Bodmer's astonishment never betrayed 'any curiosity to look at the Alps from near or afar': he only conceived the idea of a tour in the Alps long after his arrival; it was frustrated by an unusually early fall of snow. Klopstock was an enthusiastic Nature-lover, and his neglect of his opportunities shows that most tourists of that time were content with merely seeing the Alps. Gibbon stayed at Lausanne from the 21st September to the 20th October, 1755, and, after two years, made a journey through Switzerland. Foreign visitors used not to climb and look at the glaciers, though they came to see the marvels of Nature. Gibbon's main interest was in the various constitutions of the republics: he visited the principal cities and their churches, armouries, libraries and chief men: his object was to learn men and customs. Haller's *Alps* contributed only indirectly to the spread of the love of Nature, by advertising Switzerland.

§ 2

Konrad Gesner's enthusiasm for the Alps was thus almost unique ; thus, too, the Scottish Highlands were appreciated mainly by their inhabitants. Thomson's warm appreciation in his *Autumn* of the beauty of Caledonia (1729) is similar to the expressions of Burns' poem on the Highlands fifty years later. On the other hand, Captain Burt, who travelled there about the same time, thinks a sandy steppe preferable. Goldsmith ventured so far in 1733 and spoke with disgust of the wilderness : like Haller, he declared the neighbourhood of Leiden incomparable. Johnson in 1773 visited what are now deemed the most beautiful parts and replied, when asked how he liked them : ' Who could like them ? ' He describes the dreary monotony of the treeless moors and naked hills, as only occasionally varied with a sudden waterfall. ' An eye accustomed to flowery pastures and waving harvests is astonished and repelled by the wide extent of hopeless sterility.'

' The appearance is that of matter incapable of form or usefulness, dismissed by Nature from her care, and disinherited of her favours, left in its original elemental state. . . . It will very readily occur that this uniformity of barrenness can afford very little amusement to the traveller ; it is easy to sit at home and conceive rocks and heath and waterfalls : that these journeys are useless labours which neither impregnate the imagination, nor enlarge the understanding.' ' Had Loch Lomond been in a happier climate, it would have been the boast of wealth and vanity to own one of the little spots which it encloses, and to have employed upon it all the arts of embellishment. But, as it is, the islets, which court the gazer from a distance, disgust him at his approach, when he finds, instead of soft lawns and shady thickets, nothing more than uncultivated ruggedness.'

Macaulay, who quotes Burt and Johnson, makes the reason of this blindness their insecurity. This may have been a contributory cause, but Thomson's enthusiasm belies Macaulay's assigning the distaste to this one fact. The German mountains, which Keyssler disdained, were safe and convenient : and modern travellers face danger to see Lebanon or the Cordilleras, or the heart of Africa. Despite Dr. Johnson, according to Isabella Bird, the North American mountains excite fancy and exalt the spirit.

In the early eighteenth century, Romance in scenery was almost unfelt in England. The English officers at Fort Augustus longed to be released and free from the wind and rain of July : for there was no sun, only a dark sky and dun rocks, clouds of rain, ice-cold winds, the roar of swollen waters. De Foe's *Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain* (1724) scarcely contains one reference to the beauty of Nature.

The publication of Ossian's poems in 1760 developed the taste for the Highlands ; they were full of the passion for the sombre and desolate in Nature. Werther replaced Homer by Ossian in his heart and cries out : ' What a new world he guides me into ! I wander on the heath, with the storm piping in my ears, and see it wafting the spirits of my forebears in cloudy shades under the dimming moon ; I hear the mountain stream roar down and in its flow the gnomes groan in their caves, and the laments of the maiden weeping unto death round the four moss and grass-grown stones of her lover's tomb '. This mood was the mood of the Highlands.

The new romance was born, but had to struggle for existence. A hundred years ago the beauty of the Highlands was far from being absolutely admitted : Dr. Beattie (1735-1803) says : ' The Highlands of Scotland are picturesque, but in general a melancholy country. Long tracts of mountainous desert, covered with dark heath, and often obscured by misty weather ; narrow vallies thinly inhabited, and bounded by precipices resounding with the fall of torrents ; a soil so rugged and a climate so dreary, as in many parts to admit neither the amusements of pasturage nor the labours of agriculture ; the mournful dashing of waves along the firths and lakes that intersect the country ; the portentous noises which every change of the wind, and every increase and diminution of the waters, are apt to raise in a lonely region full of echoes and rocks and caverns ; the grotesque and ghastly appearance of such a landscape by the light of the moon ; objects like these diffuse a gloom over the fancy, which may be compatible enough with occasional and social merriment, but cannot fail to tincture the thoughts of a native in the hour of silence and solitude '.

§ 3

Thus, by about 1750, the feeling for the romantic and

terrible in Nature had made some progress, especially in the mountainous lands: but Rousseau was its first real founder and celebrator.

The lake of Geneva, his birthplace, was the aptest place in all Europe to engender a new feeling for Nature. The Northern coasts had already attracted nature lovers; 'the lake of Geneva', says Sebastian Münster, 'is girt round with lovely scenery, especially at Vivis'. The beautiful declivities required the severity of the mountains to complete them. 'Genève', says Misson (*Nouveau voyage d'Italie*, 1702, pp. 239), 'est dans une charmante situation. Tout est agréable aux environs; on peut même dire que la Nature y est magnifique. Le lac, les montagnes, les rivières, les plaines, les coteaux, les promenades, les jolies maisons de campagne; tout contribue à embellir le séjour'. In 1728 Haller and Johann Gesner were looking at the Lake from a terrace at Lausanne: he says, 'ce mélange d'affreux et d'agréable, de cultivé et de sauvage a un charme qu'ignorent ceux qui sont indifférents pour la Nature'. Vévey attracted Rousseau in his boyhood, haunted his memory, and became the theatre for his *La nouvelle Héloïse*. He makes the hero in that novel on his return call this 'rich and fertile country the most beautiful human eye ever saw, a residence superior to any he had seen in his travel round the world'.

Rousseau's love of the country was intense and, if anything, over-coloured by his hermit-life and hatred of super-civilization. Nature existed to him wherever man and his sorrows did not invade. 'She seems', says Julie, 'to withdraw her real charms from men insensitive, who pervert them, whilst in the enchanted region'. 'She flees populous resorts, and lavishes her mighty spells on mountain-peaks and in forests, and on uninhabited isles.' Rousseau was never so happy as when, in the glamour of seclusion, he found some forest glade, unprofaned by the hand of man, no mediator between him and Nature. He could only pray in the open, and his prayer was a devout uplifting of his heart to the creator of kindly Nature, whose beauty he might behold. In the solitude of meadows and woods he forgot the persecutions of men, their jealousies and scoldings, and the evils with which they have repaid his tender disposition.

Rousseau loved untouched Nature, but, most of all, wild

sombre scenery. 'Every one knows', he says, 'my ideal of beautiful scenery. No plain, however lovely, realizes it. I want torrents, rocks, pines, dark woods, mountains, rough paths, and frightful precipices'. And as his melancholy grew, so did this passion for savage solitudes. 'Nowhere did I feel so happy as on the lonely Isle of Peter in Lake Biel. Its shores are wilder and more romantic than those of the Lake of Geneva, as the rocks and forests come down to the shore; yet it is not less smiling. Only the eagle's cry, and twittering of birds and the mountain-torrents interrupt the stillness.'

La nouvelle Héloïse (1761) revealed to the world a new source of enjoyment in the Alps. A marvellous descriptiveness disclosed for the first time the delight of regions where (as St. Preux writes in a letter to his beloved) huge rocks towered over the walker's head, and there were lofty turbulent waterfalls involving him in a cloud of spray, an eternal torrent hollowing out a giddy precipice; out of a twilight thicket or a ravine into the full view of a flowery meadow. What enchanted the traveller in Valais was the commixture of savage and cultivated scenery, and, even more, the contrasts and combinations of all seasons and climates. To this manifoldness he ascribed the new peace of his soul, and felt it as the cause when climbing beyond the clouds to a height whence storms thundered beneath his feet.

La nouvelle Héloïse was also epoch-making in teaching all sensitive and weary souls to find refuge from the petty turmoils of men in the still greatness of Nature. The gospel of the charm of deserts to the sensitive, and their horror to the dull, was propagated. St. Preux, in absolute isolation from his love, found his days as charming as they were sad. 'A torrent of melted snow twenty paces away falling into dirty water and sweeping stones and obstacles in its course. Behind us an impenetrable chain of rocks, in the direction of the Alps or glaciers, covered with age-old ice. Black pine-forests with their sombre shadow to the right; to the left oaks; beyond the torrent, and, at the bottom, the endless lake extending from Pays de Vaud, and crowned by the Jura.'

Rousseau caused the popularization and transformation of the feeling for mountainous nature. The *Nouvelle Héloïse* made subjective appreciations of Nature usual. Nature

was invested with a soul, larger than that of man, and a language and a meaning in her eternal changes: 'in the high hills, and lonely woods and valleys was a dumb reflection of herself'. Rousseau's individualism stood in opposition to German regulations of life, introduced by the *Sturm und Drang* period, and directed attention to a Nature previously neglected. The melancholy broodings of the next generation corresponded with the unclassical romantic in Nature. Rousseau's hermitage at Meillerie was the prototype of the scenery henceforth sought after.

La nouvelle Héloïse and his other writings had the effect of advertising the Lake of Geneva and West Switzerland. In 1763 Justus Möser wrote to Abt, after reading the book, that he might send him back something of these wonderful Alps. In 1779 Goethe almost wept on seeing Meillerie, the 'dent du Chamant' and all the lively scenes of Rousseau's lonely life. In 1788 Meiners made a 'pilgrimage to the theatre of Héloïse, as did all travellers to Lausanne and Englishmen in especial, *Héloïse* in hand'. Coxe's *Travels in Switzerland* and in the country of the Grisons (1776, 79, 85, 86) was the guide-book of that time and followed Rousseau's footsteps.

Coxe's book was translated and amplified by Ramond de Carbonnières (1755-1827), a master of words and an expert on mountains. Coxe discoursed mainly on the plains and valleys, the cities and the customs. Ramond gave first place to the heights which he had climbed. Ramond also attempted to acclimatize Werther in France in his *Aventures du jeune d'Olban* (1777), dedicated to Lenz, and afterwards wrote classic works on the Pyrenees, *Observations sur les Pyrénées* (1789), and *Voyage au Mont Perdu* (1801). Sainte-Beuve says 'that Ramond as the Saussure of the Pyrenees painted quite new canvases: that he wanted men to have the courage of their feelings, and express their great natural thoughts freely'. Nothing mountainous frightens him.

Ramond wrote at an inopportune time, and he is almost forgotten, save in France. So, too, Étienne de Sénancour (born 1770), who described the Alps in his *Oberman* (1804), and was a second Ossian and Werther: his style is mediate between Ruysdael and Salvator Rosa. The discoverer of the charms of the heights after Rousseau was Saussure of Geneva.

Töpffer of Geneva (1799-1846) properly divided the Alps into three zones : the lowest including the hills up to the nut-trees, the limit of Rousseau's explorations ; the second more severe and difficult, and desolate ; pines and larches grow in it, and there are ravines and torrents ; alive with the charm of the wild. The third is the ice-region, with only Alpine roses and hardy bushes in the crevices or bordering on the eternal snow. This third region Saussure discovered. In antiquity and modernity naturalists and botanists were the first to approach and learn to love the Alps.

In 1741 two Englishmen, Pococke and Windham, discovered Chamouny, but for twenty to twenty-five years the place was seldom visited, and only by the English. In Homan's splendid *Atlas Novus reipublicae Helvetiae* (1769) Mont Blanc and the older Montagne Maudite are not found ; under the *glacières de Faucigny*, the words 'Here are terrible glaciers and ice-mountains.'

Saussure, an ardent student of the High Alps, began exploring at Chamouny in 1760, and ascended Mont Blanc in 1787. Like Ramond, this indefatigable climber and naturalist was also a master of the pen : his simpler style effectively gives an impression of that scenery, unviewed until then of any mortal eye, and unparalleled in Nature, and communicates to his readers his mixture of terror and wonder. He realized for the first time on those immense heights, with the stars barely illumining the peaks and only marking the distances and the rocks, their brooding silence and fantastic terror : 'I seemed to have survived the universe, and to see its corpse at my feet'. The tale of the dangers overcome made his work inciting to the adventurous.

Besides Saussure, there was also another enthusiast, Bourrit, whom Frederick the Great called *l'historien des Alpes*, who directed attention to Chamouny and the high Alps. He was a painter of Geneva and dedicated his whole life (1739-1819) to the exploration of Mont Blanc : Saussure in 1773 acknowledged his own work as a preparation for these scientific memoirs. Goethe ascended the Rigi before 1775, one of the first foreigners in Switzerland to do so, and heard on his Alpine journey of 1779 with Karl August of Weimar so much of the wonderful Savoy ice-mountains, that he followed Saussure's advice and made an excursion

to Chamouny. In 1784 Gibbon complained Lausanne was not so peaceful ; but was invaded by strangers, attracted by the beauty of the Pays de Vaud and the fashion for mountains and glaciers. In 1755 he had toured in the low-lying towns of Switzerland and in 1791 went with Lord Sheffield by Geneva, Chamouny, Col de Blanc (much-climbed for the view), Martigny, St. Maurice, round the Lake of Geneva to Vévey and Lausanne. In 1790 Switzerland, sixty years before almost unknown, became the playground of Europe, and at Chamouny the natives had become wearisomely ready to oblige.

But Saussure interested the many more, who could not themselves see the Alps. Kant was one of his most zealous readers. He never left East Prussia, but recognized 'in the sombre melancholy wilderness of his home the interesting dreariness of a desert' ; and 'heaven-high hills, deep crevices and rushing waters' stirred his imagination, in abstracting the idea of the noble in Nature. In his *Criticism of Judgment* he says : 'That nobility does not consist in any natural thing, but in our mind, in so far as we become conscious of our superiority to Nature in us and outside us, as much as is known to us'. He also indicated that agreement was less likely on the noble than on the beautiful. Had he known that the cultured up to the eighteenth century all concurred with the Savoyese peasant who called the lovers of the Alps fools, he would have recognized that the judgment of the noble depends on the direction, as well as on the degree of civilization. If Schopenhauer is right in making the basis of the 'serious and noble more' induced in us by mountains, the fact that their shape is the most permanent line in landscape, their sight could not have been so differently regarded at varying epochs.

It is not pertinent to trace the history of Alpine travelling down to the present day. Literature and art have exercised themselves more and more with the Alps. 'This Science of susceptibility of Nature', says Ulrich Hegner (1822) of Winterthur, 'is neither natural science nor geography, was unheard-of fifty years ago, even in novels or tales of travel, and has grown up mightily in Switzerland, bearing fruits easy to pluck and digest'. Alexander von Humboldt and Karl Ritter have put Alpine science on a sounder basis. Art adventured later into the Alpine field than literature.

§ 4

Thus the change of feeling corresponded with the *Sturm und Drang* period in Germany. Keyssler called the Salzburg and Tyrol Alps as dull as the Lüneburg moors: Meiners' letters on Switzerland (1790) presuppose the supreme beauty of Switzerland, as the most mountainous country in Europe: the difference is absolute. 'These wastes', K. V. von Bonstetten writes in 1780, 'of rocks and ice and forests will please you more than the soulless beauties of the plains'. Nicolai even is filled with this passion. Travelling from Vienna to Munich he writes: 'Nature in her majesty is more inspiring than anything human, and especially in mountainous lands'. In the nineteenth century the beauty of mountains in themselves becomes a general dogma. Moltke knows of only one exception, the Caradja Dag between Frat and Tigris. Mountains, according to Ruskin in a chapter headed Mountain-glory, are created to portray perfect beauty; they combine the elements (form, colour, variety of scene, etc.) infinitely more than the plain, which they excel as does a painted window a white window. They ennoble and inspire mankind, are their school and cathedral. Down to old age he remained true to his adoration of mountains. Lord Avebury also says that mountains are the alpha and omega of scenery.

The survivors of the old generation still demurred. At the end of the eighteenth century, J. C. Füssli, of Zürich, the author of a Description of the Swiss State and Country, thought the Engelberger valley could not be deemed beautiful, 'with its hideous mountains, and lack of gardens, fruit-trees or anything to please the eye'. Foreigners were often of that view. Goethe's father was angry with his son for coming back from the Gotthard without seeing Italy. 'He did not share any affection for those wild rocks, seas of mist and dragons' nests. He remarked as before *vedi Napoli e poi mori*.' Goethe in his old age returned to the older conception. In 1823, in a letter to Nees von Esenbeck, he speaks of his 'useless journeys to Switzerland and his belief that he had done something by seeing mountains'. He calls this the merry paradox of a worthy man. 'When travellers take a delight in climbing mountains, I regard the mania as profane

and barbaric. Mountains impress us with their grandiosity, not with the idea of a Providence. . . . These zigzags and irritating silhouettes, and shapeless piles of granite, making the fairest portion of earth a polar region, cannot be liked by any kindly man.'

But the few of the younger generation who objected to the new enthusiasm were consciously in a minority. Such was Hegel (born 1770), who visited the Bernese Oberland in 1796. He found the roads from Interlaken to Lauterbrunnen oppressive, as the narrow valleys shut out the views of the mountains. He longed for space, and saw only rocks; and was wearied by the eternal roar of the two Litschenen. On the Scheidegg, the Jungfrau and the two Eigers did not arouse the feeling of majesty he had expected. Of the region about the Grimsel hospice he says: 'these dead masses only impress me with a wearisome sense of unalterable fact'. He was most interested in the waterfalls and was very glad to return to Lucerne with its lower hills, the lake and its reflections, which delighted the eye nauseated by grey lofty mountains, without any wide view.

This affirmation of an independent mind remained unknown, for Hegel's diary was not intended for publication. In 1805 Chateaubriand in his *Voyage au Mont Blanc* raised a protest against the admiration of mountains. 'He had seen many in Europe and America, and had always thought their claims exaggerated', an opinion confirmed by a visit to Chamouny. He holds that every landscape requires a background of hills, and spaciousness: no interior mountain views fulfil both necessities. The large objects are too near to be seen in their true perspective, and the mountains are too huge to be decorative. Further, the snowfields obscure the whole region and the sky, which is hardly seen, and is essential as the canvas on which Nature paints: Art appreciates the fact and brings in hills as a background to woods and plains. In moonlight the grandioseness of the mountains can be seen. But if the grandiose and its majesty are lacking in the mountains themselves, so is all grace. Swiss valleys are only comparatively pleasant. The feeling of the mountains is disagreeable, as they are rough and unfertile. Virgil's valleys, the haunts of the Muses, are smiling and charming; his woods are forests of oaks, elms, beeches, not dreary pines,

and his valley is laid in a place of historical and poetical memories: he would hate Chamouny with its glaciers and peaks and the Tête Noire. Antiquity, the source of true inspiration, thought otherwise than Rousseau, and makes mountains the home of pain and despair; as did also Scripture.

Finally, Chateaubriand repeats that, as backgrounds, mountains are essential. 'Their snowy heads, naked sides and huge limbs are hideous from a near view, but marvellous when rounded off in a golden light on a dark horizon. . . . I cannot be called upon to love lanky ridges, crevices, ravines, caves and tortuous Alpine valleys.'

Chateaubriand is right in invoking the ancients, with whom he is in full accord. But we have shown that the feeling for Nature is largely determined by the nature of the home. In a Switzerland or Scotland, love of the mountains comes to birth sooner and more swiftly than among the dwellers on the plain; thus Southerners would be the last to like the Alps.

Thus the contrast between us and the ancients is really that of North and South; and, if so, the modern Italy and the South must still confirm this view. And actually the Italian eye, spoiled by their richer and more harmonious climates, finds mountain-lands vast and depressing. 'There', says Ugo Foscolo, 'Nature rules alone, and sullenly drives forth every living being'. Educated Italians often, if not always, voice this view.

Northerners, who live long in the South, may become infected with the Southern feeling. 'You are satisfying your imagination', the Duchess of Albany writes to Foscolo in 1816, who had retired to Switzerland, 'instead of having it frozen by the snow. It requires a strong inducement to any one born at Zante to live in such a country'. Stendhal, describing Lake Como, says that the distant view of the eternal snow of the Alps gave a necessary fillip of melancholy to the pleasant scenery. Victor Hehn, in his book on Italy, treats of Italian scenery with masterly comprehension, and, as a consequence, dislikes Switzerland. 'For there mountains tower with lofty, desolate, swampy plains, trough-shaped and covered with scanty grass: midden-heaps descending into the valleys, and dreary ridges of stone: mist and clouds

on the flanks, and stone ribs, like the wool on a wether's belly, down to the dark girdles of pines and tumultuously upwards to the cold snow-crests, a picture of shapeless, limitless form ; a memory of bygone elemental struggles.' But, in Italy's mountains, 'the hard egoism and proud Titan spirit has been tamed : the shapes are rich and gentle, plastic, wave-like, yet also energetic'. In the Southern Alps are 'the mountains most pleasing to the eye ; which have flowing lines, are gay, cut off sharply as against the sky, or swathed in light on the horizon, and send out low tongues to greet the sea'. Any one who has seen Italy can understand that the recollection of the 'lines of the hills, the modelling of the earth, the coloured shores, the resounding sea, and the harmony and self-sufficiency of the classic regions, cannot desert their devotees, and charms them against the North'.

Generally Southerners had a distaste for mountains. Winckelmann was deeply impressed when he first saw the Tyrol Alps. 'Not to have seen this country with my eyes', he writes (7th December, 1755), 'is not to have seen anything wonderful'. He calls the mountains terribly beautiful (20th December, 1755). In the Tyrol, 'Mother Nature is most lavishly great and fertile between her cliffs. Bozen especially is a land of beautiful men. On my return I shall stop here on the way' (1st July, 1756). But, later on, the South captivated him. He is always writing on the magnificent vegetations in the gardens of Rome, the indescribable beauty of the Albanian Hills and the Latian coast, and the Elysium of Porto d'Anzo. For twelve years he gazed on Italian scenery : in 1768, he returned to the Tyrol, and saw no charm in it. Once when Cavaceppi had been with him an hour in the Tyrol Alps, he observed a change in Winckelmann's features. He cried out : 'What a frightful country ! Those endless mountains !' This conversion may have contributed to his melancholy on entering Germany. So, too, with Niebuhr. In 1823, after seven years at Rome, he entered Switzerland, and the mountains, rough and shapeless, revolted him : he preferred the Tyrol, which he had seen in 1816 before Italy, like Winckelmann ; as a fact, the Tyrol Alps are the more broken. Gregorovius was eight years in Italy, and in 1860 wanted to return on the disagreeable sight of Switzerland. He calls (1862) the Engadin a monster

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of coldness and dumbness, and the mountains round the Vierwaldstättersee shapeless. So, too, Rudolf Delbrück travelled to Constantinople, taking from the 3rd May to the 16th June: he says, in his *Memoirs* (II, 1905, p. 296), 'on crossing Switzerland I experienced, and have since confirmed the feeling, that after the colours and shapes of the South, Switzerland does not please. I think of the blue sky, the gleaming sea, and the lines of Corfu, Palermo and Naples'.

§ 5

The character of Southern scenery should then determine the Southern feeling for Nature, in so far as the landscapes are similar. Fernán Caballero says of the view from Carmona in Andalusia: 'The glory and suddenness of this view would be a theme of poetry and literature in other lands. But in Spain taste and love of scenery is scarce; admiration without enthusiasm is the rule. Views are regarded from the classical, and not from the romantic aspect'. Thus this lack of feeling is a lack of romantic feeling; and the fact that Spanish has no native term for glaciers, though the Andes are in Spanish territory, shows a lack of interest in mountainous Nature.

The Eastern world, being more akin with the Southerner than the Northerner, shares the Southern feeling for Nature. The Arabic garden was like the ancient garden, 'all art, all in the rigid oriental form'. They love straight paved walks at right angles, oblong flower-beds with stone settings, and well-trimmed scented bushes at the edges, and straight angular trees: everything stiff and formal, with cascades and marble fountains. In the garden of Chomâravaih, the Fatimite ruler, at Cairo, the palm-trunks had iron plates let in, and pierced with pipes, which shed water from the trunks. On the public places, the garden-beds were arranged in designs. Almonds were grafted on to apricot-trees. In a pavilion cascades flowed from the pillars, and birds nested. Peacocks, guinea-hens and rare birds stalked about in the garden. In a garden laid out by Abd-er-Rahman III (who died in 961) for a favourite slave, near Cordova, avenues of myrtles, laurels, olives and fruit-trees were laid out round translucent lakes. The flower-beds were alive with most

lovely and fragrant blooms : the parks with rare animals ; there were aviaries of bright-hued song-birds, marble baths, a kiosque in the centre on a hill, with a delightful view. The garden of Shah Yehan (1628-1658) at Lahore, called Shalimar, is ' obviously designed by Arabs. In the squares between the walks there are thickets of mangoes, fig-trees, and oranges. Marble balustrades surround the great pond. Marble bridges lead to the marble kiosque in the centre. The marble is as white as freshly fallen snow. Everywhere water and shade. The pond reflects stonework and bushes. And above, the golden Indian sky.'

The ancient Persians laid out round the palaces of kings and satraps parks containing wide meadows and rills and game ; the Persian word *pairidaeza* is the origin of Paradise. This is the style of the parks of Kublaikhan (1214-1294), whom Marco Polo visited. Libanius, also, mentions this palace with all the ' beauty of Persian gardens : it lay by a river, and was full of splendid trees and flowers'. This feeling towards Nature scarcely changed with the ages. Modern Persians still delight in flowery gardens and shady walks and green banks and cool streams. A volcano or snowy ridge or strange mountain formation scarcely arouses their interest. Paradise in the Koran is very similar to Elysium in the Pagan poets ; Virgil may have suggested it : Virgil's Elysium emphasizes the shady avenues, the river banks and the meadows watered by brooks. The four Gardens of the Blessed in the Koran are decorated with trees affording deep shadow, have many rich wells and fruit-trees, which can easily be plucked by the blessed, who recline on gorgeous pillows.

But the Further East has a feeling for nature more akin with ours. In China and Japan, scenery is universally beloved. Marco Polo describes the holidayings of the inhabitants of Quin-Sai (Hang-Chéu-fu) to the neighbouring lake to enjoy the changeful beauty of the scenery. To this day the Chinese give parties to admire a moonlit night, a fine view or a rare flower. But long journeys to beautiful districts are not shunned, and the mountains of Su-Chéu are as frequented as Interlaken. The descriptions of Nature in Chinese poets medieval and modern are strikingly like Matthiison and Lamartine. Chambers described Chinese gardens in

1757, and Kent (d. 1748) designed the English garden : Chinese gardens have influenced English. The style introduced under the Ming dynasty, and still in vogue, is far from being regular or stiff. Groupings of rocks and trees are brought in, and lakes framed in with flowers : and there are little bridges and sinuous paths. The names of the enchanting, terrifying and delightful gardens show the strivings of Chinese art after character in landscape. 'A garden', says a Chinese writer, 'is a substitute for man's natural habitation, the ever agreeable fields. A garden should then be the model of all Nature, so as to arouse in the soul similar feelings'.

In Japan, too, the finest views are frequented by visitors, and the sense for nature and art is distributed widely, in the lowest classes even. A man too poor to decorate his home with the snowy peak of Fujiyama and the pear-tree will still have his apricot, his dwarf-cedar, and his little waterfall. They have flower feasts and exhibitions, and landscape-gardening is highly artistic.

In ancient Mexico, the sense for Nature was highly developed. Montezuma's many summer-palaces had large gardens with groups of flowers and trees. Many had artificial rockeries, chases, galleries, ponds with diving-birds. But human figures were made of leaves and flowers, and decoration was mostly tasteless.

Generally any detailed study of the different feelings for Nature will show that every people loves its home-scenery. Scott's wild borderland was ugly to Washington Irving : Scott loved his grey ancestral hills and thought he would die, should he not see them for a year. Every people loves its own nature. The Indians of Mexico have masses of flowers in front of their huts : the Polynesians 'find flowers as necessary as air'. The Indians of Nicaragua, according to J. Fröbel, show more taste in the floral decorations of their dwellings than the Europeans ; they choose every most beautiful bloom. The Lithuanian delights most in his native birches and willows, which he worshipped late into the eighteenth century ; and plants them round every new building, and will not fell them save in direst need. The mountain-dweller is at home only in his mountains, and the marsh-dweller in his marshes ; he longs for his level cornfields and pastures and undefined horizon. So, too, the Southerner

loves his gorgeous Nature. True joy, Dr. Friedrich Preller wrote at Sorrento in 1860, and love for one's own paradise are still alive in modern Italy. A Neapolitan boy alarmed Goethe by his cry of admiration of the Bay of Naples, and apologized, 'Signor, perdonate, questa è la mia patria'. Nansen found the Greenlanders keenly alive to the beauties of arctic Nature. When passing a mountain-peak with a native, Joel, in a Rajak, the sun fell on the glistening snow ; and Joel stopped towing and exclaimed 'binne kack' (how beautiful !)

§ 6

These considerations prove that the feeling for Nature of the ancients was more restricted, and altogether lacked the subjective comprehension of her, first spread by Rousseau, which gives Nature a soul, and makes her reflect our soul. Antiquity, however, also lacked the aesthetic appreciation, which sees in Nature an artist's deliberate and individual work. This view is also modern ; painting based on it occurs in the sixteenth century, but it was communicated to literature much later. It is found fully expressed in Diderot (in his criticisms on the Salons from 1765-1767), who, describing Vernet's landscapes, appears to speak of real scenery, but uses epithets applying only to pictures. He loved historic landscape above all, and Poussin, as one of its masters : his enthusiasm for Nature was limited, and, like the Roman, shared, as he believed, but by few.

Little as is known of ancient landscape painting, it is certain that, despite the stylistic delineation, its development was too poor to foster an aesthetic description of Nature, such as has arisen in our day. But the principal difference was the complete lack of the effect of light and its modification in air. In Aelian's description of the Vale of Tempe (borrowed from Dikaiarchos), he speaks of the colour, the refreshing green, but never of the atmosphere and its effect : the tone is topographic and plastic. So, too, in the sceneries, described by Apollonius Rhodius, Pliny the Younger, speaking of his Tuscan villa, mentions the *regionis forma pulcherrima* : it seems a picture rather than reality ; he has the features of the country in his mind, though he knows its effect depended on the colours. 'All these descriptions give an impression

of implying clear air and full light, which would bring out the plastic qualities.'

Here and there, however, there are expressions of emotion for varying light-effects ; for the clear moon, rippling on the sea, making the water quiver, and refreshing the dewy woods at eventime : for the sea red in the rays of the sun, and the empurpled waves : the dew in the golden morning light, like diamonds on the grass, when pools and streams and the earth give forth mist. But these uncertain pictures, though like modern descriptions of Nature, are all of single scenes. Of the general effect of light on landscape there is no mention ; nor of perspective and the shades between cold moonlight and the hot sunset glow ; nor of the wonderful colours, which wreath the horizon and hills of the South in the morning and the evening, from pink to deep blue. No such expression as 'blue hills', 'twilight distances', is found in ancient poetry, to call forth a distinct colour picture, like the one in Faust :

Down on the silenced world to gaze
In the undying evening-glow !
At rest each dale ; the heights a-blaze ;
The silver brook's bright golden flow !

None of the inscriptions of the statue of Memnon mention the effect of the dawn-red on the landscape. Ovid saw Rome for the last time by moonlight : a modern poet would have warmed on this theme : he, discursive as he is, hardly mentions it ; only expatiating on his tearful departure. Tacitus says that in a night combat between the Flavians and the Vitellians, the moon rose behind the Flavians : his object is merely to illustrate the difficulties ; he is not thinking of the picturesque effect, a liberty any stern but artistic modern historian, like Tacitus, would have permitted himself. Virgil compares Aeneas' journey through Hades with a walk through a wood by the deceptive moonlight, and never indicates the artistic pictures. But he lets the Penates appear before Aeneas in full moonlight, to be seen as plainly as possible : he feels nothing weird in moonlight : a modern poet would have had a mysterious twilight.

The same difference may be presumed between ancient and modern landscape, on the authority of Philostratus' descriptions of pictures. 'The ancients laid most stress

on the local and plastic element, and strove after clear significant forms to make an organic whole: the effects of light and air were secondary, and could never have taken the modern primacy.' 'The vague dreamy and mysterious, as obtained by atmospheric effects, is utterly foreign to the sharp and clear classical spirit. Artistic realization of such impressions presupposes a sentimental love of Nature, unknown down to very recent times. Further, the sky in the South is clearer than in the North, and less prolific in these misty effects. Lastly, ancient landscapes could all the less attain the colour reached by realizing atmospheric effects, as artistic grace and plastic perfection, the main object of ancient art, cannot be readily combined.'

The limited travel of antiquity was due to the absence of the Teutonic roving spirit, and also to the slighter feeling for Nature. Only the very few penetrated far into Africa; the islands on the West coast were never visited: fabulous India scarcely attracted the Romans. Every year fleets sailed from Alexandria to the Malabar coast, but the frequent opportunity was in the first two centuries seldom used. Dio of Prusa gives second-hand evidence on India: his informants only sailed in the course of trade, and never went inland. Now and again an adventurous journey might be made: Lucian tells of a young Paphlagonian who studied in Alexandria and was persuaded to go on to India with a boat sailing to the end of the Red Sea. The object was not to see the tropical world, but to learn of the Brahmins, who, like all the barbarian philosophers, had attributed to them extraordinary wisdom, on the authority of a view held in Alexander the Great's time and confirmed by the peripatetics. For this reason Philostratus makes Apollonius of Tyana make a pilgrimage to India: his authorities were oral or written Alexandrian reports. Possibly, after the second century, Greek philosophers occasionally went to India to study under the wise men. Lucian tells this of an Attic cynic, Demetrius. Plotinus, who joined Gordian's expedition to Persia in 242, in order to learn something of Indian and Persian philosophy, managed to escape to Antioch, after the murder of Gordian. The visit of Metrodorus the philosopher (of Persian origin) to India in the first half of the fourth century had the same object: he is said to have

succeeded by his reserve, and his communications of discoveries unknown to them. St. Jerome knew that, according to the Indian gymnosophists, Buddha had been born of a virgin. But these journeys, whatever their number, must have been exceptional ; and their aim precluded the study of the tropics.

The infrequency of travels to distant and tropical countries and the lack of incentive to them reacted on each other. Humboldt specifies three great incentives ; poetical descriptions of Nature, landscape painting and the cultivation of tropical plants. He was impelled to tropic travel by Georg Forster's Descriptions of the South Sea Islands, and pictures of the shores of the Ganges in Warren Hastings' house at London, and a huge dragon-tree in an old tower in the Berlin botanical gardens.

This chapter has shown how antiquity lacked all three incentives. Descriptions of Nature aiming at reproducing and conjuring up the impressions of a scene, such as excited Forster and Humboldt, are very modern and involve a combination of science and powers of narration. Pictures of scenery, which might excite a desire of more distant lands, in Roman times only dealt with Egypt. Exotic plants were scarcely cultivated. In their hot-houses Romans forced fruits and flowers in the winter. Of the 'foreign trees which will not grow outside their own country', palms in antiquity and in the Middle Ages were commoner than now (except for palm-wood at Bordighera). In 291 B.C. they are mentioned at Antium, and may have been grown in the Greek cities on the West coast, beside temples of Apollo. In Pliny's time they were common in Italy. Petrus de Crescentiis (born in 1230) in his work on horticulture for all classes recommends planting palms (which must have been reintroduced by the Saracens). The fruit-trees from Asia, acclimatized under the first Emperors, apricots, peaches and pistachio, soon became native, but lemons did not grow in the open before the fourth century, whilst oranges and several other plants, now deemed characteristic of Italy, were unknown in antiquity. In gardens there would be a few medicinal and foreign herbs and decorative plants, like the pepper-tree, the incense-bush, the leafy cassia, myrrh and crocus, arranged as little microcosms of tropic vegetation.

The difference of feeling of the present day and antiquity

is most strongly seen in the gardens. In the Augustan and post-Augustan times free Nature found a few spokesmen: but, generally, down to the fourth century artificiality in gardens was the rule. In Pliny's descriptions of his Laurentine and Tuscan villas the gardens are laid out in architectural lines with contrasts of pure country. The garden was divided by terraces, and round spaces (*hippodromi*), and straight or curved walks; these were marked by clipped hedges of box or rosemary, and occasionally went in steps. Architecture and greenery combined to beshadow the nearer parts, as well as the more distant; and views were carefully contrived. Decoration consisted of statues of men and animals, ponds, canals, fountains: in Pliny's Tuscan villa the water rose from a semicircular marble bank through pipes, as though forced out by the weight. By all the other seats and the *hippodromus* there were sprays. In the largest gardens, outside Rome especially, there were aviaries, fish-ponds and game parks: peacocks and rare birds were kept. Copies of famous scenery were common, as, for example, in Hadrian's Tiburtine villa; and also prospect-towers, as were to be found in the Vandals' paradises at Carthage. The trees were fruit trees, planes, the favourite decorative tree, and evergreens, myrtles, laurels, oaks, cypress and pine. They were placed in avenues or in *quincunxes* or little groups of identical trees. Florentinus (about 200 A.D.) recommends plantations according to kind, in order to bring out the diversities. They were often clipped to strange shapes, a fashion ascribed to Gaius Matius, a knight and friend of Augustus. Box-trees were clipped into names, pyramids and cones; as were cypresses and other trees: or into imitations of animals; there were whole jungles and fleets. Dwarf-trees were also popular, and artificial graftings. The flower-beds were mostly of single species, roses, lilies, poppies (especially common), gilliflowers, hyacinths (perhaps sword lilies), anemones, Florentinus advising filling up the intervals between the straight rows of trees with roses, lilies, violets and crocuses. The ground was covered with acanthus, walls, pillars and tree-trunks overgrown with ivy and vines, trellised across and forming shaded walks.

But this artificial style was not the only one: the love of free Nature induced the laying out of parks, as the picture

discovered in 1863 shows, covering four walls of a room in a villa in Prima Porta near Rome; it dates from about the time of Augustus, and faithfully represents a garden. The foreground consists of meadows surrounded with a palisade of reeds and a stone or brick hedge. Behind the brick hedge, straight but for a few curves, there is a graceful wood growing out of a thick underwood of flowers, including palms, laurels, granates, apple-trees, quince-trees and cherry-trees. In the curves of the hedge there are, besides other undistinguishable trees, dark pine-trees, with boughs reaching down to the ground. From the background cypresses are seen towering. The whole park is full of birds; the lawn, the palisade, the flower thicket with larger birds like cocks, and the trees with various small birds. 'The whole artificial jungle has an enlivening and inspiring appearance.'

Though such designs may have been common, the imperial style of horticulture was generally the artificial and architectural, a taste inherited by the Middle Ages. The directions of Petrus de Crescentiis, who knew his ancients well, correspond absolutely. For the gardens of the middle-class, with about three to four *iugera*, he recommends straight rows of fruit-trees, or, in hot countries, cedars and palms, but only trees of the same nature, vines in between, and meadows and summer-houses. Of flowers there is no more mention than in his directions for the 'gardens of kings and great men': for which he assumes an area of twenty or more *iugera* with a stream flowing through. In those in the North a game-park should be laid out; in the South a casino (*palatium speciosum*), which will afford long shadows, and a cool breeze inside in the hottest weather, besides giving a view over the garden and its animals. There must also be a fishpond and an aviary of lattice-work, built over bushes and trees, to be stocked with pheasants, partridges, goldfinches, starlings, nightingales, ousels, and song-birds. In the garden a summerhouse with rooms and halls of trees is to be put up, in which my lord and my lady and his barons may stay in fine weather. The walls are to be rows of quick-growing fruit-trees, or willows and elms, clipped and trained to shape. Or it may be of dry wood overgrown with vines. Further, a number of graftings will afford much pleasure, but in such

a garden the evergreens, the pines, cypresses, cedars and palms are most essential. Every species is to be set separately. Finally, a direction is given to build thick living walls and pinnacles and roofs round garden and court through trees carefully clipped and trained for years. Leon Battista Alberti (1450) established the principles of the Italian garden, and bases his receipts on Pliny.

These prescriptions lasted on well into the sixteenth century. 'The later Italian horticulture does not imitate Nature, but adapts her to its own canons. The main objective is symmetry and division into characteristic spaces. The garden nearest the villa itself is to be surrounded with balustraded terraces and steps, and is rendered architectural by a semicircular ending, by gradation, grottoes and fountains. Valleys and declivities are artificially produced by interruptions, and the straight canals broadened out into basins and collected in cascades, which are to fall through statuary. Or a lower piece of ground is to be rounded off into a circus; or a whole valley or region planted in one single fashion, but must not be wholly rural (e.g. the pine-grove in the Villa Pamfili). Then the straight walls will have vistas of fountains and sculptures, and must be framed in or vaulted over with evergreens: in the first case, hedges of cypress and laurels, in the second oaks. The contrast of free Nature or architecture beyond the Italian garden, of distant hills or views of country and town, or the sea, is a first essential.' This style prevailed in Italy during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; was taken up in France, Germany and England and Holland, and ruled supreme, despite Rousseau's protest, far in the eighteenth and nineteenth even. Hegel prefers the architectural garden to the picturesque, in which he thinks the 'purposed purposelessness and forced freedom' tasteless: one can enjoy Nature rectified by man. Goethe, too, extolled the older style (1825), at any rate, in palaces. 'The spacious arbours, *berceaux*, *quinconces* at least allow of society meeting in an orderly way, whilst the English plan of freakish Nature sets them all in collision.'

The attempt to make Nature serve art has dominated the Italian garden from antiquity to the present day; a fact all the more remarkable, as Italian vegetation has been transformed since the sixteenth century by importations

from the East and America. Further, Italian landscape painting, with all the rich art of antiquity and the Renaissance, is still behind the Northern school; it must be admitted that the feeling for Nature has not changed under the Italian heaven, except as far as it has been influenced by Transalpine art.



ROMAN
LIFE AND MANNERS
UNDER THE EARLY
EMPIRE

By
LUDWIG FRIEDLÄNDER

Authorized Translation of the Seventh Enlarged
and Revised Edition of the *Sittengeschichte Roms*

by
J. H. FREESE, M.A. (CAMB.)
AND LEONARD A. MAGNUS, LL.B.

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CONTENTS

CHAP.	PAGE
I THE SPECTACLES	1-130
GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS	1-19

Spectacles a necessity in imperial Rome. *Panem et Circenses*. Imperial interest in the spectacles. The spectacles as a substitute for popular assemblies. How persons of distinction were received at them. Emperors at the spectacles; their condescension. Petitions and complaints brought forward by the people. Gibes and abuse, even of the emperors, permitted. Political demonstrations. Etiquette (especially in the matter of dress). Expenses of the games a heavy burden on the senatorial order. Number of festival days in the year. The three chief classes of spectacles. Extraordinary spectacles. Illuminations. Entertainment of the spectators. Presents and tickets distributed. Influx of foreigners. Demoralizing influence of the shows not limited to the lower classes. Public appearance of persons of distinction a symptom of demoralization. Attitude of the emperors towards it.

I THE CIRCUS	19-40
------------------------	-------

Site and dimensions of the great circus. Arrangement of the seats. Decorations. Traffic in and near the circus. The circus games. Chariot races. Chariot drivers. Compared with modern jockeys. The highest circles of society keenly interested in racing. Racehorses. 'Factions'—their personnel and colours. 'Factions' of Rome and Constantinople. Gradual development of the 'factions' at Rome. Preparations for the circus games.

CHAP.

PAGE

I

The praetorian games of the younger Symmachus. Public excitement. Superstitious ceremonies. The procession to the circus. Arrangements and number of the races. Chariots and teams. The race. The spectators. The present condition of the site of the circus.

II THE AMPHITHEATRE 40-90

1. The Gladiatorial Games 41-62

Beginnings and gradual development of the gladiatorial games. Numbers of the combatants. Increasing splendour of the shows. Extraordinary measures to stimulate public interest. The amphitheatre. The gladiators. Condemned criminals. Innocent or unjustly condemned persons compelled to fight. Prisoners of war. Slaves employed as gladiators. Freedmen. Gladiators under compulsion and volunteers. Advantages of the profession. Amateur gladiators. Commodus as a gladiator. Gladiators favourites with women and the public. Spanish *toreros* compared with gladiators. Trade in gladiators. Imperial gladiatorial schools in Rome, and outside Rome. Number of the imperial gladiators in Rome. Arrangement of the schools. Stern discipline necessary. Careful diet. Gladiatorial organizations. Instruction in fencing. Differences of rank. Devotion of gladiators to their order and loyalty to their masters. Employment of gladiators in war. Their miserable lot. Suicide and mutiny in the schools. Advertisements of the games. Free meals. Parade in the arena. The chief classes of combats. Gladiators killed or spared at the bidding of the spectators. Gladiatorial 'factions.' Combats *en masse*.

2. Animal-Baiting 62-74

The first exhibitions of animals. In the last century of the republic and in imperial times. Rare animals in Europe in the Middle Ages and in modern times. Giraffe; rhinoceros; hippopotamus, Number and variety of the

CHAP.

PAGE

I

animals. Animal hunts. Wild animals extirpated and driven out from northern Africa and Egypt; Asia still full of them. Imperial claims to elephants and lions. The imperial menageries in Rome. Animals procured from the provinces and foreign parts. Methods of hunting them. Their transport, decoration, taming and training. Animal fights in the arena. Huntsmen and hounds. Persons put to death by wild animals. Theatrical outfit of the spectacle. Executions and tortures accompanied by theatrical and pantomimic performances. Mythological animal pantomimes.

3. The Naumachiae 74-76

Naval engagements in the flooded arena of the amphitheatre. The Naumachiae of Julius Caesar, Augustus, Claudius (on the Fucine lake), Titus, Domitian, and Philip.

Summary 76-90

Views of educated Romans on the shows in the amphitheatre. Seneca alone condemns them. Reasons for the Roman opinion of them. Slavery. Force of habit. Magnificence of the spectacles. The individual lost in the crowd. Games in the amphitheatre compared with Spanish bull-fights. Gladiatorial games abolished at the beginning of the fifth century. *Venationes* still in existence in the sixth century. Spread of the games in the amphitheatre throughout the empire. The western provinces. Greece. Asia Minor and the East. Fate of the amphitheatres in the Middle Ages and modern times. The amphitheatres at Nîmes, Arles, Fréjus, Verona. The Colosseum.

III THE THEATRE 90-117

Relation of theatrical shows to other spectacles. The *Atellana*. The *Mimus*. Its indecency. The *minus* in Justinian's time according to Choricus. Allusions to events of the day (and especially to the emperors). The artistic

CHAP.		PAGE
I	drama. The <i>togata</i> and the <i>palliata</i> . Actors in the <i>palliata</i> . Tragedy. Separation of song and dance in tragedy. Dissolution of tragedy into its elements. Semi-dramatic concert performances of tragedians. The pantomime as an independent kind of art. The <i>libretti</i> of the pantomimes. The music of the pantomimes. The pantomimic dance. Robe or cloak dance. Pantomimic displays. Expressiveness of the pantomime. Its sensuous charm, indecency, and corrupting influence. Tragic and comic pantomime. Pylades and Bathyllus. Other orchestral performances. The Pyrrhic dance. The judgment of Paris as a Pyrrhic, described by Apuleius. Pantomime supreme on the stage. Dilettantism in the art of dancing. <i>Infamia</i> attaching to actors. Actors chiefly slaves or freedmen. Social position of famous actors. Honours and distinctions. Rewards. Court actors often imperial favourites. Public interest in the actors. Theatrical 'factions'. Disturbances in the theatre.	
IV	THE STADIUM	117-130
	Athletic contests in Rome before the imperial period. The Actian games at Nicopolis, and the periodical games under Augustus at Rome. Frequent repetition of athletic contests in Rome. The <i>Neronea</i> . The Capitoline <i>agon</i> . Later <i>agones</i> . Dislike of the Romans to gymnastics and athletics. Gymnastics nevertheless introduced into Rome, especially encouraged by Nero. Opposition to them. The Romans comparatively seldom took part in athletic contests. Dilettantism in athletics at Rome. Civil status of the athletes. Their guilds. Difference between the Greek and Roman views of athletics. High repute of athletes in Greece. Their privileges. Their improved position in Rome also after the third century.	
II	ROMAN LUXURY	131-230
	GENERAL REVIEW OF THE SUBJECT	131-145
	Introductory remarks. The common view	

partly based on exceptions and anomalies. Luxury of the Emperors (Caligula and Nero). Luxury of the petty German despots in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Luxury of the nabobs in the later days of the republic. Their enormous incomes and expenses. Their real wealth not great in comparison. The largest individual fortunes of antiquity not equal to those of modern, and especially of most recent times. The largest individual fortunes in the Middle Ages and succeeding centuries; in the nineteenth century, in Russia and America. Ancient and modern wealth difficult to compare. Further exceptions—Apicius. The luxury of the wanton destruction of valuables. Too strict views of our three main authorities—Varro, Seneca and Pliny, e.g. on the cooling of food and drink with snow, and the use of feather cushions. Declamations against effeminacy and luxuriousness a rhetorical commonplace. A separate treatment of the varieties of luxury necessary. The period of the greatest luxury in Rome (31 B.C.—69 A.D.).

I LUXURY OF THE TABLE AND THE IMPORTATION OF FOREIGN FOODS 146-164

Moderation of southerners. Modest beginnings of luxury at table in the last century B.C. Introduction of foreign foods the result of the increase of prosperity and commerce. Evidence from the Middle Ages and modern times. Exaggerated criticisms of this luxury in antiquity. Foreign foods rare before the battle of Actium. Increase of table luxury after the peace. Costliness of great banquets only partly due to table luxury. Decoration. Flowers. Distribution and raffling of presents. High prices paid for dainties partly due to vanity and the desire for notoriety. Roman table luxury compared with that of the nineteenth century. The use of emetics after meals in a measure purely dietetic. Table luxury in the Middle Ages; in the empire of the Khalifs, in Christian Europe, in France,

II

in England, in Italy. Italian cookery in the sixteenth century. French cookery in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Table luxury in the eighteenth century in Germany, in Poland, in Russia, in North America. Table luxury in the nineteenth century.

II THE IMPORTATION AND USE OF EDIBLE ANIMALS AND PLANTS 165-173

Importation of animals for food. Pliny's opinion of it. Artificial breeding of oysters. Imported birds. Importation of cultivated fruit trees and vegetables. Orientalization of vegetation and land during the republic and under the empire. Improvement, multiplication and acclimatization of fruits and vegetables. Comparison with modern horticulture. Spread of cultivated plants from Italy to the provinces. The olive and the vine.

III LUXURY OF DRESS AND ADORNMENT 173-185

Expensive materials little used in antiquity. Extravagance in dress in many respects less than in modern times. Frequent change of clothes. Extravagance in colours, especially purple. Comparison with luxury of dress in fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Italy, Germany, England, and France; in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The import of oriental wares into the empire small as compared with the modern standard; confined to Rome and the largest cities. Exports from China considerable after the third century. Extravagance in precious stones. Imitations. Pearls. Jewellery of the *conquistadores* and English nabobs. Extravagance in precious stones and pearls in modern times. Was luxury of dress prevalent amongst the lower classes in antiquity? Extravagance in scents.

IV LUXURY IN DWELLING-HOUSES 185-202

(a) City Palaces 185-193

Luxurious buildings only came in late. Rapid increase of them, 78-44 B.C., and again

CHAP.

PAGE

II

after 31 B.C. up to 69 A.D. Size of the palaces. Prices of houses and palaces. Luxury of artistic decoration. Incrustation of walls with coloured marble and other kinds of stones. Marble warehouse at the foot of the Aventine. Glass, gold and silver plate used in decoration. Movable soffits. So-called 'poor apartments'. Nero's Golden House. The palace of Domitian.

(b) Villas and Gardens 193-202

Increased luxury in villa-building after 31 B.C. Difficulties of site overcome. Villas built into the sea. The younger Pliny's villas. The villas at Sorrento and Tivoli described by Statius. Hadrian's villa at Tibur. The villa of the Gordians. Roman villas compared with modern *châteaux*. Venetian, French and other country seats in the eighteenth century. English country seats. The palace at Alupka. Roman building extravagance perhaps unequalled. Buildings the mania of the great and wealthy. Luxury of coloured materials not repeated later. Roman parks and gardens monotonous and smaller than those of the moderns. Roman and modern luxury in flowers compared. Flowers imported from Turkey and America. Luxury in varieties and exotic plants.

V LUXURY IN DOMESTIC ARRANGEMENTS 202-210

Character of the luxury in household arrangements in Roman antiquity. Excessive prices of luxurious furniture and utensils unusually high; the average prices much lower. Very high prices generally fancy prices. Roman luxury in domestic arrangements compared with modern, in the sixteenth to the eighteenth, and in the nineteenth century. Luxury in silver plate increased during the last centuries of the republic owing to the accumulation of the precious metals. Luxury in silver increased by the discovery of America, in Spain, England and France in the seventeenth and eighteenth, in Russia in the eighteenth, and in England and France in the

II

nineteenth century. The large silver dishes of the Romans perhaps served the purpose of an easily transportable reserve fund. Weight of silver plate. Luxury in silver in imperial times. Its spread among the middle and lower classes.

VI LUXURY IN FUNERALS 210-218

Funeral processions. Ancestral images. Extravagance in perfumes. Funeral pyres. Urns and sarcophagi. Burning and burial of objects used by the deceased. Cost of funerals. Banquets and shows at interments and funeral celebrations. Sepulchral monuments. Size of graves. Monuments in Italy and the provinces, and outside Italy. Cost of the monuments. Hadrian's mausoleum.

VII LUXURY IN SLAVES 218-221

Promoted by the large importation of slaves and the profits of slave ownership. Labour wasted by excessive subdivision, and the lack of tools and machinery. As much work as possible thrown upon slaves by their masters. 'Study slaves'. Exaggerated and ridiculous laziness. Slaves as luxuries. Dwarfs, giants and freaks.

VIII CONCLUSION 221-230

Cause of the comparatively small development of Roman luxury. The comparative smallness and poverty of the ancient world produced a low standard of luxury. The greatest luxury mainly confined to Rome. The good side of Roman luxury. Similarity and naturalness of clothing in all ranks. Combination of luxury with economy. Cheap substitutes for valuables, especially artistic. Luxury in cleanliness. Aqueducts common everywhere—in Italy, in the provinces, Antioch, Alexandria, African and Gallic towns. Baths. Enjoyment of nature. The lower classes share the wealth of the rich. Frequent donations for good objects, amusements and festivities. The luxury of the governments and communes democratic.

CHAP.		PAGE
III	THE ARTS	231-365
I	ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE AND PAINTING.	231-337
	1. Aims and Application of Architecture.	231-260
	Number and magnificence of the remains. Culture and prosperity of the old world in the early empire. Number and beauty of the towns. Camp towns. Lambaesis. Carnun- tum. Mainz. Aristides on the number and beauty of the towns. Towns in upper, central and lower Italy. Sicily. Gaul. Narbonensis. Lugdunensis. Aquitania. Belgica. Spain. Africa. Egypt. Syria. Phoenicia. Palestine. The Hauran. Arabia. Asia. Bithynia. Cappa- docia. Pamphylia and Pisidia. Lycia. Thrace. Macedonia. Dalmatia. Greece. Britain. <i>Agri decumates</i> . Raetia and Vindelicia. Noricum. Pannonia. Moesia. Dacia. Large numbers of architects in all the provinces. Buildings of the communes. Imitation of Rome. Buildings of Bithynian towns. The bridge at Alcantara. Income of the communes for de- fraying building expenses. Public buildings erected by private individuals. Buildings of the Greek sophists. Herodes Atticus. Build- ings of senators, imperial freedmen, foreign princes. Herod of Judaea. Buildings of the emperors. Imperial assistance in cases of fire and earthquake. Buildings of the Julian and Flavian emperors, of Trajan, of Hadrian (especially in Greece), of the Antonines. Private buildings in the provinces.	
	2. Aims and Application of the Plastic Arts and Painting	260-337
	(a) Decorative Art.	260-271

Dependence of the plastic arts on architec-
ture. Artistic decoration of public buildings
and places in the towns of Greece and Italy.
Statues of kings and generals. Other statues
in the *fora*. Statues of the *genti* of the cities.
Artistic decoration of private buildings, parks
and gardens in the later republic and under
the empire. Excavations of villas. Hadrian's
villa at Tivoli. General artistic decoration and

universality of the art. Abundant employment of cheap materials. Plastic in soft materials. Stucco painting. Artistic decoration general down to the last days of antiquity. Artistic adornment of furniture. Works of art as presents at the *Saturnalia* and on other occasions. Artistic adornment of sepulchral monuments.

(b) Monumental Art . . . 271-298

Personal memorials. Age of the statues of honour at Rome. Pictures of historical events. Pictures for special occasions. Pictures for triumphal processions, imperial pyres, judicial proceedings. Pictures for the shipwrecked. Votive pictures. Other representations of personal events. Representations of dream-visions. Pictures as permanent records. Portrait painting. Portraits of the emperors. Portraits of Oriental princesses as prospective brides. Portraits of private persons. Portraits in books and libraries. Portrait painting very common. Plastic representations of persons. Busts and statues of the emperor very general; their cult. Destruction of the memorials of hated emperors (especially Domitian). Preservation of imperial memorials, chiefly by consecration. Rapid erection of imperial monuments throughout the empire. Erected by officials, provincial corporations, communes and private individuals. Statues of Hadrian in Greece, of Augustus in Rome. Busts of Napoleon I. Imperial likenesses rarely old ones altered or renamed. Memorials of members of the imperial household, of the highest officials, of provincial governors, of distinguished Romans in the provinces, of subordinate officials. The honour of a statue in the *municipia*. Statues of provincial priests. Reasons for the erection of statues. Several statues of the same person, erected by *curiae*, *vici*, *pagi* and *phylae*. Erected at the cost of those honoured with them. Statues of foreigners. Statues voted by the town councils, in Rome by the Senate.

Publicly erected statues of the dead and living. Where they were set up in Rome. Statues of the chief Vestals. Private monuments ; why erected. Erection of one's own statue. Private monuments for the dead, especially as sepulchral memorials. Statues of famous men of antiquity. Personal memorials erected till the last days of antiquity.

(c) Religious Art 298-301

The large number of images of the gods the result of the theocracy. Settlements of artists near large temples. Increased artistic requirements and production *en masse* throughout the empire. Herculaneum and Pompeii show the average standard of artistic adornment in the towns of Italy. Statistics of the artistic adornment of Rome.

(d) Artistic Industry 301-320

Similarity of art and artistic industry throughout the empire except in Gaul, Egypt and Palestine. Works of art executed in Rome for the provinces, and in the quarries. The stone quarries of Pannonia. Images kept in stock. Images of the gods. Sarcophagi. Statues of honour. Made on the spot where they were to be used, partly by wandering, partly by resident artists. General uniformity of treatment, even of technique. Adherence to tradition. Bronzes in the villa of the Epicurean philosopher at Herculaneum. Rome the model for the whole empire. Production in the main reproduction, as also in plastic. Copies of famous older works in painting and mosaic, vessels, gems, pottery. High development of artistic handicraft. Influence of the discoveries at Herculaneum on the art industry of Paris. Art a manufacturing industry. Highly specialized division of labour. Co-operation of several artists. Works of art in great part executed by slaves. Cheapness of ordinary artistic work. Artists' fees under the empire ; in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

(e) The Artists	320-325
---------------------------	---------

Reasons for the disparagement of artists amongst the Romans. The plastic art in the hands of the Greeks; painting also practised by the Romans. Female painters. Female models. Architecture highly valued by the Romans. Roman architects numerous.

(f) Artistic Feeling	325-337
--------------------------------	---------

Reasons for the disparagement of art amongst the Romans. Spread of artistic knowledge and interest. Recognition by the Romans of the importance of art. Dilettantism in sculpture and painting. Inspection of works of art during travels. Art collections, chiefly due to the love of show, consisted mainly of older works. Collectors often taken in by copies. Works of art which had belonged to famous persons especially prized. Collectors' pretensions to expert knowledge. Lack of true artistic feeling. Roman literature shows no trace of artistic interest or intelligence, Greek much evidence of both. Contemporary art treated with little consideration in both literatures.

II Music	337-365
--------------------	---------

Roman music early supplanted by Greek. Ancient music closely connected with poetry, as in the Middle Ages. Melody subordinated to text in vocal music. No harmony in vocal music. Instrumental music. The flute. Stringed instruments. The *cithara*. Instruments played together. Poverty of instrumental music. Comparison with modern instrumental music. Programme music. Strengthening and admixture of musical means and effects. Combination *en masse* of similar and different instruments. Influence of non-Greek, especially Alexandrian, music. The orchestra in the pantomime. Continuance of the concerto of several instruments in Rome. *Monstra* concerts. Decay and degeneration of music. Thibaut's lamentations anticipated. Music degraded to gratify the senses. Music com-

CHAP.
III

mon at table. No difference between sacred and secular music. Musical interest stimulated by the publicity of the performances. Performances of the *citharoedí* and other artists. Musical contests (especially the Capitoline). Musicians (who were often composers). Musical *virtuosi*. Their wandering life and incomes. Admiration for them. Artistic vanity, caprice and jealousy. The attitude of artists towards the public. Paid applause. Musical dilettantism. Instruction in music. Public performances of boys' and girls' choirs. Male and female, and imperial amateurs. Nero's efforts to become a professional. Music in the last days of antiquity. Music in Christian religious services. Ambrose. Greek 'modes' handed down in unbroken tradition.

CHAPTER I

THE SPECTACLES

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

EVERY attempted delineation of the manners and customs of Imperial Rome must necessarily include a survey, as exhaustive as may be, of the spectacles, as the best measure of her grandeur, and as indicative in many ways of her moral and intellectual condition.

Originally, for the most part, religious celebrations, they became, even in the later Republic, the best means of purchasing popular favour, and, under the Empire, of keeping the populace contented. Augustus, the tale runs, once reproached Pylades the Pantomime for his jealousy of a rival, and Pylades replied : ' It is to your advantage, Caesar, that the people concerns itself about us '. But these spectacles effected more even than the diversion of popular interest ; their magnificence was a gauge of the popularity of the sovereign. The emperors, like Louis XIV, knew how admiration aids absolute autocracy ; like Napoleon, that the imagination of the people must be excited : splendid festivals were one of their most indispensable and most constant devices. Even Caligula, according to Josephus, was honoured and beloved by the folly of the populace ; the women and the youth did not desire his death ; distributions of meat, the games and the gladiatorial combats had won their hearts, for such were the delights of the mob : the lavishing of these gifts was nominally due to consideration for the populace, though the gladiatorial combats were only intended to sate the monarch's lust of blood. The memory of Nero survived him : the people did not believe in his death, hoped and wished for his return for thirty years, and thus caused several pseudo Neros to appear ; Dio of Prusa explains this by Nero's

extravagant generosity, most manifested in his spectacles. After his murder, Tacitus describes the populace of Rome, accustomed to the theatre and the circus, as depressed and greedy for rumours. Otho, at the games, was greeted as Nero, and did not decline the title, as it ensured popularity.

But soon the omnipotent ruler could no longer give spectacles at his pleasure; they had become an unavoidable necessity. Into the capital there poured a proletariat, more corrupt and wilder and rougher than in modern capitals, composed of the dregs of every nation; its predominance was absolute, and the more dangerous as the mob consisted mostly of idlers. The Government provided for their maintenance by the great distributions of corn; and having fed them, had to supply the needs of their leisure. In a school essay, written about A.D. 100, and purporting to be a letter from Sallust to Caesar on the reorganization of the State, the ruler is advised to keep the mob occupied, after bribing them with gifts and corn, and thus to prevent them injuring the common weal. This occupation was provided by the games. The well-known words of Juvenal, *panem et circenses*, in which he sums up the desires of the people, formerly the bestower of sovereignty, the *fascēs*, the legions and everything, are simply borrowed from an older and equally expressive phrase. Pressure had been first applied at Alexandria; where if the population had plenty of bread and races nobody would trouble about anything else. Bread and races in Rome were soon regarded as no mere imperial indulgence, but as an absolute right; a *damnosa hereditas*, which had to be accepted by every new government; the best and the worst emperors alike had to vie in the splendour and magnificence of the festivals.

Augustus 'outdid every one in the frequency, variety and splendour of his spectacles': the importance which the founder of the Empire ascribed to the games is evidenced by the detailed account of them in his record of his life, and in the circumstantial directions with regard to them. The economical Vespasian built the largest amphitheatre in the world: and in 1756 the value of the travertine still left in the Colosseum was estimated by experts, according to the prices then obtaining, at 2,218,065 *scudi*, or 16,894,851 francs, the cost of the walls being put by an Italian architect at five million *scudi*.

Certainly, the material for the most part may have been provided by the demolition of the Golden House. Yet Vespasian expended hugely on spectacles, and Titus probably outbid him. Trajan was perhaps the most zealous in this respect. 'It is a sign of great statesmanship', says a later writer, 'that Trajan provided for dancers and other artists of the stage, the circus and the arena, for he knew that the Roman people loved most of all two things, bread and games: that the goodness of government is shown both in its earnest aspects and its amusements: and that whilst neglect of serious business was harmful, neglect of amusements caused discontent; even distributions of money were less desired than games; further, largesses of corn and money pacified only a few or even individuals only, but games the whole people'. Even the Stoic Marcus Aurelius prevailed on himself to give splendid spectacles, and decreed that the richest senators should provide them in his stead during his absence. Severus even, next to Hadrian the most avaricious of the Emperors, yet thought fit to devote enormous sums to the games. Tiberius is the only exception; he showed his profound contempt for the mob by giving no spectacles. Others were satisfied with lowering the actors' fees, fixing a maximum number of duellists in the gladiatorial combats, and thus cutting down expenses; such Emperors were Tiberius, and Augustus. Nerva also abolished several spectacles in the circus; Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius limited the gladiatorial games and the gifts to the actors. The repetition of these ordinances proves their futility.

A further importance attached to the games under the Empire; the people were there enabled to assemble in mass, and, in the Emperor's presence, to make known their attitude, inclinations, wishes and complaints; these manifestations were tolerated to a degree found nowhere else. According to Tacitus, in the circus and the theatre the people showed the least restraint; in the utter lack of other occasions for public meetings and proclamations, the games gained additional significance.

No less important was the reception given to the Emperor and the other persons highly placed. In Republican times, statesmen valued the enthusiasm of the theatre; Cicero was rejoiced to receive 'wonderful cheers without any hostile

cat-calls' at the games. Exceptionally, poets were thus honoured : Virgil was greeted with the same respect as Augustus, on one occasion when verses of his were recited in the theatre. Under the emperors, such greetings were, as a rule, reserved for the Imperial family, the great officers of State and the provider of the entertainment. The assembled people, as these dignitaries entered, rose from their seats and applauded : Augustus even had to express disapproval of his grandchildren being thus honoured, whilst mere boys : handkerchiefs were waved (Aurelian distributed them for the purpose) ; titles and congratulations were shouted out, partly stereotyped and often repeated, and even set to music and song.

The games afforded the emperors an opportunity of coming into personal contact and ingratiating themselves with the assembled people. The more they aimed at popularity, the more frequently they attended their own and others' spectacles. Tiberius even, who disliked these diversions, was often present at the games at the beginning of his reign, partly, as Dio says, to do the entertainers honour, partly to keep the populace in order and to show his sympathy with their pleasure. Augustus taught the people to regard this as a right. Suetonius says that on all such occasions he sedulously avoided giving offence by following Caesar's example of reading and answering despatches and petitions, and partly perhaps out of his own interest in spectacles (which he acknowledged), devoted his whole attention to them. Marcus Aurelius, like Caesar, used to read and give audience and sign documents in the circus, and was scoffed at for it by the people. Nero at first used to watch the games lying down, from the window of a closed box, but later from the public podium, when his short sight forced him to use a cut emerald. Domitian seems afterwards to have had the imperial box rebuilt ; for Pliny praises Trajan for discarding it in his rebuilding of his great circus : ' Your citizens can see you, as you can see them ; see you sitting publicly amongst them, not merely the imperial box '.

Historians and biographers generally mention the graciousness and condescension of the emperors to the people at the games, and their anticipation of the public desires ; very seldom the contrary. Claudius' brutish delight in the slaughter of the arena offended even Rome ; but his affability

in the Circus, and his habit of writing his answers down and sending them by hand when possible, instead of employing heralds, made him popular. When Androclus, a runaway slave, condemned to be torn to pieces by wild beasts, was recognized by a lion, from whose foot he had drawn a thorn in Africa, and spared, the event, on the personal testimony of Apio of Alexandria, was at once recorded on a tablet, which was handed all round the circus. Claudius, too, used to count the gold pieces won by the victors on his fingers, as did the spectators, used to call the people 'mylords', and exchanged vulgar jokes with them. Titus, too, used to satisfy every popular wish, take sides in the gladiatorial contests, and, like one of the people, jeer at his opponents; neither his majesty suffered, nor the impartiality of the contest. Domitian, on the other hand, was truculent; no one dared embrace the side opposed to his favourites. Trajan restored the former freedom, and was generally affable. Hadrian was stricter, and, like Domitian, ordered silence by a herald, not deigning any reply to a turbulent request. Gallienus had a wreath given to a bull-fighter, who had missed his bull ten times; the people murmured; the herald announced that to miss a bull ten times was no easy matter.

The popular requests granted by the emperors generally referred to the games. The spectators demanded a certain sort of combat, the appearance of famous gladiators, the discharge of a brave fighter, the manumission of an actor or charioteer (who were mostly slaves), the amnesty of a criminal condemned to the wild beasts. Androclus was freed at such a demand, and led his lion about with a thin cord from tavern to tavern; money was everywhere given him, and wreaths of flowers to the lion. Criminals who bravely killed their animals were sometimes pardoned and given largess at the popular request. Marcus Aurelius declared manumissions enforced on the owner by turbulence, invalid. Tiberius once granted the manumission of a slave not his own, only with his master's consent, while Hadrian refused to free a charioteer belonging to another, and circulated his refusal on a tablet. Tiberius, after being obliged to free Actius the comedian, avoided the games and their importunities.

Other petitions of the most diverse kinds were made to the emperors, and seldom rejected. Josephus regards the

certainty of such petitions being granted as one of the chief reasons why the Romans so valued the circus. But, in the Triumphal Games of A.D. 9, the knights in vain besought the repeal of the stringent marriage-law just enacted. At a great dearth in 32 for several days demands were made in the theatre, with unusual violence towards the emperor. Tiberius once set up in his palace the statue by Lysippus of the athlete with the scraper, which had been erected by Agrippa in front of his *thermae*, and, at the request of the people in the theatre, had reluctantly to restore it. Shortly before his murder, Caligula was asked in the Circus to reduce the taxes; he was enraged, and had the loudest claimants arrested and executed. Palfurius Sura had been expelled from the Senate by Domitian; he gained the oratorical prize in the Capitoline *Agon*; the assembly unanimously called for his restitution, but in vain. These calls of the people assembled at the games were the recognized expression of the popular wishes; Titus, as military praefect, to justify the execution of men he suspected, distributed men in the theatre to demand it. Under Galba the people in the Circus and the Theatre incessantly demanded the execution of Tigellinus, until the emperor settled the matter by an edict. As is well known, the anti-Christian outbreaks in the following centuries had their origin in the Circus and the amphitheatre.

But in the great spectacles not only could the popular grievances be aired, but gibes could be freely directed at private individuals or even the emperors, imprecations against the autocrats of the world. Tertullian frequently mentions such outbreaks, and asks if there be anything harsher than the Circus that spares neither citizen nor monarch. Individual complainants were hard to detect, while the multitude were emboldened by the security of numbers. Macrinus was loathed for his cruelty; like the ancient Etruscan Mezentius, he tied condemned criminals to corpses and left them thus to perish. One day his son Diadumenos, a boy beloved for his beauty, was loudly applauded in the Circus, but voices were raised, quoting Virgil: *Egregius forma juvenis . . . dignus patriis qui laetior esset imperiis, et cui pater haud Mezentius esset*. Diocletian celebrated the twentieth year of his reign in Rome on November 20, 303, but left Rome in December, because, according to a Christian writer, he could not endure the outspokenness of the Romans (no doubt in the Circus).

But Constantius II, on his visit to Rome in 357, was delighted at the popular wit in the games he gave, and found it 'neither insolent nor unfree, but strictly moderate'. In 509 Cassiodorus writes: 'The language of the merry people in the Circus is not offensive. The place excuses the transgression. Ready tolerance of their loquacity makes the emperors popular'. Popular jeers were also aimed at private persons, especially if well known and well hated, though insults of such persons, if present, were severely punished. When Sarmentus, a slave raised to knighthood, took his place on the equestrian benches, he was met with a derisory song (still extant). Claudius issued severe edicts in 47, after the insults offered in the theatre to Publius Pomponius the consular and certain noble ladies.

The Circus also served for political demonstrations. In 59 B.C. the opponents of Caesar were greeted with tremendous cheers in the Theatre and Circus, and Caesar and his party with hisses or silence; whilst Diphilus the actor was called back again and again to repeat verses reflecting adversely on Pompey. In the course of the Civil War, Laberius' line, 'Whom many fear, must fear the many', became a popular catchword in the theatre. In 45 B.C. Cicero was pleased at the good behaviour of the people in the games: the image of Caesar had been carried about in procession with the images of the gods; and her evil neighbour had prevented the goddess of victory being applauded. In 40 B.C. men were longing for the conclusion of the war against Sextus Pompeius, and a statue of his patron god Neptune was warmly greeted; there was a riot the third day, when it was not brought out. The downfall of Commodus' mighty chamberlain Cleander was prefaced by an organized demonstration in the Circus. A company of boys, led by a tall, hideously ugly woman burst into the arena during a pause and imprecated Cleander the people joined in, and rushed excitedly to the imperial villa, where they enforced the surrender of the hated favourite. Under Commodus, too, Pertinax, the future emperor, rose to prominence, and, when a horse of the name belonging to Commodus' green faction won, the Greens cried out: 'It is Pertinax'; and the Blues answered: 'If it only were!' Such popular outbreaks occurred, sometimes undesigned, sometimes in consequence of the strange forces that provoke great masses of men to speak or act unanimously. Cassius

Dio says he himself heard, in 196, during the civil war between the pretender Albinus and Severus, a countless multitude in the Circus with wonderful unanimity utter complaints at the continuance of the war and their desire of peace; he regarded it as 'a divine inspiration: how otherwise could so many myriads have begun at the same moment, calling out for the same thing, like a well-trained chorus, and without any hitch, as at rehearsals?' Plautianus, the powerful favourite of Severus, was greeted in the Circus, shortly before his downfall in 205, with the jeer that he was wealthier than the three others' (Severus and his two sons). Caracalla drained the Empire's life blood, and was told, 'We will kill the living, to bury the dead'. The number of such incidents that Dio records proves their frequency. The topical references in the theatrical performances will be dealt with later.

The presence of the emperors and other great personages obliged spectators to take many irksome precautions. Augustus saw one knight drinking and had him informed that he breakfasted at home. The knight rejoined: 'Yes, you have your seat reserved'. The early monarchy issued express ordinances on the dress of the spectators, varied under various rulers. Roman citizens had to wear the *toga*, a heavy costume, in the hot summer, which spoiled the pleasure of the entertainment. 'Whilst Rome is at the Circus', Juvenal writes in his sixtieth year, 'my shrunken skin can absorb the rays of the April sun, and be spared the *toga*'. Augustus, ever anxious to restore ancient custom, ordered the aediles to refuse admission except to those wearing the *toga*. Knights and senators had to don their robes, and officiate in their official garb, which was only discarded at the public mourning for a deceased emperor. Commodus at a gladiatorial show given shortly before his death required spectators to wear the dark close-buttoned rain-cloak, (which was also worn by mourners,) and this was taken as a premonition of his death. In the summer Augustus gave, and Tiberius repealed, leave to come to the Circus barefoot: Caligula reintroduced the custom, and in 37 for the first time allowed the senators to use the Thessalian parasol hats: until then they had had to remain bareheaded. At one spectacle of Domitian, a rain-storm came on, and no one was allowed to go or change, whilst the emperor put on cloak after cloak: many fell ill and died. Domitian

strictly insisted on these regulations and revived others that had fallen into disuse. The indulgence of coloured dress was revoked by him, except for white, scarlet and purple. Besides parasol hats, sunshades were allowed. The enforcement of law and order at the spectacles was in the province of the City Praefect, who could have the assistance of the military, and could forbid entrance to offenders and seditious folk. Even in the early Republic we should consider the sums expended on popular pleasures large. After 364 B.C. the Roman Games were held for four days in September and theatrical pieces were performed; 200,000 *asses* (£2,145) were allowed on their account, and this sum was not increased until the second Punic War. The other State Games were also paid out of the *aerarium*. But with the increased demands, the state-grant became insufficient, and the givers of the spectacles, the aediles, had to contribute from their own pockets, borrow from their friends, or extort the money from the *socii* or the provincials; often the effort rendered them insolvent. About 150 B.C. great gladiatorial games cost over 30 talents (£7,050). Yet even this was little in comparison with the gigantic squanderings on games in the later Republic; some, such as the games of Scaurus (58), Pompey (55), Caesar, can only have been exceeded by the emperors; Milo in 53 spent, on his candidature for the consulate, 'three inheritances, to stop the mouth of the populace'. Cicero, writing to his brother Quintus, calls these games the most extravagant ever given; Milo, he says, must be mad. Yet, later, these spectacles are not specially distinguished. Under the Empire larger sums were allowed for the State Games (which were lengthened). According to a document of 51 A.D., 760,000 sesterces (£8,250) were spent on the Roman Games, 600,000 (£6,025) on the Plebeian, 380,000 (£4,125) on the Apollinarian, and 10,000 (£108 3s.) on the newly-instituted Augustal games. These sums do not include the contributions of officials, or the enormous sums spent by private individuals, as to which our information is only fragmentary. When Herod of Judaea instituted quadrennial games in honour of Augustus, Augustus and Livia gave him all the essential properties: this was reckoned at 500 talents (£117,900). In the early empire a good three days' exhibition of gladiators in a city of Campania cost 400,000 sesterces (£4,350). Generally, however, expenses in the *municipia* would be less.

The city of Pisaurum (Pesaro) received a legacy of 600,000 sesterces to provide for a quinquennial gladiatorial exhibition. The *senatus consultum* of 27 A.D., forbidding any one with less than 400,000 sesterces from giving gladiatorial shows, must clearly have been directed against penniless speculators; for even in the *municipia* a larger expenditure would be requisite. At the Feast of the Great Mother (April 4-10) the praetor, under Domitian, had to contribute 100,000 out of his own monies (£1,087 10s.), and, even then, underpaid the performers, the charioteers especially. Generally the praetor could not meet the expense, the chariot races alone costing 400,000 sesterces. Hadrian received 2,000,000 (£21,771) from Trajan for the games during his praetorship in 107. The seven days' games given by Symmachus on his son's praetorship cost 2,000 pounds of gold (about £91,350), and he was by no means the richest of the senators; another senator of that time, Maximus, spent double as much. The expenses of the consulate in games used then to cost over 2,000 pounds of gold; the emperor had to give the lion's share. Justinian became Consul in 521 and outbid the record of eastern magnificence in largess and spectacles, spending 288,000 *solidi* (about £181,500). In Marcus Aurelius' time, the total expenses on gladiators in the Empire, excluding Rome, were estimated at over £500,000 a year. A speech before the senate at about this epoch states that the decrees limiting this extravagance did save the *municipia* from insolvency, as well as the prominent men who gave the games; they were the priests belonging to the provincial aristocracy and the city officials; the law obliged the priests to provide the games, custom and their fellow citizens' expectations the others.

In Rome this oppressive obligation fell almost entirely on the senators, who were only partially relieved from the fisc. For centuries the Roman aristocracy was thus taxed almost to the point of exhaustion in favour of the proletariat. The order purchased rank, titles and tinsel dignities at the expense of outlay that ruined many old families, or necessitated the support of their colleagues and the emperor. In the first centuries the brilliancy of the senatorial offices compensated the onerous charges, and comparatively few evaded the burden. But, as time went on, and senators came to mean

only providers of public festivals, losing all power whatsoever, more and more abstained : at last competitors for curule honours began to fall short. Constantine had to coerce candidates, who sought to avoid the praetorship by flight ; he may not have been the first emperor obliged to take such measures. A series of edicts in the fourth century regulated the elections to the praetorship and quaestorship in Rome and Constantinople for periods of ten years, out of all the senators who had attained their twenty-ninth year ; and specified valid exemptions. Sums were fixed as *minima* for the games for the various praetorships. Any who evaded the obligation on insufficient grounds had to bear the whole expense of the games, which the fisc gave in their names, and had, further, as a fine, to provide a considerable amount of corn to the granaries of the capital. The obligation was made a charge on the heirs of praetors elect, who had died before taking office.

The number of festival days in the year devoted to the Games cannot be ascertained for any epoch, as the regular spectacles were constantly shifted, and the extraordinary ones incalculable. The calendars of the Empire only give an approximate picture of the annual games. During the Republic there were seven, which under Augustus lasted sixty-six days : the Roman Games taking up fifteen, after Caesar's death sixteen (September 4-19), the Plebeian fourteen (November 4-17), those of Ceres eight (April 12-19), those of Apollo eight (July 6-13), those of the Great Mother eight (April 3-10) and of Flora six (April 28-May 3), and the Sullan Commemoration seven (October 26-November 1). Out of these sixty-six days, fourteen were given up to races, two to trials of racing horses, two to sacrifices, and forty-eight to theatricals ; gladiators did not usually appear in public games during the Republic. All these festivals, excepting the last, subsisted in some measure down to the fourth century.

After the fall of the Republic few games were added. Up to 4 B.C. the only addition was the eleven day games of Venus Genetrix (July 20-30, with four *circenses dies*), and the *ludus circensis Martis* on May 12 ; Augustus added a second *ludus circensis Martis* on August 1, and Tiberius the eight day festival in honour of Augustus, afterwards prolonged to ten days (October 3-12). Later on, the number of festival days with games, under Tiberius 87 in number, was very variously

increased by triumphs, dedications, imperial birthdays and so on; and the reductions effected by Nerva, Severus and Macrinus, scarcely affected the constant growth. Marcus Aurelius increased the judicial days to 230; then 135 at most must have been given to exhibitions. In the middle of the fourth century there were 175 holidays, ten with gladiatorial exhibitions, 64 in the circus and 101 in the theatre. The gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts do not appear in the early calendars, and are limited to ten days in December in the fourth century; they must, however, have been very frequent, to judge from the evidence of literature and inscriptions. Alexander Severus designed distributing the gladiatorial combats over the whole year, giving one a month, but, for some reason, did not carry his intention out. Extraordinary spectacles were also tolerably numerous, and sometimes lasted for weeks or months. At the dedication of the Flavian amphitheatre in 80 Titus gave a 100 day festival, and, on his second Dacian triumph in 106, Trajan gave a 123 day festival. All the greater spectacles began at sunrise (the seats were filled before dawn) and lasted until sundown. Celsus (under Tiberius) speaks of attending the spectacles all day long. St. Augustine says that theatricals and circus games were sometimes given on the same day.

Originally the games in the Circus were the most important, and concluded the festivals. In the later Republic the gorgeous and extravagant combats of gladiators were the popular favourites. In three places, says Cicero in 56 B.C., is the voice of the Roman people most certainly heard: in city assemblies, the *comitia*, and at the games and combats; at the last people of all classes gathered in the greatest numbers for its principal pleasure. But, when in the early Empire the Circus parties were organized, betting interests set all others in the background. Theatricals, though still popular, took only the third place. Like the people, the emperors laid most weight on the two first kinds of entertainment, and spent enormous sums on them. Coins (in the lack of other documents) evidence the imperial generosity in this direction, having on the obverse buildings and games in the amphitheatre and circus, and scarcely ever theatres and dramas. At the Secular Games, for three days and nights scenic representations were given in the Campus Martius; but no indication

is given of them at the millenary celebration under Emperor Philip on the coins, on which lions, hippopotami, and wild animals recall the animal baitings.

Besides these three main varieties, even under the Republic Rome borrowed from Greece athletic combats and musical performances, partly for certain periodic festivals, to be mentioned afterwards, and partly as incidental. At the greater festivals relief was afforded by having fireworks, rope dancers, jugglers, acrobats. Varro in his book on the theatre already mentions boys turning somersaults. Pliny saw a strong man called Athanatos walk across the stage with armour and shoes weighing altogether 1,000 Roman pounds. Carinus and Numerianus gave an unprecedented exhibition. The reproduction of the features of it in the colonnade of a stable in the Palatium is an illustration of the variety of these side-shows. A rope dancer is seen dancing with buskins on thin, almost invisible ropes : a wall-climber clambering up a wall to escape a bear he had teased : bears acting a piece, and a hundred trumpeters in chorus, and a hundred players of flutes and wind instruments, and a thousand athletes and pantomimes. The stage was provided with transformation scenery and fireworks ; and these are only samples. Claudian the poet celebrated an exhibition given by the consul Flavius Mallius Theodorus, in which there were chariot races, athletic contests, animal baitings, theatricals, and music, besides several kinds of jugglers who flew like birds, formed pyramids, with a boy on the top, not to speak of transformation scenes, pyrotechnics with harmless flames, and boat-races. Manilius' frequent mentions of acrobats are reminiscences of spectacles. He specifies rope dancers and jugglers one of whom hovered in mid-air whilst the other jumped to the ground from a scaffolding, leaping through fire, soaring like dolphins in space, unfeathered birds.

Splendid illumination was an important part of the spectacles, as usually in ancient celebrations, religious or festive. In ancient days the *forum* and *comitium* were decked at night with lamps at the games. The continuance of the festivals by artificial light was a late innovation, beginning, possibly, in the Feast of Flora, the rites of which were best suited to night-time. In 32 A.D. Lucius Sejanus, as praetor, had the spectators of the *Floralia* conducted home by 5,000 slave

torch-bearers. The Secular Games of Augustus of 17 B.C. also lasted all night according to ancient custom, and young men and women were forbidden to attend them, unless in the company of their elders. At the millenary celebrations of 248 A.D., according to the chroniclers, the people did not go to bed for three nights. Thus illuminations at the Saturnalia were usual: it was the festival of the turn of the year, held about the time of the shortest day, like Christmas. At the festival on December 1, 88, given by Domitian as a preliminary to the Saturnalia, a circle of lights was lowered down into the amphitheatre at dusk, turning night into day. Nero's quinquennial feast (instituted in 60) seems to have lasted the night through: objections on the score of possible immorality were met with the reply that the light would be too bright. In Imperial Rome night celebrations must have been common, as 'spectacles and illuminations' are associated in many Italian city records; in a legacy found on the island of Ebusus (Iviça) directions are given for the holding of spectacles with pitch-lights on a certain day. Caligula once gave theatrical performances at night; the whole city was lit up as well. The chariot-race in Nero's gardens with Christians in pitch as torches, was also a night spectacle. Domitian held gladiatorial games and wild beast shows by artificial light, and Martial's reference to the night wave from which Leander escaped, indicates a performance of Hero and Leander at night.

During the Republic, even as under the Empire, the spectators received hospitality and largess at the spectacles. The games lasted all day: about midday there was a pause and the onlookers scattered for lunch, or had it supplied in the theatre or circus by slaves staggering under huge baskets of food and wine; permits for food and drink were also handed round, and complaints would be raised of gluttony or cheating. At the greater games, which lasted several days, whole days would be reserved for general feasts. The distributions taking place at the Games of the two City Praefects were abolished in 217 A.D., excepting those at the Floralia. At the Floralia a generous allowance of a mash of peas and beans pacified the people; at imperial games their taste was more delicate. At the December 1 festival in 88, according to Statius, the young and beautiful imperial servants, in rich costume,

waiting everywhere on the audience, fully equalled the spectators in number. Some brought costly dishes in baskets, and white napkins, and others, old wine. Children, women, plebs, knights and senate and the emperor himself all dined at one board ; and the poorest man could boast himself the emperor's guest. At such a festival Caligula, seeing a Roman knight and a senator looking particularly delighted, sent the knight his own portion and made the senator a praetor *extra ordinem*.

Sometimes, too, presents, especially of fruit and eatables, were thrown down to the audience ; at the festival in December, 88, it rained figs, dates, nuts, plums, cakes, cheese and pastry in the morning, and in the evening, birds, pheasants, and Numidian partridges. Often, too, tickets were showered down, entitling the receiver to the most diverse, and often valuable prizes : some examples are extant. Domitian once, when most of the tickets had on the first day fallen among the third order, directed fifty each to be thrown among the knights and senators. At a very long and magnificent festival, founded by Nero for the eternity of the Roman Empire, every day thousands of different birds were thrown down, and tickets entitling the holders to furniture, corn, clothing, gold, silver, jewellery, pearls, pictures, paintings, draught animals, tamed beasts and ships, lodging-houses and country estates. Titus used similar tickets at the dedication of the Flavian Amphitheatre. At one feast of Elagabalus, a ticket might win its holder ten bears, ten dormice, ten lettuces, ten pounds of gold ; but swine never, as the Emperor's religion forbade his eating them. On such occasions there was much disorder, rough play or even loss of life. The wise left before this scene came on, knowing that trifles were bought there too dear. Speculators, too, would buy anything a scambler might get, beforehand. In the later Empire many hundreds of animals of the chase, native or foreign, were sometimes given to the people. The first mention of this practice is in a festival, given by Gordian as aedile, and most of all at the games at Probus' triumph over the Germans and Blemmyes. The Circus was transformed into a forest by trees planted and fastened in. A thousand ostriches, stags, boars, wild sheep, antelopes and other antlered animals were driven in, and beasts of every description : then the people were

admitted and every one was allowed to seize and keep what he could.

At the great festivals not only Romans but strangers assembled in large numbers. In Republican times the *municipia* flocked to share in Rome's games, and, when Rome became the centre of the world, the curious of all nations. At Julius Caesar's triumphal games, the influx was so great that most had to stay in shanties and tents in the streets, and many, including two senators, were crushed to death. For his great spectacles Augustus had the city patrolled to prevent burglaries in the deserted streets; at his presentation of a naval fight, as Ovid says, men and women from East and West flocked together, and the world came to Rome. In Martial's description of the spectacles at the dedication of the Flavian Amphitheatre, no people, however barbarous or foreign, failed to send its contingent. The farmer from the foot of the Balkan, the Sarmatian who fed on mare's milk, the dwellers at the sources of the Nile, the inhabitants of the ocean-marge, Sabaeans, Arabians, Sicambrians, with their hair knotted on their heads, and curly-haired negroes; the motley languages united in one common acclamation to the emperor as *pater patriae*. Dio says that the lightning which at the Volcanalia 217 (August 23) destroyed the amphitheatre, smote, not only Rome, but all the world which used to frequent it.

These facts illustrate the huge attempts to entertain the Roman people. The Roman populace was indeed accustomed to greatness, as none other. It had seen, century after century, its Circus filled with triumphal processions of conquered kings of distant lands, and the treasures of the earth heaped up for Rome. They, the heirs of this great past, still commanded the world: things marvellous and incredible they daily heard, and Rome the eternal, the wonder of antiquity and modernity, was ever before their eyes. But the spectacles did not occupy only the masses, for whom they were intended. The impression of these exciting scenes of night fascinated all, infected the intellect of Rome, even the highest and most cultured circles, and especially the women. How the games pervaded every man's thought, the proverbs show. When they drew breath, they breathed in the passion for the circus, the stage and the arena, 'an original evil

begotten in the womb'. But, certain as are the evil moral effects of the games even on the upper classes, the demonstration of it in detail is impossible.

One sign of this decadence, sufficient in itself to show the prevalence of these degrading influences, must be mentioned : the public appearance of men, and even women of noble family on the stage, in the arena, and in the racecourse. Various motives concurred to produce this unprecedented contravention of law and morality—the decay and poverty of a part of the nobility, the compulsion of the emperors ; but this is not cause enough. The presence of the emperors at the spectacles sufficiently proves the aristocratic mania for them, uncurbed by law or custom. Many emperors not only aimed at proficiency in acting, dancing, music, chariot-driving, gladiatorship, but exhibited their prowess before companies of varying size. Nero traversed Greece as a professional artist ; Commodus left the palace to live in the gladiators' school ; Caracalla in a blue livery publicly drove his chariot ; it must have been an infatuation that compelled men of noble birth to this degradation.

Even under Augustus a wastrel's last refuge was the school of gladiators ; but this last dishonour was rare, and amongst the senators rarer than amongst the knights, and the emperors seldom directly or indirectly forced knights or senators to appear in public. Apart from the wish of some few to diminish the offensiveness of their own appearance in the arena by a general imitation, Caesarism, with its hatred of aristocracy, its class-levelling, and favouring of the populace, would not regret the degradation of the upper classes ; and the mob would be delighted at seeing the noblest of the State exhibit themselves like slaves and hirelings, to provide a holiday.

But most of the Emperors had no such thoughts, or restrained them out of respect to custom, law or their own intimacies. The first Caesar did indeed show his autocratic disrespect for rank. In his Circus games young nobles raced, and Laberius the knight was bribed and forced on to the stage, and others into the arena. But soon after his death (38 B.C.) senators were forbidden to appear in the arena ; and some time after 16 B.C. there followed a *senatus consultum* prohibiting senators and knights from the stage as well. Suetonius

says Augustus did employ knights and senators in both capacities, but only before this decree. In the spectacles given by Augustus in 29 B.C. at the dedication of the Temple of Caesar, patricians and knights ran horse and chariot races, and a senator, Quintus Vintelius, appeared as a gladiator. Nero's grandfather, Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, during his praetorship and consulate 16 B.C. had a mime acted by knights and married women. In 10 A.D. knights were expressly allowed to appear as gladiators. Tiberius, a thorough aristocrat, had more contempt for the mob than hatred of the aristocracy, and would not degrade the upper classes; he sternly enforced the *senatus consultum*, and punished the decadent youth of both orders who evaded it by getting themselves convicted of some dishonourable act. In 15 A.D., at one of Drusus' spectacles, two knights fought. Tiberius was present, and, after one had fallen, forbade the other continuing. In Caligula's spectacles, senators drove chariots, and, as a punishment for alleged public appearances in the arena or on the stage, many knights and senators were put to death or forced to fight as gladiators. Claudius apparently not only had the intention of stopping the abuse, but succeeded. Under Nero, however, the first emperor to act in public, the passion reached its highest point: rank, sex, wealth, reputation, all availed nothing against the imperial whim to drive them to the degradation of the stage or the arena. Vitellius issued a sharp edict against this degradation of the knighthood; and Domitian made some ostentation of anxiety for the honour of rank; he expelled a man of quaestorian rank from the Senate, Caecilius Rufinus, for his love of dancing. In 91 Acilius Glabrio had to fight a lion at the Alban villa, or, according to another account, volunteered there to fight a bear; one ground for his execution in 95 was this combat. Up to Commodus, the succeeding emperors did not force senators or knights to appear in public. Yet a man of ill fame in the Senate could tell Marcus Aurelius he saw about him many praetors who had fought with him in the arena; and Severus could answer the Senate's complaints at Commodus' appearing in the amphitheatre, by asking whether none of the senators had fought as gladiators; else why should certain of them have bought Commodus' shields and golden helmets? 'When the fore-

head is scarred enough with the mask, it is used for the helmet', says Seneca. 'Under an emperor who plays the cithara in public, a noble comedian may be expected', says Juvenal. 'The next stage is the gladiators' school'.

Thus, excepting for Nero, the emperors are not most to blame for this degradation of senators and knights; an unmistakable sign of the irresistible influence of these marvellous spectacles upon men's minds.

I THE CIRCUS

§ 1

Between the parallel slopes of the Aventine and Palatine there is a valley 600 metres long and 150 broad, an ideal arena for races, and chariot-races especially. During the Republic the accommodation for the races and the spectators was extremely simple. The constructions begun by Julius Caesar and completed by Augustus first made the Roman Circus one of its most splendid buildings. The seats for the spectators were separated from the course by a ditch ten feet broad, and rose in three tiers in the form of an amphitheatre. The lowest of these consisted of stone, and the two upper of wood, and wood was used up to late times, as collapses are often mentioned, one under Antoninus Pius, in which 1,112 lives were lost, and also under Diocletian and Maximin. Under Augustus the structure was not very lofty, and there was a view on to the Circus from the upper stories of the houses around, a position Augustus liked. The first large reconstruction was undertaken by Nero after the great fire of 64 which destroyed no small part of the Circus, whence it started; he also had the moat filled in and utilized for extra seats. Another fire under Domitian occasioned a further reconstruction, which was completed by Trajan. The Circus was then further enlarged in connexion with a scheme of decoration: an inscription makes Trajan boast of having provided room enough for the whole Roman people. According to Pliny the Younger (A.D. 100) its endless length was in harmony with the gorgeousness of the temples; it was worthy of the sovereign nation, and, in itself, no less remarkable than the games exhibited in it. We have only scanty references to

later restorations and extensions. The seating accommodation at the last was from 180,000 to 190,000. The lowest seats, those nearest to the course, were assigned to the senators, the next tier to the knights and the rest to the commonalty. Women sat with the men, not apart as at the other spectacles. The emperor and his family sat amongst the senators, or built their boxes in the lowest tier.

The decorations were rich throughout. An account dating from the fourth century specifies the bronze on the rows of seats. But the principal feature was the obelisk Augustus set up in the centre (now in the Piazza del Popolo); Constantius added another larger one (now in the Piazza del Laterano). The circus was surrounded by a one-storey edifice with staircases and entrances, affording easy access and exits for thousands at once; containing in its cellars shops and conveniences, and above, the owner's residence; of three cellars two served as shops and refreshment places, and the third as the entrance. This low block of buildings was always lively, and seldom proper. In Ennius' day street-corner astrologers made the Circus their resort; hence Horace, who liked walking about amongst the augurs there in the evenings, speaks of the deceitful circus; and, in Juvenal's time, such seers gave mean folk advice, and predicted their fortunes with little stones on boards. Further, even in Cicero's day, there were cookshops in the Circus; the players, who there amused the rabble, were honoured by Augustus to the extent of performing before his guests. The great fire under Nero broke out in the part of the Circus next to Mons Caelius and the Palatine, in the shops with their inflammable wares. The name of one fruit-dealer of the Great Circus has come down to us in an inscription. But these cellars, as also those round the Theatre and the Stadium, were used as brothels: a Christian writer remarks that the road to the Circus lay through the brothel. The prostitutes included Syrians and Oriental women in foreign dress, who danced obscenely to the sound of kettle-drums, cymbals and castagnettes.

The performances, in the course of the centuries, become longer, more various and more magnificent. The main feature was, as always, the chariot-races. But there were also races on horseback, the riders, after an old Roman military custom, leaping from horse to horse, or plying arms on

horseback, picking up their prizes from the ground in full gallop, and other similar exploits. They would lie down on galloping steeds, leap over four-in-hands. Pugilists, runners, wrestlers were common in the earlier epoch, and later too in *stadia* specially constructed: thus in 44 A.D. there was an athletic contest in the Circus. An inscription found near the grove of the Arvales mentions a Green runner Fuscus, who died at the age of 24, and won 53 times at Rome, twice in the Circus of the Arvales, and once at Bovillae; one of these races he won only at the second lap: he was the best runner of his time, and, at his first appearance in 35 A.D., won the race. Pliny mentions the long runs frequent in the Circus of his day: his distances seem fabulous; one boy eight years old ran 75 *millia* from midday to evening; another 160 *millia*; an inscription of an imperial runner tells of his doing 94 *millia* on one day; as a wonderful feat Fletcher, the Englishman, is said to have done 60 miles in 14 hours, and Barclay 90 in 21½; the Peruvian messengers of the Incas ran 50 *leguas* (about 200 miles) in 24 hours.

In Republican times there used to be mock-fights in the Circus, and other military exhibitions undertaken by young citizens in full armour; divisions of troops, foot or cavalry, replaced them under the Empire. Or again the equestrian order in its six *turmae*, each led by its captain, and the whole troop commanded by the 'First of the Youth' (generally the heir to the throne) used to perform in gala-dress in the Circus. Boys of noble descent, too, used to figure before the people in the Circus in the so-called Troy-play, an old custom revived by Augustus, and much in favour with the Julian Emperors. The boys, mainly of senatorial family, and occasionally the young princes, in detachments according to age (of boys under 11, or under 17) went through cavalry exercise in glittering armour. Baitings of wild animals and gladiatorial games, generally reserved for the amphitheatre, were given, especially if on a large scale, in the Circus, perhaps invariably before the building of the Colosseum; as were the performances in which Androclus and his lion appeared.

But these circus-games, however splendid in accoutrement and dignified in the performers, never ranked as high as the chariot-races, in which the masses felt an absorbing interest in the so-called factions of the charioteers, not, like the Greeks,

in the persons of the competitors, or, like moderns, in the horses themselves. Yet the growing passion for the races led gradually to an intense interest in the horses.

In ancient times citizens with their chariots and slaves took part in the races, and the wreath of victory was considered as honourable as that of the triumphant conqueror, and, like it, laid on the funeral hearse. But it was always a loss of dignity to expose one's own person for the popular pleasure, even though the charioteer was not as contemptible as an actor or gladiator ; this arduous and dangerous occupation was therefore relegated to common folk, freedmen and slaves, the latter being sometimes rewarded with their freedom ; the prizes were palms and wreaths, money, and, later, valuable dresses. These races were promoted by the public spirit of their givers, and yet more by the competition of the factions for the best performers, who often made their fortunes. Of the charioteers known through inscriptions, only one, Scirtus, served one and the same faction (the White) for thirteen years. Another charioteer, Diocles, joined the Red faction only after trying the three others ; from inscriptions we learn that others won victories for all four, and earned some large share of the prizes. Scopus, the famous charioteer under Domitian, according to Martial, in one hour, won, for his victory, fifteen purses of gold ; Juvenal estimates the income of one Red charioteer as a hundred times as much as that of an advocate. Sometimes they had a voice in the management of the Faction. Yet, in the later Empire, their earnings increased ; but modern jockeys gain larger fees. Vopiscus says that *Furius Placidus'* consulate (? 343 A.D.) was so gorgeously celebrated that 'the charioteers received no mere rewards, but landed properties ; they wore half-silken tunics, embroidered linen, and had horses ; whereat honest people groaned'. Libanius, about this time, mentions the wealth of the charioteers in the East.

The heroes of the racecourse personally attracted much attention. On the track they were greeted with acclamation and good wishes. Much of this applause may have been purchased. St. Jerome speaks of the buying of popular favour, after the manner of charioteers. But the more famous had a really devoted number of adherents always in their train, Martial wrote two poems to Scopus, 'the lustre of the

noisy circus, the delight of Rome and the object of its applause', after his death at the age of 27. He calls on the gods of victory, favour, honour and fame to mourn him. 'Envious fate counted his wreaths of honour, and deemed him an old man. The saunterers round the Porticus of Quirinus talked first of the bettings on Scorpis and Incitatus, the runner, and, next only, of Martial's latest epigrams'. Gilded bronze busts and statues of Scorpis were in 89 A.D. plentiful in Rome, and commemorative columns for the victors of the racecourse must have become still more common. Tourists to Rome in the middle of the second century were amazed at the many statues of charioteers in racing costume; to this day the most various monuments are found, showing that every art concerned itself with the perpetuation of their fame.

Further, the doings of the most eminent charioteers would be mentioned in the official *Acta diurna* of Rome, and even formally recorded on stone, either by themselves, or their admirers. Some such records are extant. In them the winning horses, the prizes, and the distinctions (extolled as unexampled) are catalogued. An indication is given of the increasing vogue of chariot-racing in the first century. The White charioteer Scirtus, according to his inscription, won seven times with a four-in-hand, and four times, at the second race (*revocatus*), and won the second prize 29 times, and the third 60 times; this was from 13-25 A.D., a period meagre in spectacles. One hundred years later there was a class of *miliarii* amongst the charioteers, those who had won a thousand victories. Crescens, a Moor, a Blue charioteer, drove a four-in-hand at the age of thirteen, and from 115-124 ran 686 races, getting the first prize 47 times, the second 130 times, and third 111 times, winning in all 1,558,346 sesterces (about £16,950), of which he had a large share. There is a monument to Gaius Apuleius Diocles (under Antoninus Pius, after 146 A.D.), a Spanish charioteer of the Red faction; it mentions Flavius Scorpis (no doubt the Scorpis of Martial) and Pompeius Musclosus, assigning them 2,048, and 3,559 victories. Diocles' monument was set up by his admirers and party, after his retirement at the age of 42. At eighteen he began driving a four-in-hand, ran 4,257 races, winning 1,462 and 1,361 times for the Reds; in racing with one chariot (of each faction, four in all) he had won 1,064 times, with two 347

times, and with three 51 times. Out of the 1,064, some of the races had been with six or seven in hand, and 92 for prizes from 30,000 to 60,000 sesterces. His total earnings amounted to 35,863,120 sesterces (more than £375,000). He had made nine horses win a hundred races, and one two hundred; his 'insignia' consisted in beating previous records. In one year, out of 134 victories he had won 118 in the most approved fashion with one chariot to each horse, and thus had surpassed his great rival Thallus. He was the first man since the foundation of Rome to win races for 50,000 sesterces eight times with the same three horses; and had won 29 such prizes, one more than any of his predecessors. On one day he had raced twice with six-in-hands for 40,000 sesterces, winning both, an unparalleled event; he had won a race for 50,000 sesterces with seven horses not yoked together, also a record; won a race for 30,000 without a whip; had gained fame for these novelties, and so on.

These charioteers are like modern jockeys in their appeal to the sporting circles of Europe, as then to the Roman factions, and in their winning for themselves and their backers enormous sums. Fred Archer's description in a sporting paper reads very much like these monuments. He was 'The most celebrated and fortunate jockey of modern times; he had raced 570 times, won 199 times, once after a dead heat, in five races he won had passed the barrier; come in second 126 times, third 80 times and was not placed 165 times. His fees at £3 and £5 would amount to £2,108. But, with money gifts from owners, his average income was from £8,000 to £10,000. Wherever he went he had his train of bookmakers. In six years, as the head of his profession, he won 1,172 races, and at all the principal meetings. Next to Archer came Charles Wood, who raced 458 times and won 89 times. The first six French jockeys altogether have not won as much as Fred Archer'. When Archer died on November 8, 1886, at the age of twenty-nine, he had won 2,749 races, and left a large fortune.

Roman Society, even the best, took keen interest in racing, partly because of the factions, and also in consequence of the passion for chariot-driving, a feeling excusable, in the eyes of moderate men, in the young, but blameworthy in men of ripe years and high position, and in the emperors. Young noble-

men not only drove the horses in the country roads, but also put on the break themselves, filled the mangers, and swore like coachmen and muleteers by the horse-goddess Epona. Nero's father Domitius Ahenobarbus had been in his youth a famous devotee of the charioteer's art. Vitellius, who was often seen in the Blue stables currying the horses, won the favour of Caligula and Nero through his zeal for charioteering, Caligula playing at it, but Nero being an expert. Amongst Caligula's favourites was Eutychus, the charioteer of the Greens ; Caligula, after one feast, once gave him two million sesterces, and the Praetorians had to build stables for his horses. Lucius Verus, Commodus, Caracalla, Geta, and Elagabalus, were all affected with this passion. Elagabalus selected his favourites from amongst professional racers, and made the mother of Hierocles, his chief minion, a consular, and a charioteer, Gordius, Praefect of the Watch.

Circus-drivers turned their pre-eminence into an opportunity for impudence. In the early Empire, probably on certain days only, they might go about the city masked, and, as practical jokes, pilfer and cheat. Nero prohibited the custom. But nothing could restrain the licence of men who received imperial favour and were conscious of being indispensable.

The best racehorses were reared in the provinces. In Italy there were also breeding-stations, especially in the wide valleys of Apulia and Calabria. Tigellinus owned lands in these regions and bred circus-horses ; he is said to have incited Nero's passion for racing. The Hirpine horses were considered the best ; and Pliny asserts that for three-in-hands the Italian sort could not be beaten. In Sicily there were enormous stud-farms, where the conversion of corn land into pastures had begun in the early Empire ; when Gregory the Great was selling off the horses on the property of the Church in Sicily, a mere four hundred that were to be left seemed too inconsiderable to take into account. Sicilian race-horses were also highly esteemed. In Greece the increasing desolation also converted wide areas into pasture, and Thessaly, Aetolia, Acarnania, Arcadia, Epidaurus and Sparta, all furnished good horses. Of horses from other provinces the African, to be distinguished from Moorish and Cyrenaic, most frequently occur ; African horses of Spanish blood were reputed the best runners, though this title fell in the third

and fourth centuries to horses from Cappadocia and Spain. At this time Antioch, the luxurious capital of Syria, was famous for its circus, and gave no thought to the frightful expense and distance in importing Spanish horses from the Tagus and Guadalquivir to its races.

Racehorses, to be at their best, were either three or five years old, and, judging from their names on lists and other documents, they were mostly male. Their life was surprisingly long. Tuscus was the leading horse of Fortunatus of the Greens, and won 386 victories, and Victor belonging to Gutta Calpurnianus, 429; hence, 'they must, on any calculation based on our sources, have run at least four times as often in the four-in-hands, some 1,600 or 1,700 times; and the Great Circus was over a mile round. Yet one hundred victories was a great achievement; such a horse was called *centenarius*, and probably had special harness'. Naturally such animals fetched high prices, and cost more than slaves; they were carefully bred, and victorious racehorses sought out as stallions. Connoisseurs were very well acquainted with the pedigrees and records of famous horses, and had many a tale to tell of their intelligence. Thus Pliny says that at the Secular Games under Claudius one White charioteer was thrown out at the start, but his horses led the way and reached the goal first, of their own exertions. Another writer remarks that in the Circus horses were encouraged by flutes, dances (?), gay ribbons and burning torches. In the four-in-hand races, the most common, the best horse was always put on the left outside, as its speed and skill in turning determined the victory; and that horse was anxiously watched by the spectators. The names of them were on everybody's lips; they were greeted with acclamation in the Circus; every one knew which was running, Passerinus or Tigris; Martial, in spite of his fame as a poet, was not better known than the foal Andraemon. Monuments representing them are still extant. The passion often became a mania. Caligula is said to have aimed at making the horse Incitatus a consul; and, on days he was to race, soldiers were sent abroad to command silence and quiet for his repose. Epictetus says that one spectator, who saw his favourite left behind, wrapped himself in his cloak and fainted; when it picked up and came in first, he had to be revived. Nero awarded veteran

racehorses maintenance-money, as also did Verus and Commodus.

The providers of the festivals could seldom themselves find the men and animals, and the business was taken over by capitalists and large owners of slaves and stud-farms. Generally there were four chariots in competitions, and there were four firms for the four colours or parties. At the head of each faction were the *domini factionum*, there being one or several, nearly all, like the business classes, knights, though charioteers occasionally attained this rank. The providers of the festivals had to arrange with these companies, whose prices varied, according to occasion. When Nero, at his accession, extended the Games to performances of several days, these directors declined letting out their men, except for short periods, and treated the consuls and praetors with great arrogance. In 54 A.D. the Praetor Aulus Fabricius would not accede to the firms' demands, and ran his chariot with trained dogs. The Reds and the Whites gave way; the Blues and Greens only after Nero fixed the price. Commodus is said to have increased the games, in order to enrich the directors, who often received gifts. Gordian I, as a private man, distributed one hundred Cappadocian and one hundred Sicilian horses amongst them, obtaining the necessary imperial licence; and Symmachus at the Quaestorian Games of his son gave each of them five slaves. Once only (6 A.D.) is there any mention of the directors instituting Games at their own expense, and then together with the pantomimes; but in later times, shows given by the pantomimes, perhaps in conjunction with the directors, are mentioned on several occasions.

The numerous staff of the factions consisted partly in slaves, partly in paid freemen, and included the grooms for the stables and the Circus, besides artisans, artists, and officials of all sorts. Wheelwrights, shoemakers, tailors, pearl-workers, physicians, instructors, messengers, runners, cellarers, and administrators are mentioned in lists of the employees, and shifted from one faction to another. The stables of all four were in the IXth Region, probably at the base of the Capitol near the Flaminian Circus. In part, at least, these quarters had been built by the Emperors (Vitellius, despite his short reign, contributed large sums), and were very splendid;

Caligula used to frequent the Green stables, and dine there. The relation of the factions to the fisc and the city administration is obscure.

The colours were White, Red, Green and Blue. White and Red were the original parties ; their early history is unknown ; there is a contemporary reference to them in the first century B.C. Perhaps Green and Blue arose under the Empire. Domitian added two new colours, Gold and Purple, which may have been purely imperial : these two soon completely disappeared. The Greens and Blues, from the Early Empire onwards, thrust the older parties out of view ; possibly they amalgamated, the Whites with the Greens, and the Reds with the Blues, without altogether losing their identity. In Constantinople of the eighth century these were the four colours, but a writer of the twelfth speaks of the factions as things of the past.

The Circus factions in Rome and Constantinople are amongst the most remarkable phenomena of the Empire. The whole huge population, from the rulers of the world down to the proletariat and the slaves, were divided into four, later on into two, hostile camps. The unnatural politics of the time and the growing demoralization and brutalization of Rome are hereby clearly exemplified. To the Government this diversion of popular passion was extremely useful, and no one, it seems, endeavoured to stem it. Several Emperors were overt partisans, Vitellius and Caracalla for the Blues, Caligula, Nero, Domitian, Lucius Verus and Elagabalus for the Greens, who maintained the leadership in the Early Empire. But the Emperors not only incited the factions, but terrorized their antagonists. The factions found great support amongst the people in the large numbers their organization employed ; an influence they no doubt confirmed to the utmost. But still more significant was the fact of the four colours ; a party-cry was supplied to the populace, which could not understand horses and racing, but could always rally to the meaningless colours. For five hundred years this party-cry was inherited from generation to generation, in a decadent population, and at the one spectacle, the Circus, where excesses and bloodshed were rife. Nero or Marcus Aurelius might be the master of the world, the Empire might be at peace or tottering in civil war and insurrection, the barbarians on the frontiers

advancing or driven back ; at Rome for high or low, free or slaves, men or women, Green and Blue was the one theme of anxiety and hope. Christianity dethroned the Gods of the Circus ; but the Factions lived on, the Christians were not always restrained by their preachers from the arena. Why should they disdain God's boons ? Had not Elijah gone to Heaven in a chariot ? Could then charioteering be sinful ? Leo the Great, Bishop of Rome from 442-460, complained that his people visited the Circus more than the shrines of the martyrs, who had saved Rome from utter destruction by Attila. When the barbarians were threatening Carthage (439), according to Salvianus of Massilia the presbyter, the Carthaginian mob flocked madly to the racecourse. Trèves, thrice conquered and destroyed, found its few surviving noblemen demanding games from the Emperors to be celebrated on the charnel-house of their own dead.

But this infatuation reached its height, not at Rome, but, in the East, at Constantinople, where, as early as the middle of the fourth century, this passion led to riots. At the time of which we know more, in Rome, despite the continuance of the Reds and Whites, the struggle was only between the Greens and Blues. But at Constantinople the conflict was often religious and political, and all the more savage and endemic. For his faction every man endured torture and death and committed crimes ; above country, kin, friends, home, faith or law, stood Party ; even the women, who then never attended the spectacles, were tainted : it became a general mania. The Nika riot, which broke out in the Circus of Constantinople in 532 A.D., would have cost Justinian his life, but for the presence of mind of Theodora his wife, and the loyalty of Belisarius ; thirty thousand are said to have perished. Probably, too, the adherents of the parties wore the colours in the Circus ; an epigram of Martial, however, is the sole authority, which says, that a Green or Blue devotee should not wear a scarlet toga ; should he get one in a lottery, it might shake his loyalty.

Contemporary references to the Roman Circus and the Factions are too scanty to enable us to trace the growth of the gigantic evil. We can only deal with isolated indications of the magnitude and extent of the passion. In the last century of the Republic, at the funeral of a Red charioteer, Felix,

one of his supporters threw himself on the same pyre. Pliny the Elder reports this on the unimpeachable authority of the Official Journal, and adds, that the opposition party, to depreciate the artist's fame, alleged the suicide was stupefied by the fragrances burnt with the body. But, despite this case, even in Augustus' time, the Factions cannot have been as developed and organized as they were fifty years later. Ovid places one of his elegies in the Circus ; he is looking at the races in his lady's company ; a motley throng is bursting out of the *carceres*, but he and she gaze only at one charioteer, disregarding his colour. Horace often refers to the Theatre and the gladiators, hardly ever to the Circus, never to the factions. It was in the course of the first century, partly as a consequence of the infatuation of Caligula, Nero and Vitellius, that the system grew up. Caligula's partisanship for the Greens has been mentioned ; according to Dio, he had the Blue charioteers and horses poisoned. Nero, as a schoolboy, was blamed by his teacher for his incessant talk about the Circus ; once he disobediently lamented the fate of a Green charioteer dragged along on the ground by his horses ; and, when reproved, said he was speaking of Hector and Achilles. As Emperor he did more than merely favour the Greens actively ; he wore Green in the Circus, and had the Circus strewn with green copper dust (*chrysocolla*) instead of sand ; as also at the spectacles in honour of Tiridates, the King of Parthia. Vitellius even deigned to act as groom for the Blues, and owed his nomination to the post of Governor of Lower Germany to Titus Vinius, a favourite at the Court of Galba, and a Blue partisan. As emperor, he sought for popular favour in the Circus by a degrading exhibition of partisanship ; but he also had some men who decried the Blues out loud, executed, interpreting the expression as an execration of [himself, and a herald of revolution. Though the succeeding emperors took no direct part, the factions and the passion for spectacles developed at the same rate ; and, at the end of the first century, the mania obsessed the whole mind of Rome, leaving no room for culture, and giving deeper thinkers much matter for earnest thought. Youth at home and at lectures discoursed of nothing else ; even the teachers had to condescend to take part in such discussions. Amongst educated men the feeling that it was safe to talk about the

Circus made the topic a favourite one. The time when the Roman people was engrossed in *panem et circenses*, was the zenith of the Empire. In Trajan's reign, unprejudiced observers wondered why, in the Circus, attention was given, not to the speed of the horses nor the skill of the men, but to pieces of coloured cloth, which, if exchanged in the race, changed men's sympathies as well. And then, the same people who were acclaiming by name horses and drivers would suddenly abandon them. And it was not only the people. Serious men found an insatiable delight in them. Pliny the Younger (from whom these reflections are quoted) was almost proud of his superior indifference. Juvenal, writing under Hadrian, says that a defeat of the Greens in the Circus was deplored at Rome, as though it were a Cannae. Marcus Aurelius, who was brought up at the Court of Hadrian, thought he was especially indebted to his preceptor for preserving him from this partisanship. No doubt this was an innuendo against his colleague, Lucius Verus, who was a keen devotee of the Circus, kept up a large correspondence on it with the provinces, and an over-zealous partisan of the Greens; hence, even in the presence of Marcus Aurelius, he had to put up with abuse from the Blues. Fronto, the tutor of both emperors, was not saved by his pedantry from this besetting passion; not unnaturally, he sided with his imperial pupil, and not even bad gout made him abstain from frequenting the Circus. In an account of Rome by a Greek tourist, written about this time, the circus-life, the statues of charioteers and general conversation on horses, and this hippomania, even in the great men, is the main characteristic; he does not deal with the significance of the Factions, a point which might well escape a foreigner. Yet Galen, who from 163-5 and occasionally from 169 onwards was in Rome, dwells on the senseless interest in the four colours, and notes that the partisans of the Blues and the Greens smelt the dung of the racehorses, to satisfy themselves as to the digestibility and fitness of their fodder.

There are only extremely scanty sources for third century history; the Circus and the factions are scarcely mentioned, except perhaps under Caracalla, who in shameless publicity drove his chariot on the course and once, on hearing outcries against a charioteer of his party (the Blues), gave orders to

the Guard to kill the offenders, and made the Circus a scene of slaughter and confusion. One hundred and fifty years later Ammianus Marcellinus describes Roman morals at an epoch of utter decay from within, and imminent danger from the East and the North ; but even he, filled as he was with astonishment and contempt for the passion for the Circus, never mentions the Factions. To the mob, the Circus was its temple, home, place of assembly and ideal. Everywhere groups of men would stand eagerly discussing the events ; grey-haired men, boasting of their experience, swore that the Empire was doomed if their predictions turned out wrong. On Circus-days the people flocked to the course before sunrise, or passed sleepless nights in anticipation. It was a wonderful sight, this immense throng absorbed in the races. But no less keen were the haughty nobility who received messengers to hear of the arrival of new horses and drivers, like the Dioscuri of old, who brought news of the victory over Tarquin. And, a century and a half later still, when the Empire was a thing of the past, swept away in the stream of barbarians, when Rome was being governed by Theodoric the Goth, the Circus still rang to the same passions. Theodoric left Rome her beloved games, and was hence often greeted as Trajan and Valentinian, whom he took as models. In 509 there was a fight in the Circus. Two senators, Importunus and Theodoricus, adherents of the Blues, attacked the Greens ; one man was killed. In a rescript relating to the Circus, and drawn up by Cassiodorus, the learned private secretary of the King, the excitement of the passions in the Circus is remarked on as strange ; it was so much greater than in other spectacles. Whichever faction win or lose, one half of the people is in despair ; there is no triumph, but they exult ; no disaster, but they lament ; these petty quarrels are as keenly felt as though they were national losses. The games destroyed moral purpose, gave an incentive to paltry disputes ; uprightness vanished, and discord flourished. Finally, the rescript runs, it is rightly said that a spectacle involving so much dishonour is aptly dedicated to idolatry. And the King tolerated it only to afford the people some relief ; he had sometimes to act foolishly, if he was to please them. Further, under Theodoric the whole of the Circus was no longer used for chariot-driving. One of the rescripts mentions that Volusianus

a senator owned a tower of the Circus (and a seat in the amphitheatre) which was illegally taken from his children.

Thus the rivalry of the colours survived the Western Empire, and died out only when the Circus vanished. The last race was held in the deserted and impoverished city in 549 under Totila the Goth.

§ 2

At the end of the fourth century, Symmachus was engaged in a correspondence on the preparations for his son's Praetorian Games. This source, though late, gives a standard of the magnificence which high officials, even in the earlier Empire, lavished on their celebrations. For Rome can hardly have had less wealthy and luxurious senators in the earlier Empire than under Theodosius, and the preparations can only have varied in kind, in the stagings, the horses and attendants. In the early Empire the factions apparently undertook this work, whilst Symmachus, to judge by his letters, himself bought or hired charioteers and horses. Symmachus, as above mentioned, was only moderately opulent for a senator of his time; but his games aroused great attention and are a standard for the more gorgeous.

Quintus Aurelius Symmachus owned three palaces in Rome, had held every highest office of State, and was in every sense one of the greatest men of his day. With a number of like-minded spirits he made every effort to assert the fallen cause of paganism against the victorious onset of Christianity. The aims of himself and his associates were, as much to revive classical literature as classical faith, with which the spectacles were so closely connected; and the games, regarded by Christians as an idolatrous horror, were all the more treated by Symmachus as a holy obligation, a great prop for his creed, the more so as he held two of the highest priesthoods. Other worldly considerations also stirred his zeal; a high conception of what was due to the majesty of Rome, the dignity of his house and the wishes of his order. He therefore strenuously availed himself of every resource of his great influence and wealth, and his far-reaching connexions, to outbid the great expectations of splendour at the games for his son's praetorship. The horses he imported almost entirely from Spain. A man of his station could easily obtain the privilege of using

the imperial post for his agents. Thus numerous agents of his, well provided with money, instructions and letters of recommendation to the best breeders, and connoisseurs, travelled to Spain, sure of the support of powerful individuals and corporations. Symmachus thought he must satisfy the popular desire for variety : hence he requests a breeder Eupraxius to get him four four-in-hands from one Laudacius, though Eupraxius' were acknowledged the best horses. Further, his agents were commissioned to secure the best racehorses of all breeds. This careful selection made the arduous business even slower ; and he had to await the spring, before the transportation to Italy could be carried out. To provide for this eventuality, Symmachus directed a friend in Southern France to keep the selected horses in his stables for the three or four winter months, and, should any specially good racehorses be for sale near Arles, to purchase them as well. But this long journey necessarily involved the certainty of disease and accident thinning the numbers ; of four sets of four-in-hands sent him as a present by one Sallustius, only eleven arrived alive, and some of these even died soon after. Hence the offers of Helpidius, a horse-breeder in Italy, were accepted. Symmachus asks him to send the best of his chariot-racers, and to consider quality rather than quantity, as the certainty of a large number from Spain made the selection of Italian horses very narrow.

Defective and irregular communications by sea made the arrival of the charioteers doubtful, though these came from no further than Sicily. As soon as his Sicilian agent advised him of their departure, he commissioned his son-in-law in the Gulf of Naples to send reliable men all along the coast to Salerno to receive them ashore. Then a mutual friend was to furnish anything necessary, and to despatch them by ship to Rome. But time went by, and no news came of their arrival. Symmachus thought fit to demand an official inquiry on the coast. Whether the ship arrived in time, we do not know.

The days preceding such festivals, entailing such tremendous preparations, filled all Rome with eager suspense. Conversation turned on nothing but disputes and bets. Soothsayers were consulted. Firmicus Maternus recommends astrologers to keep aloof from the Circus, in order not to be identified with any party. Magic was employed to accelerate or retard the

pace. Tablets of lead were laid in graves and the daemons conjured to injure or slacken the speed of the horse and charioteer specified ; a number of such tablets have been found on the Via Appia and at Carthage. The daemon (so runs one of them) is to take the strength out of the horses, that they might neither run, nor leave the starting-point, nor gain in the race, nor turn at the goal-pillars, but there upset with their drivers. Or the daemon is to make the drivers blind, or hurl them out of the chariot, if possible near the goal, and thus drag them along, to the injury of themselves and the horses. Or again, a chariot-driver must be ' fettered to-morrow in the Circus, like this cock, hand, foot and head '. Ammianus tells of a charioteer, who was condemned to death in 364, since he confessed to apprenticing his son, a boy, to learn forbidden lore of a magician. Another man prayed to St. Hilarion for protection against a magician, who had enchanted his horses so that they could not run. Cassiodorus mentions that Thomas, an Oriental charioteer at Rome, was suspected of magic by reason of his frequent victories. The lead tablets on the Via Appia date from 390-420 A.D., and at least one of the charioteers named was a Christian. The Circus employees, whose superstitious vein was heightened by the danger of their profession, no doubt used amulets. Besides amulets, charioteers, athletes and other performers of the fourth and fifth centuries wore embossed medals with high rims (contorniates), with an effigy of Alexander the Great, who was supposed to ward off accidents, a widely spread belief. The horses had bells hung on them, to guard against enchantment.

And, on the great day, hours before dawn, the streets were thronged. Once Caligula was disturbed in the middle of the night by the noise of the crowd going to the Circus ; he had them cudgelled away, and in the crush twenty knights, twenty married women and a large number of the poor perished. Elagabalus is said to have thrown a large number of snakes into this crowd ; the people, bitten in the dark streets, fled, and many were injured. Under Claudius and Nero knights and senators had special seats, with easy access, whilst the thousands of the third estate had to crush into theirs, despite the many entrances ; the Circus, at any rate in the earlier centuries, was never large enough for the vast number of eager spectators. People of moderate means, in Trajan's

time, longed to possess two sturdy Moesian slaves, to carry them safely to a good place in the Circus. Cushions stuffed with rushes also seem to have been sold to the public. Further, the whole space could not be covered with an awning, and against wind, or rain, or sun, there was no means of protection, save cloaks, hats, and umbrellas. For all that, women were the most devoted frequenters, and came, despite the dust, and crowd, and heat, in their best; they sat with the men, and increased the attraction for them.

A religious ceremony preceded the games. Down from the Capitol came a great procession with the sacred statues and went over the gaily bedecked Forum; thence through the shops of the Tuscan quarter, and over the Velabrum and the Cattle-Market, and so through the middle gate into the Circus and round the goal-posts. The magistrate giving the spectacle led the procession; a praetor or consul standing in the dress of a triumphant general on a lofty chariot; the folds of the broad gold-braided, purple toga round him, and beneath it a tunic embroidered with palms, and the ivory sceptre with an eagle's head in his hand; and, over his head, a huge wreath of golden oak-leaves set with jewels, was held up by a public slave. On the chariot or the horses his children also sat, as at a triumph. Musicians and other attendants preceded him, and a host of clients in white toga surrounded the car. Augustus once, when ill, had himself carried in a sedan-chair, in order not to miss this honour. To the sound of flute and trumpet, the procession entered; the statues of the gods carried on thrones and litters, or gorgeous cars drawn by mules, horses or elephants, decked with their attributes, and accompanied by the priesthood and religious corporations. The ceremonial exactly followed the pedantic cult of Rome; the least mischance might invalidate the celebration, and make a new start essential. Those who were interested in repetitions, could easily cite some breach of the ceremonials; but Claudius decreed that the games might only be renewed for one day and so practically annulled the abuse. The assembly rose from their seats at the entry of the magistrate, and cheered him; and, as in modern Italy at processions of emblems of the saints, many invoke their patrons, so in ancient Rome country-folk greeted Ceres, soldiers Mars, lovers Venus, and believed, as Ovid hints, an unsteady statue was nodding to them.

Political feelings might also be expressed, especially as pictures of the emperor and the imperial family were also carried in procession, especially those upon whom divine honours were bestowed. Serious thinkers under Titus or Trajan might well reflect, and see dismal glimpses of the past, whilst the figures of the beautiful men and women of the Caesarian family passed by him. But most of the spectators regarded the procession so decorous and slow, and almost endless, as a tedious prelude.

To determine the bounds of the races, at the start and end of the course three conical pillars were erected, and for the whole length between these two points a low wall (or walls with a moat) was drawn, on which stood the two obelisks, and also sacred statues, pillars and shrines. Originally the great Circus had four gates on each side of the great central gate, that is, eight in all, increased possibly under Domitian to twelve, when he created the two new factions. Hence, after the four factions system was restored, each party might run three chariots; but this seldom happened; two were frequent, but one the most usual. Diocles won 51 races with three chariots, 347 with two, and 1,064 with one. The ordinary four racing chariots started from the four gates on the right of the principal entrance. To make the distances equal for the cars, the wall between the gates was a curve, the gates nearest the middle being farther back, and the other curving in; further, these starting points were probably assigned by lot. The chariots, starting from the entrance, proceeded through the road on the right of the wall up to the farthest boundary-pillars, steered round them and returned to the starting-point on the left of the wall. This round was taken seven times; and, to inform the spectators at any instant how many circuits had been made, seven dolphins and seven egg-shaped balls were planted high up on the wall between the boundary pillars, and one was taken down at each completed round. The chariot won, which at the seventh round first passed a chalk line, drawn near the entrance on the left. Second and third prizes were also awarded.

The number of these seven-lap races varied. In the Early Empire ten or twelve a day was the normal; in 37 A.D., at the inauguration of a Temple of Augustus, Caligula had twenty

on the first day, and twenty-four on the second. This number, which made the games last from the morning until the evening, became usual; and, after Nero, only at minor festivals were there fewer races. More than twenty-four were only given on extraordinary occasions, if two festivals coincided (e.g., in the fourth century, Trajan's birthday and Constantine's victory over Licinius on September 8, and, on November 8, the birthday of Nerva and that of Constantius II, both double festivals were celebrated with forty-eight races). On three other days of high significance thirty or thirty-six were given. But when over twenty-four were given, the length of each may have been shortened.

Races were usually with four or two-in-hands, rarely with three-in-hands. Tiros began with two-in-hands. The tombstone of a slave charioteer at Tarraco, who died at the age of 22, runs: 'In this grave are the bones of a novice of the racecourse, but not unskilled in the art. I already had begun with four-in-hands, though still confined to two horses'. But Crescens (see p. 23) at the age of thirteen drove a four-in-hand, and boys even younger drove two horses. The experts (who delighted in extraordinary feats) would drive six, seven, eight and ten horses. Nero drove a ten-horse chariot at Olympia, though in one of his poems he blames King Mithridates for this practice, and received the prize, despite an unlucky run. Mithridates is said to have driven sixteen. The two-wheeled chariots, familiar from numerous ancient representations, were light and small. In the case of four-in-hands, the most popular form, the horses were harnessed next to one another, the best outside on the left, the middle ones yoked, or the three on the right only reined in. On exacter representations the tails of both outer horses are fastened together or docked, to prevent entanglements with other chariots. The charioteers stood on the cars with a short tunic braced round the body, the arms bare, a helmet-cap on their heads covering their foreheads and cheeks, to afford some protection in case of a fall; whip in hand, and a knife in their broad belts to cut the traces in the last extremity, a precaution necessitated by the practice of fastening the reins to the belt. As a remedy against the constant injury from being dragged on the ground or run over, the drivers used boar's dung without

and within ; Nero is said to have drunk the ash of it in water. The tunics and harness were in the four colours.

When the races were starting, there was a low buzz of expectation in the sea of spectators. No eye but was turned to the vaulted, roped-in gates by the entrance, in which the four-in-hands stood chafing and stamping. The president from his balcony above the main entrance dropped a white handkerchief as the signal. Ennius' description of the people in the Circus anxiously awaiting the Consul's signal answers exactly to Tertullian the Christian's account of the heathen spectacle he regarded as damnable ; he looked on the falling handkerchief as a symbol of the fall of Lucifer. The ropes dropped, and from the open gates the chariots stormed into the course, raising clouds of dust, although doubtless the arena was watered in the intervals. A great cry burst out. The drivers bending forward, urged their steeds onward. The total distance on their seven laps was about eight kilometres ; no race could have lasted over a quarter of an hour. Skilled drivers employed every device to win. Once ahead they would drive askew to block the road or, if in the middle of the chariots, 'trusting to a freer course' would bend to the right, or would drive straight home : but they aimed especially at postponing any decisive issue to the finish, spared their strength for the last lap, and then easily overtook the novices who had passed them at first and were now vainly lashing their exhausted teams. Every turn, every instant was of import to the drivers and intelligent onlookers, and an indication of the result. Victories of drivers who were last at the beginning were more esteemed than a clear lead from the outset. Often the drivers fell off and were dragged on by the horses ; but the great test and difficulty lay in the seven turns round the goal. The attempt to choose the shortest way often brought about collisions with other chariots or the post, and chariots, animals and drivers lay in frightful confusion on the ground.

But, as a Christian writer properly says, the great spectacle was the spectators. The long rows of rising seats were thronged with a moving mass of men, moved by one passion, almost a mania. Near the close of a race suspense, anxiety, fury, joy, savagery burst forth. Their eyes ever fixed on the chariots, they clapped and shrieked with all their lungs,

sprang up, bent over, waved handkerchiefs, incited their favourites, stretched out their arms as though they could reach the course, gnashed their teeth, groaned, threatened, exulted, triumphed, or swore. The winning chariot aroused a thunderous applause—and loud curses from the losers—re-echoed over the deserted streets of Rome, announcing to those who stayed at home the end of the race, and struck the ear of the traveller, when Rome had vanished from sight. The races lasted unintermittently (except for short pauses at midday) from daybreak to sundown, but the people sat there patiently, despite sun and rain, and never wearied of following their idolized sport with the same passionate attention.

The valley between the Aventine and Palatine, once so full of noise and life, is now one of the dreariest and most solitary parts of ancient Rome. On the Palatine are the vast ruins of imperial palaces; on the Aventine a few churches and cloisters stand amid vines and gardens. Great rubbish heaps of the once gorgeous temples and palaces choke up the slopes of the Aventine and the valley. In this desolation there is a miserable cemetery of the Jews. The brook of Marrana runs at the bottom of the valley, and on its banks an impenetrable forest of Roman reeds, exceeding a man's height, whispers and rustles.¹

II. THE AMPHITHEATRE

The party system ensured the closest interest of the populace in the Circus, almost its participation, and the preparations were comparatively inexpensive; at the other spectacles, to retain the attention of the public was more difficult, and various entertainments had to be lavishly provided. In the Amphitheatre most colossal efforts were made, and exciting spectacles, fairy-like splendour, a rapid succession of surprises and the charm of the infinite, the bizarre and the monstrous were always being offered, in order to surpass, or at least to meet, the claims and expectations of the spoilt capital.

¹ Written in 1864.

(1) THE GLADIATORIAL GAMES

(a) Gladiatorial fights originated in Campania, as a dessert after gorgeous banquets, were native to Etruria, but in Latium an innovation. Five centuries after the foundation of the city, Rome saw them for the first time; for the first four centuries of the Republic exhibited only at public funerals, not, like plays and races, at State festivals. The rarity became usual, and more and more gorgeous and prodigal of human life. In 264 B.C., at the funeral of Brutus Pera, his sons Marcus and Decius exhibited in the oxen market three duels at once for the first time. At the obsequies of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus 216 B.C., twenty-two duels were fought in the forum; and at those of Marcus Valerius Laevinus 200 B.C., twenty-five; and in 183 B.C., at the funeral of Publius Licinius, sixty. In 174 there were several gladiatorial games, the chief of them being that given by Titus Flamininus at his father's funeral, in which seventy-four men fought for three days. One Gaius Terentius Lucanus, who celebrated his grandfather's death with a three days' fight of thirty pairs, placed a picture of it in the Temple of Diana at Aricia, probably about 145 B.C. In 105 B.C. the two consuls, Publius Rutilius Rufus and Gaius Manlius, for the first time gave official gladiatorial games, an innovation directed against Greek culture and also designed to promote military training. Legal provisions were made for official combats of this kind in Rome, the municipia and the colonies.

In the later Republic demagoguery, and the competition for the favour of the mob incited the ambitious to even greater lavishness. In Julius Caesar's games at his aedileship (65 B.C.), he bought so many gladiators that his opponents' anxiety was aroused, and the Senate, at their suggestion, decreed the maximum number any private man might own. Caesar's diminished troop, however, still consisted of 320 pairs. In 22 B.C. Augustus enacted that the praetors should give gladiatorial shows only twice a year, and with never more than 120 combatants. But at private combats, 100 pairs then and later was quite an ordinary number. In a poem probably previous to this decree Horace mentions that one Staberius imposed on his heirs the obligation to inscribe on his tomb the amount of his property, or, in default, to give

the people a hundred duels and a public banquet. Persius makes a rich man express his intention of honouring the Gods and the Genius of Caligula with an exhibition of a hundred pairs of gladiators, for Caligula's victories over the Germans. Tiberius' limitation of the number of pairs can only have applied to private exhibitions; Augustus' decree already held for public ones. In the eight spectacles given by Augustus, he himself says that some 10,000 fought. This same number fought in the four months' spectacle at Rome given by Trajan after the conquest of Dacia. Magistrates' celebrations were sometimes as magnificent. In 70 A.D. Caecina and Valens, the consuls, celebrated Vitellius' birthday (September 7 or 24) with combats in all the 265 districts of Rome, 'on a vast and unparalleled scale'. Gordian I in the year of his aedileship, gave gladiatorial games every month, with at least 150 pairs, sometimes 500 at each: some 4,000 or 5,000 men must have been required in the course of the year.

With the numbers the style of the spectacles became more elaborate. In the second century B.C. the cost of a brilliant gladiatorial show was reckoned at thirty talents (£7,073); at Julius Caesar's games the paraphernalia were all of silver; at one of Nero's, of amber. And, as the empire expanded, the natives of the confines were dragged in to the Roman arena. During the Republic, Gauls, Samnites, Thracians were seen fighting; under the Empire, the tattooed savages of Britain, the fair Germans of the Rhine and the Danube, the dusky Moors from the Atlas, African negroes, and Sarmatian nomads. In Aurelian's triumph in 274 A.D., in front of the emperor's chariot there marched captive Goths, Alani, Roxolani, Sarmatians, Franks, Suevi, Vandals and Germans with shackled hands, Palmyrenes and Egyptian rebels, and ten Gothic amazons; some, if not all, had to fight in the arena. After Probus' triumph over the Germans and Blemmyes (of Aethiopia) three hundred of the prisoners had to fight together; these were Germans, Blemmyes, Sarmatians and Isaurian bandits. At the end of the fourth century Saxons were also seen fighting in the Roman amphitheatre, if not earlier.

These foreign combatants brought their own weapons and style of fighting; the Thracians with their little round shields, the Samnites with large square shields, the Parthians with

their chain-armour, the Britons with their war-chariots; and where national habit was not various, fancy supplemented. Gladiators would appear in most diverse accoutrement, singly or in troops; regular battles were waged with thousands fighting, and the arena left covered with bodies: and famous sea-fights would be literally re-enacted on lakes, or the flooded arena.

Yet soon bloodthirsty combats and magnificent scenery failed to excite the dulled nerves of the mob, aristocratic or vulgar; only things absolutely exotic, unnatural, nonsensical, tickled their jaded senses. Domitian gave gladiatorial combats and animal hunts by night, and the swords reflected lamps and candelabra. In the December festival of 88 he set dwarfs and women fighting. At the spectacles given by Nero to Tiridates, the King of Parthia, at Puteoli, on one day only Moors of both sexes appeared, and of every age. Women often fought in the arena: in 64, under Nero, even noble women; as late as 200 A.D. the practice had to be formally prohibited.

Thus in the course of centuries from small beginnings the gladiatorial games had become an immense institution. The accommodation for spectators correspondingly increased. Even in the later Republic the people assembled on hastily erected scaffoldings in the forum, when, in Campania even, there were stone amphitheatres, which, duplicating the semi-circular theatre, rose above an elliptical arena; under Augustus the name of amphitheatre had arisen. In 53, according to Pliny the Elder, Gaius Scribonius Curio had two wooden theatres built, back to back, but reversible. Before noon they were used for stage-pieces; then, with the entire seated crowd, they were turned on pivots, and the completed amphitheatre served on the same afternoon for gladiators. The first real amphitheatre in Rome was built by Caesar in 46 B.C. of wood; a stone one built by Statilius Taurus in 29 B.C. was probably burned at Nero's fire; Nero even built a wooden one on the Campus Martius. Only at about 90 A.D. was the Colosseum of the Flavians finished, in its ruins a gigantic monument of that sunken world.

(b) Gladiators were recruited from condemned criminals, prisoners of war, slaves and volunteers. ~~Condemnation to death by gladiators or wild beasts was one of the severest~~

sentences, the latter being pronounced against non-citizens and, in the later Empire, the third estate. Under Marcus Aurelius the governor of Lugdunensis, with the authority of the Emperor, had the condemned Christians, who were Roman citizens, beheaded, and the rest thrown to the beasts. But condemnation to the school of gladiators did not spell death. Criminals who might fight well were handed over partly to private establishments, and partly to the imperial ; and, should they not fall in the arena, had a chance of life. The punishment ranked with condemnation to the mines, and both entailed loss of freedom. But release might be obtained, and, after three years, the wooden sword, the token of relief from the arena, and after five the hat, or symbol of manumission, might be obtained. Pliny the Younger informs Trajan that in many cities of Bithynia, especially Nicomedia and Nicaea, many culprits condemned to several years of the gladiator's school or similar punishments are used as city slaves for public purposes, without any evidence of pardon by a proconsul or legate. Trajan decreed that criminals condemned within the last ten years should be sent back to the school, and those of remoter sentence, and the older men, turned on to heavy work, such as the cleaning of sewers, and building of streets. Only the worst offences incurred such penalties, such as robbery, murder, arson, sacrilege and mutiny, but the restrictions of the law were often overridden by the imperial caprice, if men were lacking for the arena.

This abuse was common enough among the provincial governors under the Republic. Cicero asserts that Lucius Piso Caesoninus, when proconsul of Macedonia, sent Publius Clodius for his aedile games a large number of innocent men, to fight wild beasts. Lucius Balbus the younger, as Quaestor in Spain (44-43 B.C.), twice endeavoured to force Fadius, a Roman citizen and Pompeian soldier, at Gades, to fight as a gladiator ; he failed utterly and the people protected him, so he sent Gaulish cavalry to capture him and had him burned alive in the Gladiators' School. He cast Roman citizens to the wild beasts and one man from Hispalis on account of his having a deformity.

Atrocities of this kind occurred in Rome, at least under Caligula and Claudius. Caligula coerced a large number of

citizens into the arena. One citizen, Esius Proculus, the son of a *primipilaris* and called Colosseros for his stature and beauty, he had removed from his seat during the games, and compelled him to fight two heavily armed gladiators, one after the other ; Proculus overcame both, and was beheaded for his pains. Claudius delighted in animal-baitings, and condemned great swindlers to this punishment, in contravention of the law ; he would make men face animals for the slightest offences, carpenters and engineers for bungling a change of scenery. Besides, the extraordinary number of supposed criminals condemned to the arena is in itself suspicious. Justice cannot have been even. In the naval fight performed before Claudius on Lake Fucinus, both fleets had 19,000 men at arms, according to Tacitus, all condemned criminals ; a number large even when we consider they were brought out of all the provinces to Italy. In Rome a large number of convicts were at the disposal of the arena ; thus Hadrian, to show his contempt of the presents given by Palasmanes, the King of the Iberians, ordered three hundred criminals to appear in the arena with gilded cloaks, a portion of the gift. Herod Agrippa, the King of the Jews (died in 44 A.D.), set all the condemned criminals of his realm, 1,400 in number, fighting in his amphitheatre at Berytus. At the popular desire, criminals, who distinguished themselves for bravery, or on other grounds, used to be pardoned. At the games given by Nero in his new amphitheatre on the Campus Martius he, of his own accord, forbade the killing of any of the criminals.

Any successful campaign brought hundreds of prisoners of war into the imperial gladiators' schools, and the spectacles of the amphitheatre were the readiest means of getting rid of them. Thus was it with the Britons captured and brought to Rome under Claudius in 44 A.D. After the conquest of Jerusalem Titus sent a portion of all the captives over seventeen years old into the Egyptian mines ; and most of the rest to the provinces to die at the hands of gladiators or wild beasts ; a large number he despatched in this way at once to Caesarea Philippi and Berytus. Constantine the Great followed the same example. The Bructeri 'too unreliable to be soldiers, and too savage to be slaves', were thrown to the wild beasts, probably in the amphitheatre of

Trèves, and the Emperor was exalted 'for making the general annihilation of the foe a public amusement: what better triumph?'

Part of the slave armies of the rich at the end of the Republic must have consisted of bands of gladiators, serving their owners as braves or bodyguards, used for private spectacles, or lent out. A farce by a poet under Sulla even, called 'The Hired One', contains words spoken by a gladiator. 'I do not belong to Memmius, or to Cassius or Munatius Ebrus'. Cicero made special inquiry after the troop bought by Atticus in 56 B.C.; he heard that they fought splendidly, and, if Atticus would have hired them out, he would have recovered his money after the second exhibition. Many of the great men then had private fighting-schools, principally at Capua, which turned out hundreds of gladiators. The most ancient recorded there is that of Aurelius Scaurus (Consul in 108), which is mentioned in 105 B.C. In 73 B.C. 200 gladiators resolved to escape from the school of Gnaeus Lentulus Batiatus; only seventy, under the leadership of Spartacus, succeeded. Caesar, too, had his gladiators in Capua, and recommended them in 49 B.C. to Cicero; Lentulus as Consul summoned them to arms in the cause of freedom, and used them as cavalry; this measure was generally deprecated, so Pompey distributed them amongst the citizens, as a bodyguard, giving each man two. At Ravenna, just before crossing the Rubicon, Caesar considered the plans of a new gladiator school. In the Catilinarian War, it was proposed to intern the Roman gladiators at Capua and other *municipia*. Catilina reckoned on them 'though they were better-minded than many patricians'. Gaius Marcellus, the Catilinarian, took flight when Cicero despatched Publius Sextius to Capua, but had, whilst there, practised with the most numerous troop in the town, in order to win it over. In 65 B.C. the largest number any private individual might own was fixed by the Senate (see p. 41). Caligula allowed this maximum to be exceeded. When under Domitian the State took over the provision of gladiators, private men may have been forbidden to keep them in the capital. At Rome, the practice of going out publicly with such a train (as did Nero on his night excursions) must have ceased at an earlier date. But in the provinces the private troops were

not interfered with under the Empire, and may often have been used in their master's service. Thus, when the three Pannonian legions mutinied in 14 A.D. the ringleaders alleged, that Junius Blaesus, the legate in command, kept his gladiators in camp, to corrupt the soldiery, and murder obnoxious individuals. And continually large numbers of gladiators are mentioned as slaves of rich houses. Women sometimes owned them; for instance, a certain Hecataea of Thasos. More frequently families of gladiators were held in joint ownership. One Primus and Pamphilus are designated in gladiatorial tokens (*tesserae*) as slaves of a well-known company. At Pompeii there are advertisements of gladiatorial combats, indicating several troops belonging to the principal men: only one of the owners specified, N. Festius Ampliatus, was perhaps an itinerant troopmaster. The legions, too, at the stations and garrisons of which there were often amphitheatres, sometimes kept their own gladiators. Gladiators passed from owner to owner by purchase, sale, or auction. Caligula used to oblige consuls and praetors to buy the survivors of his combats at enormous prices, and remarked at one of these auctions that the ex-praetor Aponius Saturninus had 'dropped off asleep. The auctioneer was instructed to take his nodding as a bid, and knocked him thirteen gladiators down for nine million sesterces.

In the first century there was no restriction on an owner's right of selling slaves to the arena; Vitellius sold Asiaticus, his favourite, to an itinerant trainer, in a fit of irritation at his prudishness. The first enactment was under Hadrian, which forbade a girl being sold to a pander, or a slave to a fighting school without the reason being assigned: Marcus Aurelius extended it to sales for the wild beasts; this last practice had been already prohibited, except with the judicial consent of the City Praefect at Rome, or the procurator in the provinces, by a *Lex Petronia* under Augustus. Androclus (the slave who, probably under Claudius, was set to fight the lion who recognized him) had run away from his master, when pro-consul in Africa. He was captured and brought back to Rome, and at his master's request, confirmed by the City Praefect, condemned to the beasts. We do not know how far the disposal of slaves as gladiators was limited, apart from this restriction of the penal authority of the owners. It was a problem of the

jurists in the second century, whether it were a case of sale or hire, if a contract were made to pay the owner of a gladiator twenty *denarii*, should he survive uninjured, or a thousand if killed or maimed. Slaves, attempting to evade the punishment for fraud or similar crimes by offering themselves to the arena, were to be returned to their masters, whether or not the combat with wild beasts had taken place, by a decree of Antoninus Pius. One proof of Macrinus' cruelty was considered to be his unreserved condemnation of runaway slaves to fight as gladiators, if caught.

Manumission exempted slaves who had served as gladiators from any further obligation to perform, unlike other freedmen, who still were liable to certain services. But, at their patrons' wish, freedmen also may have fought in the arena, for, as volunteers, they were more respected by the public (which consisted largely of freedmen). One of Trimalchio's guests says that a gorgeous three days' gladiatorial exhibition is coming on, in which a large number of freedmen would perform. Unquestionably, too, free-born men were sometimes coerced to fight, as was Fadius by Lucius Cornelius Balbus at Gades; and it was a grievance of the Early Empire even, that the rich profited by the simplicity of young men, deceived them, and confined the most handsome and best suited for military service to a fighting-school.

Under the Empire free men often enrolled themselves; if Roman citizens, they had to announce their intention to a tribune. Such incidents occurred even in the later Republic. A document of that period makes a citizen of Sassina present a cemetery to his town, from which volunteer gladiators, suicides by hanging, or those pursuing immoral trades were to be excluded. In the *Atellanae* there is frequent mention of such applications. The most ancient of the gladiatorial tokens extant, ranging from Sulla down to Claudius, with a free man's name is of 14 B.C.; but this must be mere chance: out of sixty genuine ones, there are only five names of free-born men. At Pompeii there is a list of gladiators scratched on a wall, on which names of free-men occur, such as Marcus Artorius, and Lucius Sempronius. Sometimes, too, honourable motives may have induced the destitute to join; a favourite subject for romances, and rhetorical themes is, e.g., the noble young man, who enrolls in order to pay for his father's

funeral; the authority, however, is dubious. Lucian's tale of the Scythian Sisinnus also sounds romantic: he, to release his friend from an urgent need, sold himself to fight a gladiator at Amastris for a fixed sum of 10,000 drachmae.

Most, if not nearly all of the applicants who took the frightful oath 'to suffer themselves to be whipped with rods, burnt with fire, and killed with the steel' were the castaways or ne'er-do-wells of society. But such men were by no means few; nor was it the worst class whom love of fighting seduced into the hands of the troop-owners. A poet of Augustus' reign says that these pugnacious men sell themselves to die in the arena, to find an enemy in time of peace. And Tertullian exclaims: 'How many idle men contract themselves out to the sword, for love of combat'. When Severus began recruiting the Praetorians from the legionaries—up to then it had been the privilege of the Italians to serve in this force—Italians able to bear arms joined the gladiators *en masse* or went in for brigandage.

The profession of a gladiator must have really attracted men of rude courage; it had its advantages, rewards, and fame. The victors were generally rewarded: the provider of the festival sent them, whilst in the arena, bowls of gold-pieces, the number of which the spectators shouted out loud or signified with the fingers of the left hand; and the bowls, in themselves valuable, were also part of the prize. Tried fighters commanded high prices: Tiberius paid some veteran gladiators for one appearance 100,000 sesterces. Nero presented the *myrmillo* Spiculus with a palace and the possessions of former triumphant generals. Their splendid equipment also must have had its effect. At Pompeii and elsewhere, fragments of their rich and artistic armour have been preserved; helmets, and one vizor-helmet especially with embossed designs, and greaves, the shoulderpieces of the *retiarii*, belts, swords, breastplates etc. The casques were decorated with waving peacock or ostrich feathers. In picture and mosaics gladiators are represented in gay, gold-laced attire, with necklets (perhaps, like palms, signs of victory). Pertinax sold, as part of the inheritance of Commodus, weapons for gladiators, set with gold and jewels, 'swords of Hercules' and necklets. The heroes of the arena were as popular in Rome as those of the racecourse, not only with the lower

classes ; in the upper, also, they had pupils, admirers and imitators.

In Republican times men played at being gladiators. Lucilius mentions a Quintus Velocius, who was proficient in Samnite fighting, and a good fencer. The Catilinarian Gaius Marcellus, as already mentioned, on the pretext of practising arms, joined a gladiators' troop at Capua. Julius Caesar had his gladiators trained by knights and even senators of Rome, who were skilled fighters ; Suetonius knew of letters of his, still extant, in which he begged them to undertake this tuition. Several emperors sought proficiency in the gladiator's art. Caligula fought as a Thracian with sharp weapons. Titus, in his youth, at a festival at Reate, entered into a mock fight with gladiators' weapons against Allienus (probably Aulus Caecina Allienus, consul in 69). Hadrian also practised in this fashion, and Lucius Verus, too, in Antioch, whilst his legions were fighting the Parthians. Didius Julianus was reproached for continuing these exercises, as an old man ; while he was young, it was excusable. Caracalla and Geta sought the society of gladiators and circus-drivers, when they were Caesars, to learn the art.

But Commodus was the most pronounced sufferer from this passion. He had all his visits to the gladiators' school (where he had a room) announced by herald ; on January 1, 193, he was intending to enter on his consulship in a *secutor's* uniform ; his murderers anticipated him the day before. He delighted in the honorary titles of gladiators, and he boasted of having fought 1,000 times (365 in his father's reign, and also at the spectacles given by Clodius Albinus as Praetor in the forum and the theatre). Naturally he always won ; according to Dio, he fought publicly with blunt weapons, and, to his own great pride, left-handed, as a *secutor*, against troop masters and gladiators ; and, at a fourteen days' spectacle given shortly before his death, against Aemilius Laetus, the Praefect of the Praetorium, and Eclectus his chamberlain, who were already plotting his death. For every appearance he demanded a million sesterces from the gladiatorial chest. Dio also mentions that the senators (and Dio, as such) publicly had to applaud him, and wish him well.

Even women wore the oppressive vizor and armour and practised the proper strokes against a post, under tuition.

Gladiators were always ladies' favourites. Some of the scrawls on the peristyle columns of a Pompeian house dug out in 1889 mention a Thracian, Celadus, as *suspirium et decus puellarum*, and the *retiarius* Crescens as *dominum et medicum puparum*. Ladies, however highly placed, were attracted by the 'iron' irresistibly, and saw in every gladiator a Hyacinthus. Certainly they were often of heroic mould. Antony, who reminded Cicero of a gladiator, was by others compared to his ancestor Hercules. Nymphidius Sabinus, under Nero Praefect of the Praetorium, was taken to be the son of Martianus the gladiator, of whose fame his mother, a freedwoman, had been enamoured. And Faustina, the consort of Marcus Aurelius, was said to have been intimate with sailors and gladiators at Caieta, and to have been the mother of Commodus by one of the latter. The gladiators were sung by poets, saw their portraits on vases, dishes, lamps, glasses and seal-rings, and their exploits scratched by idlers on walls with coal and nails. In Rome and the provinces artists were incessantly occupied in decorating theatres, tombstones, palaces and temples with sculptures, mosaics and pictures, designed to immortalize, as they actually have, the fame of the combatants.

Hence it is easy to understand that the taste for this bloody pastime was not only widespread, but became a passion. The bold found its very danger an incentive; and they might hope to emerge from a series of combats rich and free. Certainly, some had to content themselves, after their release, as itinerant priests of Bellona; but others hung their arms up in a temple of Hercules, and, like Horace's Veianius, ended their lives on a country estate; and their sons sat in the equestrian seats at the theatre. A Caligula might extravagantly make Thracians captains of his German bodyguard, and one Sabinus a tribune for his bodily strength: but gladiators might easily pass into more honourable employs; even the Emperor Macrinus was rumoured to have been a gladiator. Thus their legal 'infamy' to a certain degree became meaningless; and the association of the upper classes with them helped to diminish the idea of disgrace in their work, thus continuously lowering the barriers between these pariahs and respectable society.

In modern Spain bull-fighting exercises a similar magnetism,

and for the same reasons : it is not labelled infamous and is less dangerous, on the whole. In 1883 it was calculated that every year two or three *matadores* were killed in all Spain ; many retired early, severely wounded, and few attained any great age. More than the high pay recruited their ranks : fame and popular passion for the sport attracted them, though the public was as harsh as the ancient Roman populace and punished any trace of fear with hisses and whistling. Some twenty years later, bull-fights were called by a German observer, Theodor von Bernhardt, ' the only powerful claimant of the attention of the Spanish people ' ; the theatre interesting them but slightly. ' No victorious general, or statesman, ever attains the popularity of a famous bull-fighter '. All Spain knows the arena names of her favourite *toreros* ; and their renown extends beyond Europe ; they appear sometimes in Peru. A severe wound of such a *torero* disturbed all Madrid, more than any political event ; the great ladies call to inquire into his condition ; long rows of carriages defile past his house : and hourly bulletins are at first issued. Often, as in the days of Cervantes, there were noble amateurs of bull-fighting : Mérimée saw a marquis and a count as *matadores* at Seville. Count Schack knew a young *principe* who built a circus in his garden, and practised bull-fighting with young bulls, their horns blunted with wooden balls. In the winter of 1869 there were held dilettante bull-fights of five-year old animals, rendered innocuous in this fashion, and two-year old animals were faced by young ladies and girls in a little enclosed circus.

The enormous number of gladiators required every year in Italy and the provinces made the traffic in them a profitable business. But, whilst no dishonour attached to the noble owners of the troops, who sold and let them out, the profession was in disrepute. Martial expresses surprise that a man who condescended to every shameless course, had no money ; as he was an informer, slandermonger, liar and *lanista* (gladiator-master). *Lanistae* had permanent offices or went about travelling in gladiators, buying them, selling them, letting them to providers of festivals, or giving games at a profit, which was also considered a dirty kind of business. Troops of gladiators were common in Augustus' Rome, for in the dearth from 6-8 A.D. they are expressly mentioned as being expelled, along with other aliens and slave-dealers' families. A copper

inscription was discovered in 1888 near Seville, which sheds new light on gladiators and their contractors. It informs us of a *senatus consultum* of about 177 A.D. under Marcus Aurelius, valid for the whole Empire, excepting Rome, and relieving the burdens of the givers of gladiatorial games in Italy and the provinces. The custom then was to announce in the advertisements of the games the price fixed in advance by the *editores* by the contracts with the *lanistae*. According to price the games were divided into five classes. The lowest (including those given by the *lanistae* and called *assiforanea*) cost 30,000 sesterces, the other classes ranging from 30,000 to 60,000, 60,000 to 100,000, 100,000 to 150,000, and lastly from 150,000 to 200,000, and in excess of this. The *senatus consultum* prescribed the maximum prices for gladiators in the several classes. 'Ordinary' men (*gregarii*), were to be paid for at 1,000 or 2,000 sesterces, and 'better' ones were further subdivided, according to the price, from 3,000 to 15,000 sesterces: 3,000 for the 2nd, 3rd and 4th classes, and 5,000 for the 5th. But at every performance in the first four classes, half of the combatants were to be *gregarii*; should the *lanistae* be unable to furnish the requisite number, 'better' men must be provided at the rate of the *gregarii*. Further, these gradations obtained only for the larger cities, where still higher prices had been the rule; for little towns average prices were to be made out, to be calculated from the last ten years' games. If, besides the prices paid by the providers of the festival to the contractors, prices were stipulated for the victors, the volunteer-gladiators (*auctorati*) were to receive a fourth, and slaves a fifth of their price as prizes. A second regulation designed to relieve the providers of the festivals was the abolition of the heavy poll-tax on the *lanistae*, the cost of which naturally fell on their employer. It had varied, according to the class of spectacle, from a fourth to a third of the stipulated estimate, and brought in an annual revenue of 20 or 30 millions of sesterces (£217,500 to £326,300); thus the annual outlay on those spectacles managed by *lanistae* for the whole empire, excepting Rome, must have been about £1,000,000. A portion of the arrears, amounting to over 50,000,000 sesterces (about £550,000), was to be remitted to the *lanistae*.

As early as 63 B.C. there was a gladiators' school in Rome. Caligula kept a large number of gladiators and also, it seems,

a school ; according to Pliny the Elder, in that school, one Thracian, named Studiosus, had a right hand which was longer than his left ; and of twenty pairs only two did not blink at a brandished weapon. Four great imperial schools are henceforth often mentioned—the Great School, the Gallic, the Dacian, and the school for animal-fighters, round the Flavian amphitheatre ; not newly built (as the *City Chronicle* says) by Domitian, but only enlarged by him. Their departments were multifarious, including armouries, smithies, and mortuaries, and a large staff of instructors, physicians, actuaries and overseers ; and, after Domitian, the Great School and the School for Animal-fighting were managed by procurators of the equestrian order. This post was held as a promotion for retired officers, such as legionary tribunes, civil servants, and the heads of a provincial fiscal department ; and was a step to higher financial posts, such as the administration of death-duties ; even the position of a sub-procurator at an imperial school was very much sought after.

Outside Rome as well there were imperial schools of gladiators, of which three are known, those at Capua, Praeneste and Alexandria, which also had their own administration. The last named was already in existence under Augustus. But, generally, in the provinces imperial gladiators must have been fewer ; often several provinces had only one procurator, as for instance Gaul, Spain, Germany, Britain and Raetia, and again the provinces of Asia Minor and Cyprus. No doubt these officials made circuits in their districts to do necessary business, and especially to select the combatants for Rome ; hence they were in constant communication with the procurators of the capital. In single provinces there must have been sub-procurators to carry on current business. Provincial governors could only levy gladiators and *bestiarii* from their own provinces, and, by a rescript of Severus and Caracalla, could only transport them beyond the provincial boundary by imperial licence.

Criminals condemned to the beasts could not be pardoned by the procurators, and, should the prisoners be 'worthy', for their strength and skill, of being exhibited to the Roman people, had to petition the emperor. In 57 A.D. Nero issued an edict forbidding provincial governors from giving any spectacles (as they had done to win popular favour and silence

malcontents), but whether this remained in force, and for how long, is unknown.

At Rome there was always a considerable number of imperial gladiators. Josephus, speaking of the time after the murder of Caligula, mentions that a large number of gladiators went over into the camp of the Praetorians, and evidently means the imperial gladiators. After Nero's death Otho strengthened his army with 2,000 of them; two centuries later there were 2,000 under Gordian III, whom Philip set fighting to celebrate the millenary of Rome; there were 1,200 in a procession of Gallienus, and in the triumph of Aurelius 1,600. As Italian and provincial imperial gladiators were procurable in any number at short notice, on extraordinary occasions many thousands could be easily supplied.

The plan of the Great School at Rome, engraved on a fragment of the marble plan of the city, of the time of Severus, gives us an idea of the arrangement of these schools; but clearer indications are derived from the gladiators' barracks, restored under Nero on the foundation of a theatre portico at Pompeii, its object being proved by the gladiators' vizors which have been found there. A rectangle, 173 feet by 139, is surrounded by a roofed hall, with seventy Dorian pillars. Besides some rooms of uncertain purpose, there were a large kitchen and a prison, and seventy-one living and sleeping rooms, ten to twelve feet square, without windows, opening on to the hall, and arranged in two floors. Both the pillars and the walls are scrawled over with inscriptions and pictures of gladiatorial life: on the outer wall there is a notice of a coming combat, and two pictures of trophies of gladiatorial weapons are preserved.

To keep troops of criminals and prisoners of war and the scum of the population in check, the utmost precautions were taken. Gladiators were completely disarmed, kept more or less in confinement, and in the imperial schools guarded by soldiers. Spartacus and his associates escaped from the school at Capua, overpowered the guard, armed themselves with swords, which they seized in Capua, sticks, travellers' daggers, and weapons forged by themselves. Seneca and Symmachus mention occasional suicides in these schools; the suicides had to evade the guard, and commit the act without weapons. In 64 A.D. an attempted escape at Praeneste was foiled by the

vigilance of the guards. The discipline was of the severest, as the oath proves. The punishments were scourging, branding and confinement in chains. The prison of the Pompeian school was so low that the captives could only sit or lie down ; leg-irons for ten prisoners and four skeletons have been found at Pompeii.

Only in one respect did gladiators fare better than condemned criminals ; their bodily well-being was a matter of anxious thought. A healthy locality was always chosen for the schools : such as Capua with its ideal climate, Praeneste with its pure mountain air, Ravenna and Alexandria, where the sea-breezes tempered the heat. The food given was designed to develop muscle ; barley was used for this purpose : hence the men were nicknamed *hordearii*. Galen says that the gladiators he treated at Pergamus ate beans and barley every day, which made their flesh loose and not, as was desired, firm. Juvenal's 'mess' (*miscellanea*) of the gladiatorial school, which the spendthrift will have to put up with, shows that gladiators' food was generally considered bad. Their meals were prescribed in quality and quantity ; they 'ate and drank what they were to return in blood'. Distinguished surgeons healed their wounds, and some of their prescriptions have been preserved by Scribonius Largus ; physicians were in attendance to see to their diet being strictly kept : *unclores*, a special class of slaves, looked after their massage, which was highly esteemed in ancient times.

To encourage a common worship of patron-gods, and perhaps for other reasons as well, gladiators and other imperial slaves were allowed to form guilds. Thus, according to an inscription of 177, a number of Commodus' gladiators formed a guild which worshipped Silvanus. At Dea (Die) the 'huntsmen who serve in the arena' (i.e. the *bestiarii* in the amphitheatre) form a union, and thus, too, elsewhere. The special kinds of combatants also combined. Thus one Thracian has a grave erected to him by the whole guild (*armatura*) of the Thracians, and a *secutor* by a brother-in-arms (*coarmio*) ; but there were also in the same schools friendly relations between the several sets. The grave of a *retiarius* of the Great School at Rome was put up by a *myrmillo* of the same school, his messmate (*convictor*).

Each class had its special instructor. Novices practised

with wooden swords at a man of straw or a post : the weapons used in more adept practice were heavier than those used in the arena ; possibly the very weighty ones found at Pompeii were for practice. The fencing of the gladiators was a science, and its technical expressions generally understood. Quintilian compares the speeches of counsel with the fencing of gladiators : ' the second stroke becomes the third, if the first be made to make the opponent thrust ; or becomes the fourth, if there be a double feint, so that there are two bouts of parrying and riposte '. The words of command (*dictata*) used by the instructors were shouted out to the antagonists in the arena by the public, and these hints were sometimes of service even to the best-trained gladiators. In 105 B.C. the consul Publius Rutilius had an instructor from the schools to teach the legionaries the ' finer art of parrying and thrusting '. Left-handed fighting was especially valued ; Commodus distinguished himself in it.

The schools had a sort of military organization. Fine titles were generously distributed, and the names of the famous combatants of old revived. Success entitled gladiators to rise, perhaps to some position of command over their fellows, and thus they became veterans. In the Guild of Silvanus the first *decurio* consisted of veterans in six kinds of weapons, the second was commanded by a veteran, and the third were mostly tiros. At the end they received the wooden sword of dismissal ; but, after release, they often would fight for a good fee, or act as instructors.

Very many of them would not have exchanged their lot. Many of the imperial gladiators, says Epictetus, are indignant if not allowed to appear. They pray the gods, and beset the procurator, for permission to fight. Tiberius gave but few games, and Seneca heard a *myrmillo* complain of the days passing profitless. They were animated by a certain feeling of honour ; they would not fight except with their equals ; and a wild bravery, born of the certainty that love of life made their spectators merciless, rendered them contemptuous of death. Without a groan they would bear the severest wound ; when their blood was draining away they asked their master, should they desist or perish : the most cowardly learnt how to die.

Gladiators were sometimes used in civil wars and fought

with the utmost courage, and the utmost devotion to those who fattened them for the arena. After the battle of Actium, Antony's lost cause was deserted by great and small, and only the gladiators whom he had practised at Cyzicus for his anticipated victory remained true to him. Of their own free will, they marched off to join him in Egypt ; nothing could restrain them ; finding that they could not force a passage, they sent a message to Antony to come to Syria, and only abandoned him when he neither came nor replied. Lucius Antonius and Decimus Brutus also recruited from gladiators. Otho enlisted two thousand ; ' a shameful expedient, which in the Civil War was not disdained by the sternest generals ', says Tacitus ; but they were not as trustworthy as the soldiers. Out of Vitellius' gladiators who were surprised at Terracina, only a few stood their ground. Marcus Aurelius, in the pressure of the war with the Marcomanni, armed even slaves, and formed a corps of gladiators, whom he called the Obedient (*obsequentes*). Didius Julianus, also, at Severus' approach armed the gladiators of Capua.

In these troops of despised and brutalized men the fate of those who had seen better days was doubly miserable. In the rhetorical essay on the youth who enlists in the gladiators to be able to bury his father, he is described as ' standing in a slave's costume, and expecting a shameful death, and seeing the pictures of his happier past ; thinking of all that he will never again see, his house and family and friends ; and that once he ranked, as a man of family, wealth and education above the giver of the spectacle '. And woe to him whom, in the company of vulgarity, vice and misery, such recollections overcame ! His life was sheer torture, and death the only happiness he desired. The strictest watch over him was in vain ; suicide became only the more heroic. Though such incidents are only occasionally related, it does not follow that they were rare. What barbarities might go on in those torture-chambers the incident of Lucius Balbus and Fadius illustrates. Seneca tells in the last year of Nero of two recent heroic suicides of *bestiarii*. One of them, in the early morning, was being drawn on a chariot between two soldiers to the arena. He pretended to be overcome by sleep, let his head droop between the spokes of the wheel, and waited until his neck was broken. Mutinies, conspiracies and revolts were frequent in

these schools, although another Spartacus never arose. In 64 A.D. an attempt of the gladiators at Praeneste to escape caused grave anxiety at Rome, and was suppressed by the garrison on the spot. Under Probus eighty gladiators in Rome itself succeeded in escaping, and were only overcome after a brave resistance. A letter of Symmachus mentions one incident yet more frightful. Some of the brave Saxons, who adventured in little boats from the Baltic into the ocean, and ravaged the coasts of Gaul, had been captured by the Romans. A number of them were to appear in Symmachus' Games. On the first day twenty-nine of them had strangled one another with their bare hands.

The gladiatorial games were announced by advertisements, painted by order of the organizers of the festival on the walls of buildings public and private, and on the grave stones which lined the main roads leading into the towns : they were the work of a special class of scribes who used colours, and these men were sometimes begged on the tomb-stones not to profane the last resting-place. On two such stones outside the Porta Nuceria of Pompeii, notices were found of amphitheatrical games at Nola and Nuceria. Of the Pompeian games some announcements have been found elsewhere, e.g. : ' thirty pairs of gladiators belonging to the *quinquennalis*, Gnaeus Alleius Nigidius Maius, and their understudies (to replace the dead) will fight in Pompeii from the 24th to the 26th November. There will also be baitings of animals. Long live the *Quinquennalis* ! ' Or again, ' The family of gladiators belonging to the Aedile Aulus Suetlius Certus will fight at Pompeii on the 31st May. There will also be baitings of animals, and an awning will be provided '. Often, too, besides the awnings, sprinkling with water to lay the dust and cool the air were promised. Or, instead of a date ' if the weather allow ' or ' without any delay ! ' Often too the names of the principal performers were arranged in pairs, in order of combat, and the organizers, to keep the people excited, used to add new pairs every day : then lists were copied out, sold in the streets and exported.

On the eve of the spectacle, the fighters of animals and men were given a so-called ' free banquet ' with every luxury : the curious might enter and look on. The rougher and brutalized ate and drank with no thought for the morrow, but many took

sad leave from their children and wives, whom they commended to the care of their friends, manumitted their slaves, and the Christians, who were to fight for their faith in the arena, held a last ἀγών.

The spectacle began with a parade of the gladiators in full uniform through the arena, possibly to the cry, once mentioned by Suetonius, of ' Ave, Imperator, morituri te salutant '. Novices apparently at their first appearance had to run the gauntlet, a frequent feature of the amphitheatre often mentioned in Christian martyrologies. The giver of the festival was then invited to examine the weapons. One special brand of gladiators' swords was named after Tiberius' son Drusus ; they were sharpened to excess ; Drusus was naturally cruel and careless of life. Domitian also made regulations to make the combats yet more severe. In 93 Martial is glad to be able to say that the good old customs of the Roman arena had been revived, and courage was exercised in simpler combats. But Marcus Aurelius enjoined the use of blunted weapons.

The first scene consisted of mock-fights, in which lances were thrown, sometimes to music. The sombre *tubae* announced the first fight with sharp weapons, which began to the sound of horns and trumpets and the shriller pipes and flutes. The most varied episodes now succeeded one another : *retiarii*, half-naked, almost armourless, mobile figures with net, trident and dagger, pursued by *secutores* in vizor, shield and sword ; hovering round the *myrmillones*, half-cowering under them, they sought to entangle their antagonists in the net, and kill them with trident or dagger. Or the Samnites with their huge square shields, that covered their whole persons, met with their short straight swords, the scimitars of the Thracians, who had heavier armour, but little round shields. Cavalry fought with long spears, the *essedarii* on British war-chariots, the horses of which were managed by a man standing beside the combatants. Other species of gladiators are occasionally mentioned, but very vaguely.

When one duellist was struck, the universal cry rang out : *habet*. The provider of the festival had the right of decision, but generally consigned the fallen to the mercy of the spectators. The wounded (according to a Greek custom) laid their shield down and lifted up, in sign of prayer for life, one finger of the left hand. The spectators signified mercy by waving

handkerchiefs or lifting their thumbs : turning the thumb down meant death. Brave gladiators often rejected popular interference, and made signs that their wounds were slight, and they could still go on : such met with pity ; the faint-hearted aroused the anger of the populace, who thought it an insult a gladiator should not be willing to die. The cowards were driven in with whips and hot irons to fight. The inflamed spectators shouted : ' Whip him on, kill him, burn him ! Why does he fear the sword ? why is he giving the death-strokes so unwillingly ? Why does he die so sullenly ? ' Spectacles used to be given in which the *missio* of wounded fighters was forbidden, and the combat was to the end, until Augustus forbade them, and publicly censured in an edict the cruelty of Nero's father, Gnaeus Domitius, after a confidential warning had failed. Very often, too, the victor had to fight an under-study immediately after. In the intervals the blood-drenched ground was shovelled up by boys and Moorish slaves sprinkled fresh sand. The victors brandished their palms, and the fallen were taken by men garbed as Mercury, the god of the nether world ; others, wearing the mask of the Etruscan daemon Charon, probed them with hot irons, to see if they were shamming death. Hearses stood ready in anticipation, and on them they were borne through the gate of the Goddess of Death into the mortuary. Any who still showed signs of life were killed.

Factions were formed in the amphitheatre, but never to the same extent as in the Circus. For the passion found its full exercise there, and there were no corporate organizations. But besides devotees of famous gladiators, the amphitheatre formed parties for the various kinds of combatants : for the *myrmillones* and Samnites, who bore large shields, and the Thracians, with their small shields. These factions permeated the whole of society, including even the emperors : to the former Domitian adhered, and Caligula and Titus to the latter ; hence Martial speaks of the Thracians, who seldom won, and their adherents with some contempt. Domitian was present, when one spectator remarked that a Thracian who had fallen could have stood up against his antagonist, but not against the arbitrary giver of the spectacles : the emperor had him hauled out into the arena and thrown to the dogs, with a label on his neck, ' an adherent of the Thracians who has spoken im-

piously'. In consequence of similar incidents, Pliny the Younger says that Trajan restored liberty of party and applause to the spectators. 'No one is now accused of *impietas* for hating a gladiator, or on that account himself made a part of the spectacle, by suffering a martyr's death for his unfortunate whim. The man who collected material for treason in the arena, thought himself despised if his fighters were not honoured, deemed insults to them an insult to his divinity, and considered the gods, himself and his gladiators identical—that man must have been mad, and ignorant of true honour'. Marcus Aurelius congratulates himself on impartiality between the two shields in the arena, and between the two colours in the circus. Yet great import attached to these factions: the inscription of a slave oil-dealer, Crescens, says he had been a Blue in the Circus and a Thracian in the amphitheatre.

Great *battues* were hardly possible in the amphitheatre, and were very occasionally given in other places. Julius Caesar, at his triumph, had a battle performed in the Circus, the boundary columns removed, and two camps thrown up; five hundred fought on either side, three hundred infantry and twenty elephants, with garrisoned towers on their backs. In 7 B.C., in honour of Agrippa who died in 12 B.C., a battle was performed in the *saepta* he had built. After the conquest of Britain in 44 A.D., Claudius had a realistic representation of the capture and sacking of a British town and the surrender of the princes performed on the Campus Martius, presided over by himself in a general's mantle. A smaller fight between two equal troops of infantry was given by Nero in 57 A.D., in the amphitheatre; and larger combats of cavalry and infantry by Domitian in his triumphal games in the Circus.

(2) ANIMAL-BAITING

(a). Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, the conqueror of Aetolia in 186 B.C., gave the first known exhibition of animals at Rome. This was eighty years after the introduction of gladiatorial games, though to be torn asunder by wild beasts had been a form of sentence of death. Thenceforth this spectacle, which took place under the Republic in the great Circus, as occasionally later, became frequent, and more and more splendid. The animals were simply exhibited, or also hunted and killed by

men or other animals. The men who fought them were not only condemned criminals and prisoners of war, but also hirelings ; Seneca makes his bankrupt spendthrift undecided whether to become a gladiator or a *bestiarius*. This profession shared the dishonour and the glamour of gladiature. Men thronged to it, says Tertullian, and prided themselves on scars and bites, as beauty-marks : and Ulpian mentions unpaid volunteers, who fought for sheer bravery's sake. There were families of *bestiarii* as of gladiators, trained in special schools : we may compare Ferdinand VII's Royal School of Tauromachy, founded at Seville in 1830. One of Domitian's four imperial schools was almost entirely given up to the training of *bestiarii*. If animal shows were given along with other games, they generally preceded, and began in the early morning. According to Suetonius, Claudius enjoyed these fights of criminals with wild beasts and hurried to the spot in good time before day-break.

As the empire expanded, these games were given on a larger scale. The subduing of the African domains of Carthage preceded their introduction ; forty years later Carthage became a province. The wild creatures of this region were the only non-European ones seen for over a century in the Circus. At that first exhibition, lions and panthers were as plentiful, in Livy's estimate, as in Augustus' time ; and seventeen years later, 189 B.C., the Circus *venationes* of Scipio Nasica and Publius Lentulus, evidenced the 'growing splendour' ; there were sixty-three African animals (panthers, leopards and possibly hyaenas), forty bears and several elephants. Plautus even had seen ostriches flitting across the Circus. Besides these foreign animals, deer, hares and stags, boars, bears and bulls from the woods of Apulia and Lucania, the Pontine Marshes and the Apennines were hunted in the Circus and often, probably, only these native animals ; and at the Feast of Flora, annual after 183 B.C., only harmless animals.

The spectacles of the last century of the Republic bear testimony to the worldwide extent of the Empire. Between 58-46 B.C. three *venationes* of unparalleled splendour were given in succession, at which animals were paraded, whose very names were scarce known at Rome, and most difficult of capture : such as, in 58, crocodiles and hippopotami from the Nile at the festival given by Scaurus ; the rhinoceros, the lynx,

and a species of African ape, never again seen, at the five days' *venatio* at Pompey's dedication of his theatre ; and the giraffe at the five days' festival given by Caesar at his triumph in 46 B.C. These rare and costly animals were often seen in Rome afterwards in large numbers, and even killed ; Cassius Dio saw Commodus kill on one day five *hippopotami*, and on two other days two elephants, a giraffe and some rhinoceroses. Varro had thought tigers an impossible capture, but in 11 B.C. and frequently afterwards they were seen both tame and wild.

In ancient Rome such animals were often seen ; in mediæval and modern Rome even the sight of less rare beasts roused a great excitement. Charlemagne in 801, through his ambassador, Isaac the Jew, received an elephant and an ape from Harun al Rashid, and a Numidian bear and Moorish lion from an African Emir. These facts are recorded in the biography of Charlemagne by the monk of St. Gall, and by Eginhard in his annals ; the latter also tells of an elephant's voyage and sudden death in the Münster country. Henry I had lions, leopards, lynxes and camels at Woodstock. The easy transport from the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean and the warm climate made it all the easier to buy Southern animals, or receive them as gifts from Sultans. The Emperor Frederick II had in his gardens camels, lions, tigers, leopards, and one giraffe, a present from the Sultan of Egypt, which Albertus Magnus saw and described. Frederick used to take rare animals with him on his travels and campaigns ; at his entry into Cremona in 1237 an elephant drew the *carroccio*. On great occasions the animals were set to fight each other or dogs, to amuse the people. And towns and princes took pride in keeping living lions, who also were useful as public executioners : Florence used leopards for this purpose comparatively early (in 1291).

Towards the close of the fifteenth century several of the princely courts of Italy regularly possessed real menageries (*serragli*) ; the one at Naples under Ferrante contained a giraffe and a zebra. In 1459 a giraffe was seen at Florence, and, when Kayt Bey, Sultan of the Mamelukes, presented a second one to Lorenzo il Magnifico, Antonio Costanzio described it in 1487, and Politian collated all the ancient authorities on this remarkable animal. Johannes Schiltberger of Munich calls it *urnasa*, and saw one about 1400 at Dily (Delhi), and Felix

Fabri, the preaching monk of Ulm, another at Cairo. Buffon had to be content with travellers' descriptions. It was not brought to France from Alexandria before 1826. According to Thibaut's account, who was the first to capture giraffes alive on the steppes of Cordofan, the young are caught, after killing the mothers; the enterprise is incredibly difficult. For whole weeks the huntsman must remain on the steppes, take with him the best horses, camels and cows, and have as guides native Arabs; otherwise nothing can be done: the cows are needed to feed the young animals. From the interior of Africa, they and the cows are brought by short stages to the coast, and thence transhipped in special cages.

On May, 1, 1513, a live rhinoceros was brought to King Emanuel of Portugal from India, and Sebastian Münster thought fit to mention the event in his *Cosmography*. Albrecht Dürer has left us an imperfect reproduction of this first rhinoceros, afterwards often copied; Chardin (who died in 1713) saw one at Ispahan, and about 1700 gave a better description; but in 1664 and 1689 rhinoceroses were seen in London, as also later, e.g., 1739 and 1741; the rhinoceros of 1741 was also shown in Germany, as mentioned in Gillert's well-known tale, and is entitled in a copper-plate the Behemoth (Job xl. 10). In 1793 one arrived at Paris, and in 1816 another in Germany.

But no hippopotamus was seen in Europe after Roman days, before the one brought to the London Zoological Gardens on May 25, 1850. The British consul at Cairo had to exert all the pressure at his command to induce the Pasha of Egypt to make this costly present. A whole division was occupied in capturing it; its transport from the White Nile to Cairo took five or six months; on November 14, 1849, it reached Cairo, and wintered there. From Alexandria it was forwarded in a steamer specially constructed with a freshwater tank containing 400 gallons, and daily renewed; whilst two cows and ten goats barely satisfied its requirements of milk. These facts serve to illustrate the colossal outlay for the lavish arena of the Roman Empire.

Yet, besides the huge numbers, there was a huge variety brought together at the great *venationes*. It must be remembered that, according to Dio, there was much exaggeration, and further, that in two thousand years many species have almost become extinct; yet, even half would constitute an

enormous number. But no subsequent exhibitions were ever on the scale of those of Pompey and Caesar. At Pompey's games there were, as recorded, 17 or 18 elephants, 500 or 600 lions, 410 other African animals; and at Caesar's 400 lions and 40 elephants. But the exhibition of hundreds of lions and bears and African animals at spectacles, not to speak of larger numbers of commoner animals, was, according to the imperial historians, by no means rare. According to Augustus' own statement, who took especial delight in 'untold numbers and unknown shapes of beasts', 500 African animals alone were laid low in the spectacles he provided. At the hundred days' festival given by Titus at the dedication of the Flavian amphitheatre in 80 A.D., on one day 5,000 wild animals of various sorts were exhibited, and 9,000 tame and wild was the sum total of the killed, and, at the four months' festival of Trajan in 107 A.D. at the second Dacian triumph, 11,000.

The animals, consumed at Rome for one great festival, would amply stock all the Zoological Gardens of modern Europe. Science also profited of this profusion. According to Galen, physicians assembled at the dissection of a large elephant; the heart was taken out by the imperial cooks. Drugs were also concocted out of the parts of wild animals. Artists also studied their shapes; the famous sculptor, Pasitales, a contemporary of Pompey, was one day modelling a lion in one cage, when a panther escaped out of an adjoining cage, and he barely escaped with his life.

But *venationes* were also given, throughout the empire, in the minor towns, and the demand for wild animals must have necessitated incessant hunts within and without the empire, to provide them for the emperors and private individuals, whether providers of festivals or merchants. These hunts went on for centuries, and the parents had to be killed, in order to capture the whelps; hence, the animal kingdom became wholly transformed, wild animals extirpated and driven into wildernesses, and new ground gained for civilization and agriculture.

Even in Strabo's time the ground between Carthage and the Columns of Hercules had been so far extirpated that the nomads could turn to agriculture; and could defend themselves against them, partly because they were proficient hunters, and the Roman passion for *venationes* supported them.

'Oh distant Nasamonian Lands of the Libyans', says a Greek poet, 'your barren plains are no longer visited by flocks of beasts of prey, you no longer tremble at the lion's roaring in the desert; for Caesar has caught a vast number of them, in nets, for one single exhibition, and the former lofty lairs of wild beasts are now pasturages'.

Thus, too, the needs of the Roman amphitheatre relieved the cornfields of Egypt from the ravages of the hippopotami, which were common in Pliny's time above the Praefecture of Sais, and, in the fourth century, had been banished to the upper reaches of Nubia. A writer of the fourth century regrets that there are no more elephants in Libya, or lions in Thessaly, or hippopotami in the swamps of the Nile. Now hippopotami are no longer found even in Nubia, and occur commonly only in the Eastern Sudan and the heart of Africa.

Thus, in antiquity, the hunting-ground in Africa became exhausted; but Asia was still prolific in wild animals, with which the kings and satraps of Persia reinforced their menageries, and supplied those of the Roman Emperors of the fourth century, who laid out their own after the same model. Even in Ammianus' times in the reeds and jungles of Mesopotamia there were 'countless' lions, and in Hyrcania swarms of tigers and other wild animals. At the frontiers of the empire, there was an import tax on all Asiatic products, as on animals intended for spectacles, such as 'Indian (i.e. Asiatic) lions, pards, leopards and panthers'. Symmachus calculates the harbour-tolls on beasts at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., from which senatorial givers of festivals were exempted.

Sporting rights were by Roman law included in the rights of property, for the owner could exclude; but the *jus gentium* made the huntsman the owner of an animal, wherever it fell. But elephants could only belong to the emperors; Aurelian, after the fall of the Republic, was the first private individual to have one of these 'imperial cattle which no subject might own', and this was taken as a fore-token of his sovereignty. Elephants might not be hunted without imperial licence, and lions also, at any rate, in the later Empire. In an Edict of Honorius and Theodosius of 414 A.D., 'a man who kills a lion need not fear indictment, as our subjects' safety must prevail over our pleasure; but, our pleasure still forbids the hunting and selling of lions, though not their killing'. In 271 A.D.

the Marcomanni were invading Italy, and Aurelian offered to supply the Senate with 'royal animals' should the Sibylline books ordain their propitiatory sacrifice; these must have been lions and elephants. There was a special procurator for the department of the imperial elephants.

The wealth of the imperial menageries and gardens in the rarest and most costly animals may be estimated from the catalogue of those at Rome under Gordian III: 32 elephants, 10 elks, 10 tigers, 60 tame lions, 30 tame leopards, 10 hyaenas, 1 rhinoceros, 1 hippopotamus, 10 'arcoleontes (? archileontes)', 10 giraffes, 20 wild asses, 40 wild horses, and countless other animals, all of which Philip devoted to the millenary celebrations of 248 A.D. The administration and upkeep of these menageries involved a large staff, and a large annual outlay: once, when meat was dear, Caligula fed them with criminals; Aurelian sold those used at his triumph to save the fisc the cost of their keep. Besides the imperial menageries (for which purpose the extensive vaults of the Church of San Giovanni e Paolo may in part have served) there were others in Rome. In the third century the Praetorian and City cohorts owned a menagerie, possibly the *vivarium* mentioned by Procopius, near the Praenestine Gate (*porta maggiore*) just outside the wall, near the *amphitheatrum castrense*, which also belonged to them. In the imperial gardens animals may also have been kept, as, for instance, in a park by Nero's Golden House.

Probably the emperors often gave their friends and privileged senators animals for amphitheatrical shows. Symmachus received for his son's Praetorian Games from Honorius, at Stilicho's request, a gift of several leopards. Further, Roman grandees generally owned land in Africa and Asia, and could utilize the friendship of the provincial governors, and thus expedite the importation of animals; but the Republican practice of making contributions of money and wild animals to the spectacles of the procurator's friends a permanent tax on the provincials, had fallen into disuse. The higher Roman officials had come to regard the supplying of wild animals as a trifling and matter-of-course act of friendliness on the part of the provincial procurator, as Cicero's letters when proconsul in Cilicia in 51 B.C. from Marcus Caelius the aedile show. 'Patiscus', Caelius writes, 'has sent Curio ten panthers; it would be a

shame, should Cicero not send more ; he need only issue the commission ; food and transport had been provided '. As a return-favour was exceedingly probable, such requests were not lightly refused.

Thus, thousands of brave huntsmen, year in, year out, ran dangers in every zone, to furnish the demand of the amphitheatre for animals. For one great Roman festival, with due Roman splendour, the Hindu tamed elephants to catch elephants, the Rhinelanders spread nets over the boars in the reeds, Moors on their hardy ponies encircled ostriches in the deserts, and lurked in the horrible solitudes of the Atlas by the lion-pits. Should these perilous ventures succeed, devices for transport called a new industry into being. The axe rang and the saw grated, the anvil grew hot ; and at last the terrible captives vented their rage on the bars of their cages. Claudian in his poem on Stilicho describes a *venatio* given by him. To honour his patron, Diana and all her nymphs hunted in the forests, the wildernesses and the hills of the world, the carpenters had not wood enough to make even all the beams ; and cages had to be made, with box and elm wood still green, and the leaves visible.

Transport was effected mostly by sea, and storms might delay or wreck : there were at the wharves of the Campus Martius in the late Republic cages for the temporary safeguarding of animals. But long trains of heavy ox-wagons loaded with cages also came by land. The huge distances often necessitated voyages of many months, in which the animals might succumb to death or disease. An Edict of Honorius and Theodosius obliges towns through which imperial transports of animals passed to provide for their provision ; probably this only regularized pre-existing practice. This decision led to great abuses, for an edict was issued by these two emperors that no such stay should exceed seven days, for one such train dallied in Hierapolis, the capital of the province of the Euphrates, for three to four months, and the conductors, contrary to all precedent, required cages as well to be supplied.

(b). In the amphitheatre the animals were hunted, made to fight one another, and let loose on men ; but some few harmless and rarer sorts were only paraded. They used to be decorated, as though for a sacrifice or procession. At the celebration of the *decennalia* in 263 two hundred tamed animals, variously

bedecked, led the way to the Capitol, and 200 white bulls for the altar with gilded horns, and broad coverlets of coloured silk on their backs, followed by Gallienus himself : and pictures of sacrificial and amphitheatrical animals are preserved, showing them decorated in this fashion. Seneca prefers the lion, terrible in his natural beauty, to one with gilded mane and glittering with plate of gold. Lucilius and Juvenal speak of white-washed bulls brought up to the Capitol, and Pliny of sheep with purple and scarlet fleeces. At the sixth of the twelve performances given by Gordian I as Aedile at Rome, there were 300 ostriches tinged with vermilion, which were, with the rest, abandoned to the people.

The number of the tamed animals in the amphitheatre is as astounding as the skill of their trainers. Plutarch, writing under Vespasian, says that the imperial games of Rome amply exemplified animal intelligence and docility. Under Augustus even, animal-training had so far become a regular profession (practised in Alexandria more than elsewhere), that Manilius ascribed luck in it to one particular constellation. Julius Caesar was escorted home by elephant torch-bearers, and Marcus Aurelius and Cytheris the dancer drove in a chariot drawn by a team of lions. Lions, panthers, bears, boars, wolves, tame and wild, were kept in the palaces of the emperors and nobles. Performing apes who acted plays, drove in chariots, rode on dogs, served to amuse the rabble. Ancient tamers aimed at training animals in directions contrary to their nature. Wild bulls let boys dance on their backs, reared, or, together with horses, performed tricks in water, and, like charioteers, remained motionless in swift two-horsed cars. Stags were bridled, and pards yoked ; cranes circled, and fought each other singly. Unwarlike antelopes butted at one another to the death. Sea-lions were trained to greet the people by looking at them, and barked in answer to their names. Lions were as obedient as any dog ; in Domitian's spectacle they were set to catch hares in the arena, carry them back to their master in their teeth and let them loose anew. At the command of their dusky teachers elephants knelt, danced to the tune of the cymbals banged by a brother elephant, sat down to table ; or four would carry a fifth in a litter like a woman in childbirth ; or they would walk a rope and write Greek and Latin. Pliny asserts that one of a troop which was

being trained was a slow learner, and hence was often beaten ; but could be heard by night practising his lessons. The Romans were tender of elephants, and found something human in their docility. At Pompey's games a large number were killed, and the people were indignant and almost turned against Pompey.

And with the exhibitions of performing animals there alternated fights of wild ones : a rhinoceros and an elephant, a bear or a bull, an elephant and a bull and so forth. Natural savagery was artificially heightened. They were driven in to the sound of whips, pricked, hot irons applied, dolls of straw thrown in front of them, which they angrily tossed, or tied together with long ropes, and the people exulted at seeing them rend each other's flesh. Similar, or greater barbarities have excited the popular passion of modern days, e.g., the *Hetzhaus* at Vienna, or at Madrid in 1853 the fight of the bull *Señorito* with a tiger, when the bull survived.

Also in the Roman amphitheatre, skilled and armed huntsmen with high-class hounds stepped in to fight the savage animals. The hounds were got from the greatest distances ; in Strabo's time, from Britain, then famous for sporting-dogs, which the Gauls used, besides their own, in war even. Symmachus, for his son's quaestorian games, received seven Scottish hounds from Flavianus, which excited the admiration of Rome : it was said they had been brought in iron cages. The hounds were trained for the hunts : Martial says of a bitch Lydia, belonging to Dexter, that she had been educated by the masters of the amphitheatre. Wearied by the harassing dogs, lions, panthers, bears and bisons fell before the arrows and javelins, in which last Moors and Parthians were especially proficient. Bears were sometimes seen killed by a fortunate blow on the skull, lions blinded by a cloak, and thus easily killed. Carpophorus, a huntsman celebrated by Martial, had laid low twenty savage animals at one exhibition ; had he lived earlier, the poet says, his fame as an exterminator of monsters would have exceeded that of Hercules and all the heroes put together. Bull-fights were popular in Greece and native in Thessaly : under the Empire they were a favourite pastime at Eleusis, Athens, Pergamus, Miletus, Smyrna and Lesbos ; and, after Caesar's introduction of them, they were frequent at Rome : the wild animals were irritated with red rags, and

faced by matadors on foot, on horseback, who, after the Thesalian custom, wearied them out, and then dragged them down by their horns. Claudius made a division of the mounted Praetorians under their officers fight African panthers, and Nero made them fight 400 bears and 300 lions.

But another of the spectacles of the amphitheatre consisted in those frightful executions of men tied to stakes and defenceless, or—to prolong their torture—insufficiently armed and delivered to beasts, who were sometimes specially trained for the work. The victims with limbs torn asunder and covered with blood were seen begging, not for mercy, but delay of death till the morrow. Or their wounds were so huge that curious physicians had an opportunity (e.g. Celsus on Galen's authority) of seeing the interior of the body. And these scenes of horror were episodes on a stage, possibly to lessen the gruesomeness: but modern feeling is doubly shocked at mechanics and artists being called in to set off and prolong the agonies of the delinquents.

Strabo mentions one of these spectacular executions. Selurus, a robber, called the son of Etna, as he had practised his trade there, had been condemned to death by the beasts: a scaffold was erected on the forum, on which he stood, and foundered, dropping Selurus into the cage, where he was soon devoured. The Flavian Amphitheatre provided most amply for a full theatrical outfit of devices and scenery for the sights. A building near the Colosseum, erected, it may be, by Domitian, contained all the properties for imperial spectacles, and the administration of this *summum choragium* was entrusted to a procurator, who was also possibly appointed by Domitian, a freedman, ranking, however, with the procurators of the smaller provinces. As at Puteoli and Capua (where the amphitheatres were perhaps used for imperial spectacles), the Colosseum was built on huge substructures, twenty-one feet below the present level. Into these underground chambers men, animals and machines could be conveyed unnoticed from the *choragium* by outside entrances, and at the Capuan amphitheatre, which is almost as large as the Flavian, there was room for a thousand men. Apollodorus, the architect, proposed to Hadrian to connect the substructures of his temple of Venus and Rome with those of the amphitheatre, to allow more space for the properties. Thus the whole scenery, and all the actors

and animals, could be suddenly shifted, raised, lowered or made to disappear in the most surprising manner. Roman mechanicians attained very great skill, and could easily lift their scaffoldings and ante-rooms into the air noiselessly, break them up and close them together again. At Severus' games in 202 the arena was transformed into a ship, which all at once broke up, and discovered a mass of the most various animals, bears, lions, panthers, ostriches, and bisons, who instantly assailed one another : during the seven days 700 animals were exhibited and killed. At Nero's performance, described by the poet Calpurnius, the ground repeatedly yawned open, and a magic wood of glittering bushes with fragrant fountains sprang into view, immediately to be inhabited by monsters of foreign climes, who emerged from the depths.

Theatrical and pantomimic performances also took place in the arena ; only the actors were condemned criminals, who were practised in real and not illusionary torture. They appeared in precious tunics embroidered with gold and purple mantles with golden crowns ; but, like the fatal gifts of Medea, these garments too suddenly burst into flame and consumed their unhappy wearers. Such inflammable stuffs were called by the populace *tunica molesta*, and, when in 64 A.D. the Christians were condemned to death for alleged complicity in burning Rome, they were tarred and resined, and used as torches at night, or wrapt in hides and torn by dogs. Tertullian says men even hired themselves out to run a certain distance in a burning tunic. Perhaps there was no single torture or cruel death known to history or literature, not used to divert the Roman amphitheatre. ' There ', says Tertullian, ' we have seen the castration of Atys, and a man burnt alive to represent Hercules' living pyre on Mount Oeta ' : a Greek epigram records a thief being burnt in this tragic fashion. Martial saw one culprit hold his hand over burning coals to represent Mucius Scaevola, till it was consumed ; and a robber Laureolus, the hero of a well-known farce, was crucified and torn asunder by animals. He describes how the limbs slowly dropped off, and the body became shapeless, and consoles himself with the reflection that the sufferer must have been a patricide, a robber of temples, or guilty of arson and murder. And, at the same spectacle, another criminal appeared as Orpheus from the depths, re-emerging from Hades. Nature was enchanted by

his playing, rocks and trees moved to greet him, birds hovered over him and animals crouched at his feet, and, after the spectacle had lasted long enough, he was torn to pieces by a bear.

Besides mythology thus heinously interpreted, there were indecent scenes ; Europa or Pasiphae and the bull. Boys, as Cupids, flew up to the awning. And mythology was improved on : Daedalus was devoured by a bear, a Hercules borne up to Heaven on a bull. And then the arena became a lake, in which Leander swam to meet Hero, Nereids assembled in charming groups, and stars shone over the heads of the Dioscuri.

(3) THE NAUMACHIAE

Naval fights were also improvised on the flooded arena. As early as 57 or 58 A.D. the amphitheatre built by Nero on the Campus Martius was flooded, fish and larger marine animals set swimming there, and a naval battle between the Athenians and Persians performed, after which the water was let off and gladiatorial combats and a land-fight given on the plain. At a festival in 64 A.D. a battle by land followed one by sea on the same arena, which was again flooded, and a luxurious feast given on the water. The huge cisterns and pipes, by which the arena of the Flavian amphitheatre could be turned into a lake, were ready in 80 A.D., as Titus at the dedication games gave naval performances and a naumachy between Corcyraeans and Corinthians. Domitian also gave a naval battle in the amphitheatre.

But the first naval battle on a large scale was instituted by Julius Caesar at his triumphal games in 46 B.C. He had a lake dug out on the Campus Martius, on which a Tyrian and Egyptian fleet fought against each other. Each consisted of biremes, triremes and quadriremes, with 1,000 marines and 2,000 oarsmen. In 43 the lake was filled in, to prevent an epidemic arising from the exhalations. In 2 B.C., at the dedication of the temple of Mars Ultor Augustus gave a second great naumachy in a lake dug out on the further bank of the Tiber, probably in Caesar's gardens : according to his own account, it was 1,800 feet long and 1,200 broad : thirty biremes and triremes with beaks, and a larger number of smaller ones, armed with 6,000 soldiers, without reckoning in the rowers, performed a sea-fight between Athenians and Persians.

But both of these naumachies, as all subsequent ones, were surpassed by the one with which in 52 A.D. Claudius celebrated the completion of the conduit from the Lacus Fucinus (Lago di Celano) through the mountains into the Liris (Garigliano), a work which had occupied several years. A Sicilian and Rhodian fleet of triremes and quadriremes, with 19,000 warriors, met each other. A silver Triton dived up from the water, and gave the signal with a trumpet. The lake, so says Tacitus, was surrounded with rafts, to prevent evasions. Yet there was room enough for heavy rowing, adroit steering, attacks and all the ordinary incidents of a sea-fight. On the rafts stood divisions of the Praetorian cohorts mounted and unmounted : breast-works were constructed, whence the surface of the water could be reached with catapults. Marine soldiers occupied the rest of the lake in covered ships. The banks and hills formed a kind of theatre, which was filled with countless multitudes of men from Rome and the neighbourhood, come to see the novelty and greet the Emperor. The Emperor, in a splendid general's mantle with Agrippina near him, presided, dressed in an upper garment woven with gold. The combatants, though criminals, fought bravely, and many wounds secured them remission from death. But, at the close, the water would not flow off, and the channels had to be enlarged. After this reconstruction, in 52 A.D. there were gladiatorial games given, bridges being erected for the purpose of fighting on foot. A banquet was given near the outlet of the water, but the current was too strong and carried away the wooden buildings, and caused a panic.

Nero used Augustus' naumachy for a banquet-room, and Titus at the hundred days' celebration in 80 for brilliant spectacles. On the first day the water was boarded over and a gladiatorial and a beast-fight held ; on the second, a chariot-race ; on the third a sea-fight between the Athenians and the Syracusans, in which the Athenians were victorious, and finally stormed a fortress erected on a little island. A court poet opined that this spectacle eclipsed all others, even the one on Lake Fucinus. Domitian, eager to out-do Titus, gave a naval fight in the arena of the amphitheatre, and also had a new lake dug out, and a naval fight represented with ships approximating to a real fleet in number. During the performance a cloudburst occurred, but the spectacle had to continue, and the

spectators to remain in their wet clothes ; many fell ill and died. Philip the Arabian also, at the celebration of the millenary of Rome, gave a naumachy, on one of the lakes dug by Augustus and Domitian. The *Descriptio Urbis* estimates five naumachies, perhaps erroneously. In the Middle Ages the region between St. Peter's and Sant' Angelo was called *regio naumachiae*, perhaps a tradition of the scene of several naumachies.

SUMMARY

(a) The gulf between the thought and feeling of Rome and modernity is best instanced in the attitude of cultured society towards the amphitheatre. In all Roman literature, there is scarcely one note of the deep horror of to-day at these inhuman delights. Generally the gladiatorial games are passed over with indifference. Children played at gladiators, as they do now in Andalusia at bull and matador, or formerly in Rome, brigands and *sbirri*. Adolescence was passionately addicted to the gladiators, who were a staple stopgap even in cultured conversation, and proverbs sprang from the arena. It is madness, says Horace, to dispute whether Castor or Dolichus fight the better ; or again, that Maecenas, his supposed intimate friend, deigned to remark in the morning, it was too cold for light clothing, or to ask the time, or whether Gallina, the Thracian, was a match for Syrus. Epictetus reckons among the trivialities of conversation to be avoided, gladiatorial fights. Ovid saw nothing strange in recommending the spectacles of blood as good occasions for love-making. A man, he says, who touches the lady's hand next to him, while asking for the programme, or betting on the result, is often smitten.

The grounds of condemnation are not ours, but the grounds of commendation are our grounds of disapproval. In the adulatory court poets there is no reason for surprise at this. Statius and Martial prostituted their talents to panegyricize Domitian and his spectacles. Martial says that the feats of the beast-fighters out-rivalled those of Hercules. Statius compared female prize-fighters with the Amazons, and the sight of dwarfs hacking one another about, was one for Father Mars and the bloody Goddess of Bravery to laugh over. Also a sense of defiance of Greek culture created some lame and

one-sided apologists ; Cicero objected to the crude slaughter, but says, cruel and barbarous as gladiatorial fights may appear to some, and really may be, the sight of criminals fighting for life and death was the most effective training for the eye, though perhaps not for the ear, in the endurance of pain and death. Pliny approves a friend who gave a brilliant exhibition of gladiators with a large number of panthers at Verona in his wife's memory, and Trajan for granting the people this spectacle : ' no enervating and depraving sight, but one that inspired disdain of death and love of honourable wounds, and aroused ambition even in slaves and culprits '. Gibbon rightly calls this ' a vain and cruel prejudice, so nobly confuted by the valour of ancient Greece and of modern Europe '.

Worse even than these apologies is Cicero's pronouncement on the beast-fights : ' What pleasure can a cultivated man have in seeing a huge animal tear a weak man to pieces, or a splendid animal pierced with a spear ? ' Varro's phrase in one satire, ' Are ye not barbarians, to throw criminals to the wild beasts ? ' is out of its context and inconclusive. Marcus Aurelius, who stemmed the bloodshed as much as he could, said in his *Meditations* that the amphitheatre is wearisome and always the same. Tacitus says, whilst blaming Drusus' (the son of Tiberius) lust in murder, that he was too fond of blood, however cheap. Symmachus, the last of the Romans, characteristically says of the suicide of his captive Saxons in the Gladiatorial School, ' evidently, no guard, however efficient, can restrain this desperate race '. He puts the suicides on the same level with Spartacus and his troop, and resigns himself to the mishap with the self-consolations of Socrates.

Only one extant Roman writer attains the ground of common humanity, and he only in his latter years. Seneca, in a composition of his manhood, calls the gladiatorial games a light distraction, which does not banish grief. But, in his latest writings, he repeatedly is indignant that a man, who should be sacred to man, should be killed for mere sport, and once breaks out at a particularly barbarous exhibition, evidently sincere despite his rhetorical language. Once he went about midday into the amphitheatre. The house was almost empty, and, to amuse the few onlookers, a few unpractised and almost unarmed criminals were forced to kill each other ; such a fight would not have interested the general public.

'In comparison', says Seneca, 'all the preceding games were pure mercy. This is sheer butchery. These men are defenceless, and no stroke can fail. Yet the populace prefers this to the regular duels. And why not? Helm and shield, and weapons of defence and a swordsman's skill prevent death. In the morning men are only thrown to lions and bears, but at midday, to their hardest fate, to the spectators. They are whipped into wounding naked bodies. And this much for the intervals, which can be utilized for slaughter'.

This single expression of what is to us a needless commonplace proves that the noblest regarded the games from a standpoint miles apart from ours. The main reasons are three: the division of mankind into those who had rights, and those who had not; the effect of habit and the intoxicating effect of splendour. In ancient Rome down to very late times there was no idea of the rights of man, of the sanctity of life, or of thought for its preservation. International law was almost non-existent; slavery fixed a wide and impassable gulf between those with rights and those without them, and fostered the regarding of slaves by a slave-standard, as negligible, and their sufferings and death as unimportant. The fighters in the arena were public enemies, barbarians, criminals, slaves or ne'er-do-wells, either indifferent or dangerous to society. In rough warlike times Etruria introduced her sport into Rome: at first it was occasional, but, with the centuries, became usual and frequent. The acquired love of brutality was perpetuated from age to age, an irresistible spirit of the time, which can convert original loathing into pleasure, and pervades every individual. And besides, at all epochs, torture and executions have been attractive. In 1787 (according to Tischbein), at a burning of some witches in Palermo the fashionable ladies present had sherbet and ices served.

Lastly, the amphitheatre, apart from the fights, attracted, as the most gigantic spectacle the world has ever seen. In the Empire, nothing could arouse the vision of Rome's past greatness as much as the sight of the people assembled in the Flavian amphitheatre. Contemporaries rightly esteemed it one of the wonders of the world. It stood on eighty mighty arches, rose in four floors to the height of 150 feet and seated 40,000 or 50,000 spectators. The Senators sat on the inmost or lowest row nearest the arena. Here there sat the scions

of the old houses, the dignitaries of the monarchy in their robes, the colleges of priests in their vestments, and the Vestals, and in the middle of this brilliant group, on an open seat or in a gorgeous box, the emperor with his suite. Or some Oriental potentate in high cap and broad gay garments sparkling with jewels, attracted the general gaze, or a German chieftain, in close-fitting dress, excited the admiration and envy of the Roman ladies with his huge stature and blonde hair. For in these rows sat foreign kings and ambassadors, and distinguished prisoners were on such occasions shown to the people. The thousands of the other ranks covered the marble seats, rising in circles above this first row. In them were seen races the most diverse in appearance, colour and costume. All the Roman citizens wore white togas, in honour of the Emperor and the festival. The women's seats were in the upper tiers; only the Vestals and imperial ladies had the privilege of a near view of the scenes of blood. Highest of all were the crowds of the ill-dressed ragged proletariat.

A bird's-eye view revealed this throng in a simple and magnificent unity. The architectural lines were raised into relief with rich and artistic decorations, and the frame was worthy of the mighty picture. A huge awning could be spread over the whole space as a protection against the sun, whose bright colours flooded the interior, as in one of Nero's spectacles it represented the starry sky. And, out of the arena, fragrant fountains threw up jets of water to an immense height and cooled the air, while swelling music drowned the noise of the combat.

Every art thus combined to intoxicate the senses and acclimatize the soul to things wonderful and vast, and to quiet all moral scruples. In a huge excited crowd individual feeling to a certain degree lapses, and resistance is borne down. St. Augustine tells a tale which may well be typical. One of his friends, Alypius, a youth of good manners, was staying at Rome to study law. One day he met some acquaintances, who induced him by friendly insistence to enter the amphitheatre; he, a Christian, said his body might go, but not his soul, for he would keep his eyes shut, and in reality be absent. He did so until one huge cry, at some incident of the fight, struck his ears; and curiosity made him open his eyes; and then his soul, says the writer, received a

severer wound than the body of the man he wished to see, and he fell more pitiably than the man whose fall had aroused the shout. For the sight of blood made him inhuman; he looked on steadily, and was possessed with lust of blood. And what more? He saw, shouted, was fired with passion, and came again, with the enthusiasm for it in his blood.

Spanish bull-fights cannot compare, in point of splendour and excitement, with the shows of the amphitheatre, yet they indicate some measure of the impression produced. The very sight of the *Corrida de Toros* and the throngs in the amphitheatre is said to be overwhelming, though only 9,500 can be accommodated. In 1804 a man like Rist found in bull-fights a new and wonderful charm; the beauty and strength, the craft and fury of the bulls attracted him, as also the 'wonderful charm of a really popular spectacle, unknown elsewhere in Europe'. Prosper Mérimée speaks of the irresistible attraction of bull-fights. He refers to St. Augustine's tale, and confesses that no tragedy ever excited him so much, that he never missed a bull-fight, whilst in Spain, and preferred the bloody ones. Emperor Maximilian of Mexico also was an enthusiastic admirer of bull-fights.

(b) Only very slowly and gradually did Christianity succeed in weaning the ancient world from the bloodshed of the arena. Very many Christians frequented it; and their imagination was stirred by it; thus, one of the visions that tempted St. Hilarion in the desert with the desires of the flesh, was a chariot-*eer*, who sprang on his back and rode him like a horse, and also a gladiatorial fight, in which one combatant fell at his feet and entreated him to bury him. Constantine on October 1, 326, in an edict dated from Berytus censures the holding of the 'bloody spectacles' in times of peace, and orders convicts to be sent to the mines instead; but this was not intended as a prohibition. For, in a later Epistle to the town of Hispellum (Spello) he accedes to the request that the priests of Umbria should be allowed to continue their scenic and gladiatorial games, but the priests of Tuscany should still hold theirs at Volsinii. Firmicus Maternus, the astrologer (about 350 A.D.) states the constellations under which gladiators and athletes were born, and others, which predetermined them to a horrible death in public view. In 365 a law of Valentinian's forbade the condemnation of Christians to the School of Gladiators. Pru-

dentius vainly besought Honorius to abolish the practice of turning a death sentence into a public amusement, and to allow only beast-fights in the arena; but in 404 the same Emperor prohibited gladiatorial games at Rome, the immediate cause being that an Asiatic monk Telemachus, who had rushed in amid the combatants to separate them, was torn to pieces by the irritated populace. The imperial gladiatorial schools had already been abolished in 399. But in the West the gladiatorial games still lingered on. In 410 St. Augustine speaks of gladiators as still existent. In the East they ceased by 400 A.D.; St. Chrysostom in his sermons constantly reprehends the Circus and Theatre as sinful and injurious, but never mentions the gladiatorial games, which he would certainly have attacked with greater zeal and reason. But he and other Christian teachers fulminate against the beast-fights as inculcating callousness. So, too, presbyter Salvianus of Marseilles complains of the spectacles at which the main delight of the spectators is to see men torn to pieces and devoured by animals, and of the futile trouble of penetrating forests and deserts, the Alps and snow-clad valleys to capture the animals.

The *ludi bestiarum* persisted in both East and West at least into the sixth century. In 469 Leo and Anthemius prohibited the *lacrimabiles venationes* on Sundays. Turcius Rufius Apronianus Asterius, consul in 494, in his MS. of Virgil (now at the Medicean library at Florence) boasts of having instituted stage-plays, chariot-races and *venationes* in the Roman Circus. In 536 Justinian expressly legislated that the consuls were to give *venationes* besides other games. January 1 was devoted to the solemn entry upon office of the new magistrate, the second (called *mapa*) to the games in the Circus, the third to a *venatio*, the fourth to a very popular species of *venatio* called *μνημέριον*, at which the people could enjoy the courage of men fighting animals, and the fifth to very dissolute plays, called *πόρναι*, on which day tragedians and chorus were also seen; on the sixth day there was a second *mapa*; on the seventh the office was solemnly resigned. Two years before, Justinian, writing to the archbishop of Constantinople, complained of clerics not abstaining from this spectacle. At the same epoch, Cassiodorus at Rome was admiring the skill and speed with which the *bestiarum* escaped the

animals, and the many ingenious means of protection, some of which have come down to us on the carved ivory lids of the invitations sent by the consuls: thus at Rome some efforts were being made to make the *venationes* at least a little less bloody.

(c) Wherever Roman civilization set its mark, the amphitheatre also spread; from Jerusalem to Seville, from Scotland to the borders of the Sahara any town of consequence had its annual victims of the arena. The yearly magistrates had the choice of games they should give, and would often enough defer to the popular desire for gladiatorial fights. Officials and priests also gave them at their own expense in acknowledgment of the honour, as did rich private individuals anxious to make a show or win the popular favour. In some cities, such as Praeneste, there were special annual *curatores* to administer the communal gladiatorial games or moneys bequeathed for the purpose. Such games were subject to legal restrictions, relaxations of which had to be sought from the Senate or the Emperor. Besides textual information, various monuments, and the ruins of amphitheatres in various provinces give some indication of the extent of the games.

Italy was the most prolific in these games, and still exhibits most ruins of amphitheatres. No town, however small, had not a periodical show of prize-fighters or wild swine and bear-baiting, and the larger the town, the larger its expenditure on popular amusements, on a scale we should consider extravagant. Law restricted the outlay to a reasonable sum (e.g., at Urso to 14,000 sesterces or £152 10s.), but custom and public opinion no doubt exacted much more from the officials. At Urso the whole of the games were to last three or four days, but there is evidence to show that in Italian cities gladiatorial games and *venationes* by themselves lasted three or four days. Bulls, stags, hares, wild swine and bears were common enough in the Apennines, and were often hunted; but they also had leopards, panthers and ostriches (called popularly 'oversea sparrows'); and, according to Pliny, in the municipia the *bestiarii* fought in silver armour; this had been one of Caesar's extravagances in Rome one hundred years before. In the smaller or poorer towns three or four pairs fought; in the larger, ten, twenty or thirty. At Pompeii Aulus Clodius Flaccus in his second duumvirate (the highest municipal office)

exhibited thirty pairs of athletes, and five of gladiators on his own account, and, with his colleagues, thirty-five pairs of gladiators, bull-fights, and a chase of boars, bears, and other animals. Further the advertisements of Pompeii tell of five *honoratiores* as institutors of gladiatorial games. One Numerius Festius Ampliatus and his troop is announced as 'the desire of the world'; he appeared there, and probably was an itinerant contractor. In Petronius' romance, Trimalchio's guests converse of a recent combat given by one of the *honoratiores* and of a pending three days' one. In Tiberius' reign the people at Pollentia forcibly prevented the burial of a *primipilaris* until they had extorted money from the heirs for a gladiatorial contest. Martial jibes at a shoemaker at Bononia who gave one, and a fuller at Mutina, and asks where a tavern-keeper is to give one next. In one Italian city a *honorator* who had held the highest city offices, was honoured with a statue on a chariot, for his generosity in general and particularly for having given eight gladiatorial contests, and Floral games besides, by imperial permission; at the solemn dedication of it, his son, in his father's presence, exhibited thirty pairs of gladiators, and a *venatio*. At Allifae a 'citizen of splendid generosity', when made *duumvir*, gave games of thirty pairs of gladiators, and a *venatio* of African animals, and, during his official year, received a contribution of 13,000 sesterces from the city, gave 'complete' *venationes*, a combat of twenty-one gladiators, and, one year later, theatrical plays at his own expense. Similar facts are often recorded, graven on the pedestals of statues, monuments, and grave-stones, so as to perpetuate the generosity of the giver of the festival; inscriptions show how individuals and municipalities vied in shedding glory on their native city on such occasions. The more murderous, the more splendid they were deemed. On the pedestal of a statue erected in 249 A.D., to a citizen who had held every office, and given magnificent spectacles, we read: 'At Minturnae he let eleven pairs appear and fight, until eleven of Campania's best gladiators remained on the field; he also had ten wild bears hunted to death, as you, noble burgesses, well know'. And on the tombstone of one of the highest civic officials of Peltuinum, his giving a 'three days' gladiatorial fight and four criminals' is recorded, the execution of the latter being regarded as a choice extra. Very

probably, providers of festivals requested the corporations to provide criminals for their gladiators or animals.

In the provinces the amphitheatre was most splendid at the capitals, and organized by the provincial priests who held office for one year, and were, in many respects, the most prominent men. Often, it is clear, they owned their own bands of gladiators, which regularly passed on to their successors. After Italy, Gaul and North Africa possess most amphitheatres; and these two provinces and Spain favoured the sport more than any others. The oldest evidence of the existence of Arles (Arelate) is a gladiatorial token of 63 B.C.; hence, long before Roman literature mentions the town (in Caesar) there were combats there. An inscription at Jérez de la Frontera records a spectacle with twenty pairs of fighters given by an official in honour of the Emperor. In the North there are hardly any stone amphitheatres, and the combats must have been rarer, but only because the poverty and rudeness of the inhabitants, the sparse population and the isolation of the Roman towns hindered the spread of Roman influence.

In Greece, superior civilization at least caused less general acceptance of armed combats than elsewhere; yet even there they proved irresistible. The first proof of this is when King Antiochus Epiphanes gave gladiatorial games for the first time in Syria, and perhaps in Greece. The first impression was disgust, but repetition changed the feeling into approval; at first he only allowed fights up to the point of wounding; later, up to the death of one combatant. Then volunteers engaged themselves for trifling pay. And the close association of Rome with Greece after the conquest rendered easier the introduction of this and other Roman customs into Greece, the centre being Caesar's Roman colony of Corinth. For Corinth was non-Greek in character, and a wealthy port with a large corrupted mob; hence, the games would there be popular, and it is the only town in Greece where (before the second century) an amphitheatre can be traced; its ruins still exist. Athens, too, for jealousy of Corinth, followed suit; and, at the end of the first century, there were only a few places, such as Rhodes, which had not seen gladiators. Plutarch recommends the governors of towns to abolish gladiatorial combats, or, at least, to limit and hamper the demand.

But his complaints of the uneducated rich, who did not disdain even this mode of corrupting the people and gaining honour, shows his counsel to have been a counsel of despair. *Venationes* found an easier introduction, especially as bull-fights were already common. 'Any one who would gain popular favour', says Dio of Prusa, 'must get not only jugglers, actors and athletes, but a wild lion or a hundred bulls, or even, should he desire to please the mob, the unspeakable thing' (gladiators). Hadrian at one spectacle in the Athenian *stadium* had a hundred animals hunted. But, in Greece, only the scum of the people liked the gruesome pleasure; the educated unanimously condemned. Like Plutarch, Dio of Prusa and Lucian express abhorrence of the gladiatorial combats, as barbarous, brutish, murderous, and injurious, as depriving the country of its bravest. A Neo-Pythagorean, a zealot against meat, says that the degeneration of taste infected the other senses, and the eye no longer took pleasure in dances, pictures and statues, but in death and wounds and fights as the most precious spectacle. Demonax, the philosopher, advised the Athenians, before introducing it, to demolish the altar of pity. Julian forbade priests to frequent the theatre and considered they and their sons should abstain from the *venationes*.

Gladiatorial combats found their way far more easily into Asia Minor with its mixed half-Asiatic population, and all the East, except Palestine. In Asia Minor Strabo knew of an amphitheatre at Nysa in Caria, and one at Laodicea on the Lycus was built in 79. Alexandria had one under Augustus.

(d) In all parts of the Roman Empire ruins of amphitheatres are found, the most and largest in Italy and Southern France, the fewest in Greece and the Eastern provinces. Their preservation varies with their history. Some fell into disuse in antiquity, after the gladiatorial games ceased, and their masonry was used for other buildings, as at Verona under Gallienus, and in Catania under Theodoric, with his express permission. This manner of destruction lasted all through the Middle Ages and modern times, and accounts for the practical demolition of the greater number. Often, too, in wars and feuds, and in the stormy centuries of the early Middle Ages, they were turned into fortresses, especially by the Arabs.

The defenders fortified them with moats and towers, and rams thundered and arrows and firebrands were directed against the arched entrances, through which surged the gaily-clad crowds of old. Or, in times of peace, poverty crouched by the ancient walls and worked fresh destruction. In many places they became the resorts of prostitution, and in the mouldering arches the dregs of men found clandestine means of crime. Or treasure-seekers dug up the refuse, in the hope of unearthing the remains of ancient wealth; and magicians found a fit place for their craft in the gruesome ruins. Now and again the arena was used for tourneys and ordeals. Or elsewhere the bloodstained ground was ploughed over and the vine and the olive luxuriated on the walls. And new traditions of these ancient sites arose, and peopled them with ghosts and spirits: they were called fairy grottoes. At Pola the amphitheatre is perfect without, and within a ruin; it was said to be the work of a fairy who was to build a palace in one night, and was interrupted at cock-crow. At Bordeaux and Poitiers the amphitheatres are called *palais Gallienne* after a Moorish Princess Galiana, loved (according to an old Spanish legend) by Charlemagne: for her sake he disguised himself and went to Toledo, and overcame his rival at the tourney. An old well near the Tagus is still called *el palacio de Galiana*. Learned tradition connected it with the Emperor Gallienus.

The history of some of these ruins may be traced in outline. When the Franks under Chlodwig in 508 invaded Southern France, the Goths fortified the amphitheatre at Nîmes; dug a deep moat round it, erected two square towers, which were not pulled down till 1809, and quarters for the garrison inside; henceforth it was called *castrum arenarum*. From 720-737 it was a fortress of the Saracens, who were driven out by Charles Martel after a brave resistance. His attempt to burn it down failed. The amphitheatre remained a fortress down to the end of the fourteenth century, and was held by a kind of knightly order, the *milites castri arenarum*. Then, in time, it became the habitation of the poor, its interior filled with hovels, and was for several centuries a *quartier des arènes* with a population of 2,000, who spoke a dialect of their own. In 1533 Francis I visited Nîmes, and was amazed at the remains of antiquity. He knelt down to

decipher the inscriptions, and rubbed off the dust with his handkerchief. The city presented him with a silver model of the amphitheatre, but did not carry out his order to destroy the hovels. In 1809 the arena was cleared. Now the equestrian sports, wrestling-bouts and bull-fights, so popular at Nîmes, are held in it, and it can still seat 15,000. The neighbouring amphitheatre of Arles fared similarly; Henry IV had designed its clearing and the erection of an obelisk found in the bed of the Rhône.

At Fréjus the Saracens who were invading and plundering Provence built a fortified camp in the amphitheatre. The population had left the town after its utter destruction, but gradually came back at the request of the bishops, who administered the Church from the seventh century; the new town was fortified in the tenth century by Bishop Riculph out of dread of the barbarians. The materials were taken from the amphitheatre, which was also destroyed, so as not to afford the Saracens any point of vantage. Thus it became a complete ruin. When Charles V was threatening a siege of Fréjus, (which he did not carry out), the destruction of what still stood erect was part of the scheme of defence. In 1828 it was excavated.

The amphitheatre at Verona was first destroyed in ancient times; some of its stones can be seen in the wall hurriedly erected in defence, when, under Gallienus, a barbarian invasion was apprehended. A description of the town in King Pepin's day calls it the 'labyrinth, out of which one could only find the way with a lamp, or thread'; and Bishop Rather, the 'circus, named the arena'. At this time (tenth century) and later it was used as a fortress, and later for legal and other duels. In 1263 some Visconti had the right to an impost of twenty-five *lire* on every duel fought there, in return for which they kept the ring clear with armed men. In the time of the Scaligers and at other times, great men were beheaded in it. During the fifteenth century it was the home of prostitutes, who paid the city a tax for it. As in all cities where there were amphitheatres, its stones had been removed for building material; but Verona is distinguished by her early care for its preservation. In a Statute of 1228 the *podestà* promises to pay from the communal purse 500 *lire* in his first half year of office for the restoration of the

arena, a large sum in those days ; a second Statute, before 1376, orders the arena to be locked and the keys kept by the community, as many crimes was committed in it ; any damage to the walls or pollution of the building was to be punished. In 1474 a Statute forbids the removal of stones and steps. But most of the latter had already vanished ; in 1480 a poet calls it *gradibus vacua*. In the sixteenth century the restoration began. After 1545 a citizen was periodically elected to supervise the preservation of the ruins ; in 1568 money was collected for the restoration of the steps ; in 1579 a tax to be raised every fourth year was introduced to provide for restoration, and a quarter of the fines were also to be devoted to this end. Similar resolutions were frequently passed by the Councils of the Twelve and the Fifty. In the seventeenth century two *Presidenti dell' Arena* were nominated. Often, as in 1622 and 1654, tourneys were held in it ; as also in the sixteenth century and earlier, e.g., in 1222. In 1716 a tilt at the ring took place in honour of the Elector of Bavaria. Marchese Maffei, the author of the history of his native city, from which we quote, at the end of his book beseeches the noble youth of Verona to use this unique amphitheatre from time to time to exhibit their courage. When Napoleon visited the town in 1805, a dog and bull-fight was performed in the amphitheatre, and 40,000 voices greeted him, a striking incident at such a place. At the Congress of 1820 fireworks or races were held there and the 'police drove up the neighbouring population to fill the huge circle and duly honour the guests'.

But the greatest of these ruins is the Colosseum. Avarice and fanaticism soon stripped it of its decorations, but its walls survived the Empire in their entirety for many a century, and in the eighth century evoked this cry of admiration : 'As long as the Coliseum stands, Rome will stand ; when it falls, Rome will fall ; when Rome falls, the world will fall'. In 1084 the first destruction began, when Robert Guiscard devastated the town between Mons Caelius and the Capitol ; internal feuds produced further destruction, when it became in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the fortress of the Frangipani, the leading family of the *regione di Colosseo*, one of the thirteen divisions of Rome. In 1244 Frederick II forced them to resign part to the Annibaldi, who gave refuge to Conradin

in 1268 after the battle of Tagliacozzo. In the beginning of the fourteenth century it came into the power of the People and Senate of Rome, who on September 3, 1332, held a great bull-fight in it. All the barons of the neighbourhood were invited; three noble ladies had the duty of assigning the ladies of the city their places; the names of the fighters, taken by lot, were announced, as well as their colours and mottoes. Eighteen of them remained on the field, nine were wounded, and eleven bulls killed; the bodies of the Paladins who fell were buried with great pomp, attended by the thronged people, in Santa Maria Maggiore and San Giovanni del Laterano. In 1381 the Senate and People presented a third of the Colosseum to the Fraternity of the Chapel of the Sancta Sanctorum, in return for their work in restoring order in that region; for the ruin had become a mere robbers' den. The Brotherhood walled up some of the upper arches, and thus made some corridors for a hospital, afterwards united with the Lateran hospital. Native and foreign pilgrims flocked in to kiss the soil of so many martyrdoms, and, out of their alms, a chapel was built on the height of the ancient *podium* and a hermit's dwelling erected beside; above the Chapel was built a walled-in stage, on which every Good Friday a Passion Play was performed, which is mentioned in many documents of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; under Pius III it was discontinued. Meanwhile the amphitheatre was being steadily stripped for building purposes. At the beginning of the fifteenth century Poggio complained that 'Roman stupidity' had reduced the remains of the Colosseum to ashes. Paul II used the squares of travertine to build the palace of San Marco di Venezia, and Cardinal Riario for the Cancelleria built by Bramante, and Paul III for the Palazzo Farnese. Sixtus V designed erecting a cloth fabric in the Colosseum and workmen's dwellings, but died before carrying out his plan. A concession for holding bull-fights in it was given in 1671 to two competitors for two years; but no one availed himself of it. In the Jubilee of 1675, to prevent further misuse and profanation, the entrance arches were bricked up. In 1727 we read of a licence to the hermit to sell the grass that grew in it. But all measures for its security failed, until Benedict XIV was induced by a murderous assault on the hermit in 1741 to make ampler provision for its preservation. Under

Pius VII restoration began, which, unfortunately, has proceeded with the usual Italian disregard of the style and character of the original.

In 1864 the Colosseum was no longer the building that evoked for Byron the ghosts of the dead who drenched the ground with their blood, flitting about in the moon-lit ruins. The luxuriant greenery on the walls had disappeared, and the modern brick was in staring contrast with the ancient travertine squares. On the top of the walls there were telegraph-wires; and a French sentry stood at the entrance. Two afternoons in every week a Capucine monk preached in the arena to an audience of devout women of the lowest classes, and the walls then re-echoed once more with songs of praise and penance.

III. THE THEATRE

The theatre, the least costly and troublesome of the spectacles, was the most frequent and the least appreciated. From the beginning of the Empire Rome had three permanent theatres, which all together did not seat as many as the amphitheatre. Probably plays were performed in all three at once only very exceptionally; usually the theatre of Pompey sufficed. What with the powerful excitement of circus and arena, the stage could only draw its audience by ignoble means, rough jokes and sensual by-play: thus, far from counteracting the corrupting influences of circus and arena, it heightened them.

Of the types of drama then existing, under the Empire the two lowest prevailed, the *atellana* and the *mimus*. The *atellana* was a sort of Punch and Judy show; it originated in Campania, where it still flourishes, but was early transplanted to Rome: from an improvisation, in Sulla's time it had become literary. A short piece generally in one act was performed by four stock figures or masks, the prototypes of the modern Italian comedy of character. These were Pappus the dotard, now the pantaloon; Dossennus the wise man, now the *dottore*, a schoolmaster or soothsayer; and the glutton and the booby, Bucco and Maccus. Many titles of *atellanae* have come down from earlier times, which indicate the subjects treated: probably the subjects remained the same under the Empire.

There were also travesties of myths, e.g. ; the stories of Pen-theus, or the supposititious Agamemnon. Or nationalities were brought on the stage, such as 'the Campanians', 'the Trans-alpine Gauls', 'the soldiers of Pometia', and the city was no doubt much tickled by provincial speech and manners. Still more subjects were drawn from rural life, e.g., 'The Kid, the Sick Boar, the Boar in Health, the Cow, the Poultry-yard, the Vintagers, the Woodcutters'; or the occupations of town, e.g., 'fishermen, painters, criers', and above all the fullers, who played a large part on the Roman stage. Other titles give the four actors in various comic situations, e.g., 'the two Macci; Maccus as an old maid, as a soldier, as a publican, in exile; the two Dossenni, Pappus the farmer, Pappus' bride; Bucco in the gladiatorial school'. Ghosts often appeared as well. This popular comedy was grotesque, full of broad humour and indecent references.

The mime was a loosely constructed character-sketch of common life, as short as the *atellanae*, but without its stock types. Like the *atellana* it was used as an interlude or after-piece to other plays, and was, in Cicero's time, the more popular; under the Empire the mime is more often specifically mentioned; it was the longest lived species of drama, and survived the Empire of the west, and in the East, in the time of Justinian, had full sway of the stage, as tragedy, music and juggling wearied the public. Surviving titles indicate the same subjects as those of the *atellanae*, but they were drawn from town rather than country life, especially that of the lower classes and artisans; they also represented scenes from foreign life, and, occasionally, mythological incidents. Lentulus and Hostilius' mimes, according to Tertullian, ridiculed the gods; made Anubis an adulterer, and Luna a man; whipped Diana off the stage, read the will of Jupiter deceased, or quizzed the three famishing Hercules. 'Anubis as adulterer' possibly referred to the seduction, in Tiberius' reign, of a noble lady, by a lover in the disguise of Anubis, or something similar. In a mime played on the day of the murder of Caligula, the crucifixion of the famous brigand Laureolus was acted, the flow of blood imitated, and scoffed at by bystanders. In another mime performed in the theatre of Marcellus in the presence of Vespasian, a dog played the principal part, took a narcotic, and slept and awoke regularly, to the general

astonishment. Plays with motives of pettifoggery and demagoguery were often represented, but adultery and love affairs were the principal themes. The surprised lover escaped the husband by being trundled away in a box; the husband sent his pretty wife to a dangerous enemy, to purchase safety by her charms, and so forth. Or Fate proved miraculously generous or just, as in modern farces; beggars were suddenly enriched, and rich men, forced to flee, ran across the stage with their cloaks round their head, except their ears, with which they anxiously listened for their pursuers. Abuse and blows, and resounding slap on the ears of fat-cheeked boobies (*stupidi*) were regular incidents of the horse-play. The language was full of vulgar turns of expression, and the humour coarse, with an abundance of grimaces, scurrilous gestures, and, above all, grotesque dances to the flute. Under the Empire mimes borrowed from the ousted comedies a larger number of actors, and sustained action. But, as before, pieces with easy *dénouements* were common; to terminate the piece, one character, e.g., the detected lover, ran away, the music stopped, and a dance marked the end. The scenery was very simple. The mimes acted in the front of the stage, without the buskin of comedy or mask, in a motley harlequin's dress, with a mantle flung over it; a curtain cut off the back of the stage. Next to the principal actor, on whom the success of the farce depended, ranked the character of the booby or the parasite, distinguished by fat cheeks, bald head, and probably a special costume.

The mime was the most frankly outrageous of the farces in immorality and obscenity. During the Republic this licence was excused by the character of the Games of Flora, at which they were mostly performed; later, this excuse failed them. In the mimes, and nowhere else, female parts were played by women, who would dance at the request of the audience, throwing off their upper garments, and appearing almost naked. Ovid quite rightly objected to his poems being called immoral, when emperor and senate, women, girls, even children went to see mimes, where the one theme was the cuckold, and where eye and ear alike saw and heard indecencies. And the lewdest scenes were the most applauded, and the best paid by the praetors. Martial, too, said that women who went to the mimes need not object to his most

indecent verse : in his eighth book, which was dedicated to the emperor, he restrained his 'mimic licence of speech'. Hence the Christian pulpit unsparingly denounced—probably ineffectively—visits to the theatre. Salvianus asks his Christian readers on their conscience, if, on one and the same day, there be a church festival and a theatrical performance, how many Christians prefer the words of Christ to those of the mime ; and yet, the theatre taints the soul, the eye and the ear with unspeakable presentations of immorality. A proof of this licence is afforded in Aelian's characterizing a courtesan of the lowest kind as 'less restrained than an actress in the mimes'. And Procopius' accounts of Theodora's mimic performances give the same impression, if she, who was afterwards Empress of Christian Byzantium, out-shamed the most shameless of Roman dancers. Further, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, female dancers not infrequently performed on the stage and elsewhere absolutely naked.

A speech in defence of the mimes, composed by Choricus, a rhetor under Justinian, shows that in the Eastern Empire of that date, the subject and manner of these farces were essentially the same as they had been in the west. There were scenes of adultery, in which the husband ordered a slave to bring him a sword to kill the adulterer, and then decided it was better to prosecute ; or scenes of sodomy, frequently enacted. The indecent songs in these plays were set to easy melodies and heard in every street. Representations of the Trojan War, of fights between Trojans and Myrmidons, must have been travesties. In the mimes the most various personages were represented, masters, slaves, pedlars, sausage-sellers, cooks, hosts, guests, people in commercial relations, stammering children, lovers, hot-tempered young men, and others who appeased them. Some pieces were sensible throughout ; husbands were made to incite their wives to continence and good fame, or good and bad soldiers or rhetors were opposed, and the bad ones hissed, the good applauded. The mimes had to have good voices, to know how to dance and look bewitching. Further, the shaven heads of boobies and parasites were regular features, and resounding boxes on the ear were lavishly distributed.

Mimes and *atellanae* were liberally used in Rome for allusions to public affairs and to the Emperors even. Actors and

public came to an understanding ; significant passages relating to the present were accentuated, so that there could be no mistake about the meaning ; improvisations and gags were inserted, and the certainty of a clamorous reception made actors, and poets even, careless of the risk. But, generally, the emperors found it best to wink at such allusions as far as possible. Julius Caesar even had to tolerate an allusion of Laberius, the writer and actor of mimes, to his *coup d'état* ; after his murder, Cicero asked Atticus to report to him the gibes of the mimes and the reception they met with. Once a mime was being performed in Augustus' presence, and the words 'Oh the good and gentle master' were recited ; a general burst of applause broke out to interpret the words as an appreciation of the emperor ; Augustus received the outburst in stern silence, and on the following day rebuked such flattery by a sharply worded edict. On another occasion, the audience interpreted an inoffensive verse as an allusion to Augustus' effeminacy. During Tiberius' residence at Capri, a passage in an *atellana*, hinting at his debauchery, was received with wild applause. In 22 or 23 A.D., some years before his leaving Rome, Tiberius was induced by the reports of some praetors as to the impudence of the actors, to address to the Senate an intimation they must proceed against the *atellanae*, as the frivolity of the entertainment surpassed the bounds of decency. How this was effected there is no record ; historians only mention the banishment of the pantomimes for quite different reasons. Caligula had one composer of *atellanae* burnt alive in the arena for a jest that might have been intended to reflect upon him. After Nero's murder of his mother, one *atellana* actor, Datus, accompanied the words 'Hail, Father, Hail, Mother' with the gestures of a man drinking and swimming, hinting at the poisoning of Claudius and the drowning of Agrippina : Nero was content with banishing him from Italy. Galba was reputed harsh and avaricious ; when he entered Rome as Emperor, at the next *atellana*, a well-known choral song was sung, in which the family complained of the return of the old master from the country ; the audience joined in and repeated the verse several times. At this epoch this stage licence seemed compatible even with a solemn funeral. At Vespasian's obsequies, the *archimimus* Favor acted Vespasian, and endeavoured to

reproduce his character and language ; he was asked what the funeral cost, and answered : ' ten million sesterces, but give me 100,000, and then, if you like, throw me into the Tiber '. Helvidius Priscus the younger was executed by Domitian for turning his *atellana* Paris and Oenone into a satire on the emperor's divorce. Marullus, a writer of mimes, might freely scoff at Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus on the stage, and unmistakable references were made in mimes to the well-known amours of Faustina and the disgraceful life of Commodus ; the Emperor Maximinus, who knew no Greek, was publicly insulted in his presence in that language. In the Eastern Empire mimes enjoyed the same licence. Choricus states they freely criticised high officials and the emperors even, and effected, if not the removal of grievances, at least their attempted concealment. Further mimes on the stage not infrequently mimicked great personages. Seneca says of one Hostius Quadra, that he was a man of incessant lewdness on the stage. Vitalis, the mime, says on his gravestone : ' Any one I represented shivered, as though at his double ; and many women whom I imitated on the stage blushed and were overcome with confusion '.

The masses then were satisfied with these farces, but the cultured, who desired an artistic drama, were too few to maintain it, since it did not attract the ruder elements. Petronius' Trimalchio says he has bought a troop of comedians, but prefers they should play *atellanae*. Prolific writers of tragedy and comedy (which, at their best, were mere imitations of Greek models) had long ceased to exist : a few stragglers survived to the end of the first century. The last writer of artistic dramas, known to have had his plays acted, was Lucius Pomponius Bassus, the consular, under Claudius ; most of the dramas were only intended for the study or *salon*. New mimes were written down to the end of the Empire, on ephemeral topics. The statement that Genesius (who was afterwards martyred) played in a mime under Diocletian, and ridiculed Christian baptism, is quite credible. And what demand there was for artistic drama was fully met by the ancient tragedies and comedies, in more or less modernized forms.

The only Roman comedy (*togata*) recorded as acted under the Empire is Afranius' *Fire* (Incendium) ; it was played at

a great festival given by Nero, and the actors were allowed the plunder of the real house which was burnt on the stage. Probably this style of comedy remained on the boards. Of artistic dramas, however, the New Comedy of the Greeks (represented chiefly by Menander, and imitated by Plautus and Terence) retained the firmest hold on popular favour. In Rome, in Italy and the provinces, the stock figures of travestied gods, doddering kindly fathers, mawkish sons, cunning slaves, braggarts, whores, etc., delighted audiences for centuries. To keep interest alive in these well-worn plays, known to most of the spectators, at least at Rome, good acting must have been essential. A comedian's training was at the end of the first century, and probably later, a strict tradition, and rhetoricians recommended their pupils to learn their correctness of expression, apt delivery, modulation of the voice, deportment, and the play of eye and hand. One of Marcus Aurelius' first teachers was Geminus, the comedian, and, probably, an all-round education included elocution lessons from a comedian. The studied elegance, which the Ciceronian epoch admired in Roscius, had become old-fashioned and ridiculous a century later: 'a sombre, undecorated piece of antiquity', says Tacitus, 'would have been as intolerable to the audience at judicial proceedings, as the gestures of a Roscius or Ambivius Turpio on the stage'. Acting had become more realistic, but still less so than on the contemporary German stage. Actors took their parts seriously: Quintilian often saw them leave the stage weeping after an affecting scene. The manner of declamation approximated to everyday speech, but was no mere copy; it added style and nobility. Gestures followed an exact school; Quintilian's precise precepts for an orator's gesticulations imply similar conventions for the stage on a larger and sharper scale. The pace of walking was to follow the nature of the rôle, to be slower for youths, old men, soldiers and married women, and quicker for slaves, maid-servants, parasites and fishermen.

In the time of Juvenal and Quintilian the great comedians on the Roman stage were Greeks; Juvenal calls them born actors; Demetrius and Stratocles were the most famous. Quintilian's sketch of both shows how sharply the line was drawn between the licit and illicit, and how keenly any transgression was felt. Demetrius had a splendid voice, great

beauty and a fine figure, and played quiet parts best, such as gods, youths, fathers, wives, and respectable old ladies ; in passionate gesture, prolonged and harmonious exclamations he was unrivalled ; as also in his skill in inflating his garments by respiration as he walked, and his movements on his right side. Stratocles had a sharper voice, possessed great vivacity and adaptability, could venture on a laugh, out of harmony with his mask, or even shrug his shoulders. He was best as decrepit old men, rascally slaves, parasites and pandars. Both actors allowed themselves to break the rules, not out of ignorance, but in complaisance with popular taste. Further, the best effects of the one would be frightful in the other. Juvenal, besides these two, names Antiochus, and Haemus for his adaptability, as great artists, and mentions as perfect performances the three female characters of the *palliata*—the matron, the courtesan, and the maiden.

Far more than comedy, tragedy found an audience among the educated minority. The nerves of the mass were attuned to the arena, and unaffected even by the most horrid realism. The mimicry of the stage could not affect them, and ideal figures were meaningless shadows ; how should they care for Hecuba ? But, even in cultured circles, they were few who did not prefer the merry scenes of Plautus, which all seemed drawn from their own actuality, to the fates of the rulers and heroes of primitive Greece. Besides, the costumes made tragedians look like ghosts from a dead world ; strange figures in *cothurni*, as though on stilts, padded out, and wrapped in long trailing garments, with lofty wigs, with masks with mouths big enough to swallow the audience : they must have seemed ugly or laughable. Philostratus says that at one town in Baetica the inhabitants had never seen a tragedian ; the first one they saw frightened them out of the theatre. Even in the late Republic, magnificence of scenery had become the best or the only means of keeping public attention in a tragedy. Military evolutions of great companies of foot and horse, huge processions, triumphal or otherwise, with all sorts of costly foreign garbs and exhibitions, such as ships, chariots, booty of war, giraffes and white elephants even—the piece lasted four hours or more in consequence—such were the devices that constituted the chief attraction of tragedy, even in the time of Horace. ‘Even among the knights’,

he says, 'the delight of the ear has degenerated into mere cozening of the eye'. Those who enjoyed an artistic production, came to see, not the play, but the *mise-en-scène*, not the poet, but the actor. Hence dramatic interest lapsed; tragedy was dissolved into a succession of single effective scenes, in which the actors could best exhibit their skill, and the development of the drama was sacrificed, as a matter of indifference to the spectators. True, perfect tragedies, in abridgment, were still acted at Rome and in the provinces (especially the Greek ones), but probably only until the second century, when tragedy was replaced by choric scenes and pantomimic dances.

For music and dancing had of old been essential parts of the stage, Greek or Roman. Pure opera, without any spoken parts, was unknown to antiquity, for iambic dialogue was always spoken. But the composer had almost as large a share as the poet for a great part of the drama. In the dialogue the actor welded together elocution and gesture, but in lyrical monologue, gesture became dance, and elocution song. Hence, either one mode of expression had to be abandoned, or two exponents called into play. In fact, two different artists performed; this proves, better than aught else, how little ancient drama strove after, and how little ancient audiences desired, illusion; the stage never permitted of any false idea that anything real was in progress. The stage, of set purpose, rejected realism; the acting was to be understood and criticised only as a product of art, which not only had no reality, but excluded any notion of it. Certainly, tragedians must always have been skilled singers, and often, if not mostly, have kept their vocal parts, but it also often happened that they played their parts in unspoken pantomimic dance, whilst a singer stood quietly by and spoke the words which should have been theirs. This strange separation of elocution and action seemed quite natural; in Pliny's time poets had their works recited before a large audience by men with a better voice, and accompanied them by 'play of countenance, gesture, and murmurs of applause'.

This severance of song and dance on the stage heralded the dissolution of tragedy into its elements. By the decay of feeling for drama, and the greater appreciation for dance and song, the process was completed; at the close of the

Republic, performances of vocalists, dancers with a flute accompaniment, were given as complete in themselves. At this point only those pieces will be considered which retain some vestige of the dramatic, namely, the pantomimes, and tragedians' recitations, of which the former was connected and self-complete, the latter rhapsodical. We know little of these tragic performances, as they never even approximately had the vogue of the pantomimes on the public stage.

Tragedians, as in the real drama, appeared in masks and full costume. But they practically confined themselves to song, with some action, which, however, remained a secondary feature, unless a full performance were given with a second actor. It is absolutely uncertain, whether this actor, who is sometimes mentioned, stood beside the vocalist; whether the soloists had a choir to accompany them; whether the same tragedian played several parts in succession; whether, and how, the various solos were linked together; whether *mutae personae* completed the representation; whether, and how, spoken dialogues went with the solos. This much only is clear, that the tragedians' solos were the kernel of the performance, and monopolized public attention. This was the drama Nero loved to appear in, relying on his imagined skill as a vocalist. He sang, according to Suetonius, tragic scenes in masks, which, if male, and representing gods and heroes, were made like him, and if female, for goddesses and heroines, like his lady-loves. He sang as *Canace parturiens*, Orestes the matricide, Oedipus blinded, and Hercules mad. It is said that a young soldier, who was standing sentry, whilst he was acting *Hercules Furens*, saw him dressing for the part and being fettered, and rushed in to set him free. It was also observed that, in his last public appearance as an actor, a very famous version of Oedipus in Exile, his song ended with the words: 'My wife, my father, and mother are driving me unto death'. The text is in Greek, and Roman tragedy may often have been in Greek; a foreign language in opera would not disturb the hearers, any more than modern Italian opera outside Italy. In fact, Greek and even other languages were heard on the Roman stage; Caesar and Augustus let 'actors in all languages' appear. At Nero's festival of the *Juvenalia* in 59, 'nobility nor age nor past offices excused any one from appearing as a Greek or Latin actor'. But it is not certain

whether entire Greek dramas were played, which is possible, or semi-dramatic, semi-musical recitals of Greek texts. Further, vocal recitals from tragedies subsisted down to the time of Justinian at least, when they wearied the audience. Choricus mentions scenes from the *Orestes* and the *Medea*, and says a good voice was of far more consequence in a tragedian than in a mime.

Pantomimic performances on the stage attained to far greater significance. Pantomimic action had long been regarded as a more important means of representation than recitation and song, for, in the drama, the actor, having to renounce either acting or singing, left the singing to the vocalist who did not act, and expressed the meaning of the poetry himself. As masks were worn, play of countenance had to be effected by action; and the use of gesture was ampler, finer, more cultivated and vivid than to-day, as numerous references prove, and the livelier gesticulations of Southerners. And in the cosmopolitan population of Rome, this form of language was universally comprehensible, and hence was favoured by the stage, which it soon monopolized.

Dramatic dance was developed into an independent art under Augustus about 22 B.C. by Pylades, the Cilician, and Bathyllus of Alexandria. Their most famous rivals were Nomius the Syrian, Hylas the Carian from Salmacis, Pierus of Tibur and one Gaius Theoros, who, in an inscription recently unearthed, is called 'the light and conqueror of the pantomimes, who enchanted even the God (the Emperor); how should men hesitate to follow the god?' This new specialization was restricted to tragedy; the pantomime replaced expiring tragedy, and comic pantomime fell into disuse. The practice was to link together the sensational moments in a series of lyrical solos, acted by a single pantomime, who acted several parts in succession, male and female, whilst the text was sung, not as in the drama by a single vocalist, but by a chorus. The text-books of pantomimes sometimes were original, but more often adaptations from Roman and Greek literature. Great poets even condescended to write such *fabulae salticae*; Lucan is said to have written fourteen. The pantomimes paid liberally for them. Statius received nothing but praise for his Thebaïs, but a large sum for selling an unknown text for an Agave to Paris, the celebrated dancer. Generally,

however, and probably rightly, such texts were regarded as worthless. Plutarch says that dancing was associated with second-rate poetry only, and therefore held sway in senseless, uncritical theatres, but was spurned by all intellectual and lofty-minded men. The subjects, being borrowed from tragedy, were nearly all mythological, very seldom historical. True, Lucian says the history of the world from the beginning down to the death of Cleopatra—a limit no poet under the Empire might transgress—was grist for the pantomime; but the tragedy of Polycrates and his daughter, and Seleucus' passion for Stratonice, his son's bride, are the only historical subjects he mentions, excepting the death of Cleopatra; no such subjects are mentioned elsewhere, whilst the number of the mythological known is very great. A few themes were taken from Roman legend, from Virgil a Turnus, in which Nero was to appear, and a Dido pantomime (also after Virgil), popular on the stage as late as Macrobius, and a few from Egypt, such as the story of Osiris, and the Transformation of the Gods; but Greece was the source of nearly all the legends, some of which may have been first dramatized in this form. Subjects of deep tragedy were utilized, such as Atreus and Thyestes, Ajax, and Hercules *furens*, Niobe, Hector. But the favourite selections were love-stories, some of doubtful morality, from the divine cycle, the adventures of Jupiter, Venus and Adonis, Venus and Mars enmeshed by Vulcan, Apollo and Daphne, and so forth; or from the heroic tales, Phaedra and Hippolytus, Meleager and Atalanta, Protesilaus and Laodamia, Jason and Medea, Achilles at Scyros, Achilles and Briseis, Ariadne at Naxos, Pasiphae, Cinyras and Myrrha; Cinyras and Myrrha was acted at the feast given by Caligula on the day of his murder, and the abundant blood that fell from the suicide hero was taken as an omen of the Emperor's fall. Such subjects, during the whole of the Empire, were acted by pantomimes on every stage, and drew the best audiences.

The *libretto* of pantomimes was derived from tragedy, or was in form tragic, but unity of place must have been preserved, and no change of scene made necessary; at least, there is no mention of such a change or other scenery, which must have been as simple as in tragedy. The choir, besides singing the text, may have sung in the intervals, as the performance, like the *récitative* in a modern oratorio, must have had some

continuous story, and thus the dancers would have had time to change mask and costume. Pylades in 22 B.C. introduced a chorus in the stead of the single tragic vocalist, and a rich orchestral accompaniment in place of the simple flutes. In reply to a question what his novelty consisted in, he quoted from Homer : ' Ἀὐλῶν συρίγγων τ' ἐνοπὴν ὁμαδὸν τ' ἀνθρώπων ' ('the sound of flutes and pipes and the turmoil of men'). In this orchestra there were flutes and *σύριγγες* and cymbals, *citharæ* and lyres, and time was kept by a *scabellum*, an instrument consisting of two plates bound together and attached to the sole of the foot, which were clanged together at the start. The music was of course also intended as a guide to the dancer's movements. This kind of music was no better than the usual texts; it was full of noise and trills, effeminate, undignified and unrestrained, intended to please the vulgar ear; and the more earnest connoisseurs thought the rule of the pantomime on the stage spelt the decay of music.

The increasing subordination of music and song to dance meant the increasing monopolization by the pantomime of all the interest. The dance might be made intelligible by the chorus, but the aim of the new kind of drama was to make dumb show self-sufficient, a task all the harder when a pantomime in the same piece had to play many various parts. He appeared, for instance, first as Athamas *furens*, and then as Ino the cowed; first as Atreus, and then as Thyestes, Aegisthus or Aërope, or as Bacchus, Cadmus, Pentheus, Agave, or as Hercules, Venus and Cybele in succession. He then had to act, so as to impress the imagination with an idea of the whole, and of the other characters, and their relations to the part he was playing; thus, whilst acting Achilles he had to suggest Paris, or Vulcan when acting Prometheus, or Jupiter, when portraying Ganymede. Demetrius, the Cynic philosopher, who lived under Nero, once spoke slightly of the pantomimes, as being ineffective without chorus and music, but the principal pantomime of Rome at that time, probably Paris, convinced him to the contrary, by dancing before him the adultery of Venus and Mars. His dumb show so effectually expressed the sun-god informing the deceived husband, the device of Vulcan and the invisible fetters, Venus' shame, Mars' entreaties, and all the other gods summoned by Vulcan, that the philosopher admiringly admitted his error. In the

Achilles at Scyros the artist acted the maidens spinning and weaving, Achilles in a woman's garb amongst them, made his audience see Odysseus enter, and hear Diomedes blow the trumpet, all unseen and unheard ; and in Achilles before the walls of Troy, made them see him hurling his lance in the turmoil, killing, fighting Hector and dragging his corpse, the fall of Troy, the death of Priam, the combats of Theseus, the labours of Hercules, and even the fight of the Centaurs and the Lapithae. 'A skilled actor', says Manilius, 'will dance every turn of fate into reality ; his gesticulation will follow the songs of the chorus ; and produce an illusion of seeing Troy and the fall of Priam'. Nonnus describes a contest in pantomimic dance between Bacchus' two companions, Silenus and Maro, and reproduces his impression of the stage. The subject of Silenus' dance is the contest between Aristaeus and Bacchus, to see which of them can provide the gods with the better liquor. Maro 'with silent hands' represents Ganymede handing the Gods nectar, and also Hebe 'in significant silence' filling the cups. Zeus is sitting as judge, Eros in the middle with the prizes, twigs of ivy and olive, in his hands. First, Aristaeus gives all the gods honey, but at the third cup they have had enough and refuse the fourth. Then Bacchus hands each of them a glass of wine, to Zeus first, then to Hera, then to Poseidon, and so to all in order ; all are exultant, except Apollo, the father of Aristaeus, who is depressed. And the more they drink, the more they ask for, and joyously award Bacchus the prize ; and Eros, half-drunk, crowns him with the vine-clad ivy. Cassiodorus, too, relates how the pantomime's hand expounds the song of the chorus for the eyes of the spectators, who can read the tale as if in writing. The same body can be Hercules and Venus, man and woman, a king or a soldier, a youth or an old man ; the actor seems to embody many persons at once.

Pantomimes regularly changed mask and costume for every new part in the same piece, except in one special branch of the art, the robe or cloak dance, in which every new rôle was signaled by a rearrangement of the same cloak, to represent, for example, 'a swan's tail, the hair of Venus Anadyomene, the scourge of a Fury', and so forth. This species of dance is very like the mimo-plastic acting of Mme. Händel-Schütz and of Emma Harte, the mistress of Hamilton, as described by

Goethe, and, probably, was a very exceptional exhibition of great skill.

Pantomimic art, capable of performing such tasks, is the more remarkable when we remember that the single dancer had no *mutae personae* beside him to represent other characters. But, had not ancient art and stage-craft made far greater demands on the spectator's imagination than the modern, such performances would have been incomprehensible. Further, under Augustus, occasionally two pantomimes appeared at once, each performing an independent part, but, whether this occurred on the stage is doubtful: at any rate, it is never again mentioned.

The pantomimic dance was not a dance in the modern acceptation; it consisted in expressive and rhythmic movements of head and hand, natural movements of the body, bendings and turns and even leaps. Nomius the Syrian, a rival of Pylades and Bathyllus, was censured for the slow movements of his hands, while his feet stirred too fast. Galen says that the strenuous exertions of dancers, the high leaps, quick turns, cowerings, and jerks, contraction and stretching out of the legs, like all violent exercise, strengthen the body. But such motions took place after the pantomimic dance proper, according to Nonnus, whose Silenus leaps up on one foot and then on both, stands on his right foot, and lifts his left up to his breast and shoulder, bends it round his back up to his neck, whirls round, bent over backwards, so fast that his head seems to circle on the ground. But this does not take place until he has concluded his clever pantomimic display with the hands.

This manual language, a common language, as Quintilian says, in the variety of human speech, evidently was richer in antiquity in significant and generally intelligible gestures than the gesticulations of modern Southerners. 'We admire professional dancers', says Seneca, 'because their hands represent every incident and feeling, and their gestures flow as fast as words'. Each new position of hand and finger expressed something fresh, and this 'eloquence of dance' was, no doubt, improved, refined and enlarged in the centuries of practice. Greek enthusiasts pretended that 'philosophic' dancers, Neopythagorean in their silence, were more eloquent than rhetors lecturing. But, of course, the hand was aided

by other supplementary movements. Mars, in Nonnus, dances 'eloquently silent with speechless hand : glancing on all sides ; weaving a picture of speeches with his artistic rhythms, swinging his head ; and he would shake his locks—were he not bald'. Thoughtful artists sought to express, through movement, the sense, rather than the words, and disdained to signify illness by feeling the pulse, or the *cithara* by a semblance of striking strings. Once Hylas, in a rehearsal, or at the school, expressed the words, 'Great Agamemnon' by standing tip-toe ; his teacher, Pylades, reproved him, for making him tall, and not great, and, whilst speaking, took up an attitude of contemplation. Throughout all ancient art tradition was far more constant than in modern times, and acted as a corrective against mistakes, and foolish attempts at originality ; and, in the pantomime, this same rule made acting easier to the artist, and to the onlooker, more intelligible. Lucian tells of one pantomime, who, when acting Kronos devouring his children, represented the banquet of Thyestes, and of another, who was performing the fiery death of Semele, but gave the idea of Glauke being consumed by Medea's venomous bridal dress. Such a confusion of rôles is unthinkable without a firm tradition for each part, and a quick perception of it by the audience. All descriptions confirm such a fine characterization in the better artists. Pylades was dissatisfied with one performance of the Blind Oedipus by Hylas, since he moved as though he saw. In affecting scenes pantomimes seemed to feel the sorrow of their characters and frequently moved the spectators to tears. 'Effeminate dancers', a Christian writer exclaims, 'inspire their simulated passion, cast aspersions on your gods, by representing them as lustful, sighing or full of hatred : their false pain and idle gestures call forth your tears'.

But, although the best actors owed their success to a representation achieved with much thought and grace and art, the charm they exercised on their audience was largely sensuous. Splendid bright garments with many folds, and a mask without the ugly tragic mouth-piece, enhanced the indispensable beauty of form ; according to Lucian, Polycletus' rule should be incarnate in the pantomime. The spectators never spared defects of outward appearance. A little dancer who was acting Hector at Antioch was asked : 'Where is Hector ? This

is Astyanax'; and a tall man preparing to scale the walls of Thebes as Capaneus was told, 'Climb over: you do not need a ladder'; a fat man, trying to do some high leaps, was told to 'spare the stage', and a lean man was wished better health. Antiquity required long curly locks in youthful beauty, and this was seldom absent. No doubt the art of the toilette was often called in to supplement Nature. Galen gives a recipe of a good depilatory, ascribed to Paris, a pantomime and favourite of Lucius Verus.

Incessant training and careful diet, especially abstention from rich food, secured the pantomimes full command of their bodies, and a pliability, elasticity and readiness, by means of which every movement could be graceful, elegant and effeminate. These qualities made them especially successful in feminine rôles, in which they almost lost their sex. Apuleius says of his step-son's father-in-law, whom he reproaches for vice and lust of all kinds, that he was so pliable in his youth, as a pantomime, that he seemed to have no thews and sinews, but his acting was untrained and inartistic. In the lewd scenes, which were the spice of this drama, seductive grace combined with luxury and shamelessness knew no limits. When Bathyllus, a beautiful boy, was dancing Leda, the most impudent actress of mimes felt like a mere country novice on seeing such mastership in the art of refined sensuality.

Pantomimes were generally accused of immorality and evil influence, and their most zealous protagonists could not rebut the imputation. Even young men naturally austere avoided them. Ummidia Quadratilla (who died in 107 A.D. almost eighty years old) owned pantomimes, in whom her interest was keener than it should have been in a lady of her rank. Her grandson, a severely moral young man, never saw them either on the stage or at her house. She sent him away when she wished to enjoy their performances, as much from respect as from affection for him, according to Pliny the Younger. It might have been presumed that the pantomimes essentially contributed to the demoralization of women, who were passionately addicted to the spectacles, even without Juvenal's lurid description. Julian, who abandoned the idea of the purification of theatrical performances as impossible, required the priests to abstain from seeing or receiving actors or pantomimes. Zosimus, one of the last heathen historians

of the Empire, read into Augustus' introduction of pantomimes, at the beginning of the monarchy, the beginning of a general moral decay of the world. St. Augustine, on the other hand, ascribes the invention of pantomimes to the far-seeing guile of the devils, who sent this more destructive plague, which they loved, into the world, to replace the Circus, when the world should grow weary of it.

There were two main classes of pantomime, ascribed to the two first artists, Bathyllus and Pylades. Pylades, who also wrote on his art, was the founder of tragic pantomime, Bathyllus introduced a simpler, merry species, allied to the burlesque *κόρδαξ* of the Greek and the older comedy: the subjects were lascivious travesties of the myths of the gods, as were found in the Old and the Middle Comedy, and also direct parodies of Tragedy. Echo, Pan, a Satyr inflamed by Eros were the favourite parts of Bathyllus, who had as little aptitude for the pathetic and solemn pantomimes of Pylades with their many characters, as Pylades had for lighter dance. As Bacchus, Pylades entranced the spectators most of all; he seemed, says a Greek poet, the god re-incarnate on earth; or, according to another writer, had Bathyllus then ascended to Olympus, Juno would have acknowledged him her son. As *Hercules Furens*, he is said to have exaggerated the madness of the hero. At Pompeii, there is an inscription of one of the highest officials, who was giving for a festival of Apollo, spectacles with every kind of music and recitations (*acroamata*) 'with all the pantomimes and Pylades': hence he seems to have toured through the cities of Italy, no doubt for a high fee. Both artists founded schools, and later exponents of the art took their names, a habit common among artists of the time. Bathyllus' school maintained its ground, as late as Plutarch at least, but was early thrust into the background by the followers of Pylades, who soon had absolute control of the stage: Lucian in his exhaustive essay *περὶ ὀρχήσεως* (On Dancing) only mentions the tragical variety.

The pantomime was not the only orchestral performance on the Roman stage. Not only songs occurring in tragedy were acted by pantomimes or accompanied by pantomimic dances, but other poems were also set to music, and the singers might be their own accompanists.* Ovid's poems were thus acted, though not intended for the theatre, and his exile was

cheered by news of the success of his poems danced on the stage : thus, to the irritation of more austere critics, panegyrics on the Emperors were sung on the stage to effeminate dances, and actors who aimed at a nerveless overdelicacy of expression, boasted that their speeches could be sung and danced. A kind of ballet, an interlude called *embolium*, was in whole or in part danced by women.

Besides the pantomime, only one other stage-dance is at all known, the Greek Pyrrhic. The name signifies a Doric war-dance, which survived late at Sparta : under the Empire there were several species of the Pyrrhic, of which the best was practised in Ionia and other provinces of Asia Minor, and there publicly performed at festivals by children of the noblest houses. Such boys were often summoned by the emperors to Rome, and, after their performance, granted the *civitas* : but slaves, and imperial slaves especially, were also trained in it. Possibly, there were Pyrrhics to be danced by boys only, and by boys and girls together ; the latter, probably, only by slaves or professional dancers. The Pyrrhic dancers appeared with wreaths, and in gorgeous gold-embroidered tunics, and purple or scarlet cloaks. New groupings, involutions and disentanglements followed one another ; they formed circles, rows, disorderly masses, and squares. There were also mock fights with wooden weapons between dancers of the two sexes, but chiefly dances of a Bacchic or similar nature. The dancers acted the parts of Titans, satyrs, corybants, shepherds, and as bacchantes brandished *thyrsi* and torches. These dances might easily be made dramatic, to represent the adventures of Dionysus in India or the story of Pentheus¹ : but other myths were also chosen, e.g., at one festival of Nero's the story of Pasiphae was performed in the amphitheatre as a Pyrrhic : on that occasion Icarus fell down from a flying-machine, and sprinkled Nero with his blood.

Apuleius, evidently as an eye-witness, describes such a mythological Pyrrhic at a festival in Roman Corinth : it seems very much like a modern ballet. It was preceded by a simple Pyrrhic. The staging consisted of a lofty wooden Mount Ida, planted with live trees and bushes, with descending streams ; and Paris, a beautiful boy in a barbaric dress and a golden tiara, is herding some goats. Mercury, a beautiful fair boy, with only a *chlamys* on, and staff and caduceus in hand, and

golden wings on his head, enters dancing, and hands Paris a golden apple, telling Jupiter's command by gestures. Then Juno steps in, a fine woman with diadem and sceptre, and Minerva rushes in after her, with a bright helmet, wreathed in olives, swinging her shield and lance ; and last, Venus, naked, save for a transparent blue silken pallium round her hips. Juno, who is attended by Castor and Pollux, first expresses by dance to the flutist's accompaniment her bribe of sovereignty over Asia. Minerva, attended by the daemons of terror and fear, who dance a sword dance naked, promises in wild rhythmic steps, set to a warlike Doric measure, a warrior's renown. Lastly Venus, amid loud applause, steps on to the middle of the stage, with a troop of Cupids with wings, bows, and torches, and of maidens who represent the Graces and the Hours. The flutes play a soft Lydian measure, to which Venus dances a seductive dance (' sometimes seeming to dance only with her eyes ') and promises Paris the fairest lady on earth. He hands her the golden apple : Juno and Minerva express anger and scorn as they go off, and Venus and her train perform a last triumphal dance. Then from the top of Ida a fountain of crocus and wine springs up high, fills the theatre with fragrance ; and the mountain sinks out of sight.

But the pantomime found more favour on the stage under the Empire than any other kind of dance or play. The extent to which it superseded all others, is shown in that the word *histrio* (' actor ') came to mean specially a dancer. Philostratus, writing under Commodus, says this was the usual form of play, eagerly visited by senators and knights. But this preference for the pantomimes is least marked at the bottom of the social scale. The lower classes enjoyed the coarse obscenities and farces of the mimes, which the lovers of pantomime despised. For pantomime demanded a certain measure of knowledge of mythology and a very great sensibility to the fine points of acting : and was best fitted to reanimate nerves exhausted with pleasure. In the higher society of Rome the passion for pantomime spread : Seneca the Elder speaks of this ' disease ' ; according to Tacitus it was one of the congenital evils of birth in Rome : women were the most subject to it. Public exhibitions were too few to satisfy its lovers ; and even in the Early Empire every great house included in its slaves and freedmen pantomimes and other stage-dancers

of both sexes ; and some female pantomimes were so much the favourites of their masters that they received a million sesterces as dowry.

In 15 A.D. the Senate decreed that pantomimes might only be seen publicly, but this soon became a dead letter : Domitian forbade a public appearance and expressly permitted their performances in private houses. Such a general infatuation necessarily led to dilettantism in dancing, however opposed to Roman ideas of decorum. Even in the late Republic, this dilettantism was so common that men of noble birth and high position were scoffed at for their love of dancing and their skill in it. Such were Cicero's friends, Marcus Caelius Rufus and Publius Licinius Crassus, the son of the triumvir, and his opponent Aulus Gabinius (consul in 58 B.C.) : Gabinius' house, says Cicero, re-echoed with cymbals and songs, and he even went so far as to dance before his guests without his upper garment. Lucius Afranius (consul in 60) is said to have been a better dancer than statesman. Under Augustus good dancing was essential in society, and the cultured in reality or semblance strove after proficiency in it. Ovid advises the lover at a feast, where he is with his lady, to dance with her, if his arms be flexible ; an importunate man, who is worrying Horace for an introduction to Maecenas, recommends himself as a good dancer. Manilius reckons a genius for dancing, the art of song and the lyre among the accomplishments of the merry spirits who prevail by grace and delicacy. Soon complaints arose that these unmanning and unseemly exercises injured the more serious studies of youth. Caligula's passion for dancing increased this dilettantism. Good teachers of dancing and music were in great request ; and, though they were mostly freedmen foreigners, under Augustus a Roman citizen for the first time gave instruction in dancing. Seneca says that the art of Pylades and Bathyllus found numerous teachers, and that nearly every private house had its stage, which echoed to the feet of men and women. And for subsequent times there are many proofs of the continuance of the passion : Lucian states that a dancing-master was a regular part of the personnel of a great house. And, although for eminent men to dance was always considered unsuitable and indecorous, some of the emperors even are said to have been skilled performers.

This lofty patronage by rank and rulers of stage-plays affected the social, if not the legal position of actors. Civil *infamia* was still the lot of all who performed in public for the amusement of the people, as it was of a soldier dismissed in disgrace, the pandar, the convicted thief, the swindler or calumniator. Diocletian apparently was the first to pronounce that minors who went on the stage should not become 'infamous'. Disability from any office attached to actors in the *municipia* and the provinces. With the son or daughter of an actor or actress the agnate grand-children and great-grand-children could not contract a valid marriage. A husband who detected an actor in his own house in adultery with his wife, might kill him legally, like his own slave or freedman. A soldier who went on the stage was punished capitally as though he had sold himself into slavery. Officials used to be entitled to flog actors arbitrarily: Augustus restricted the right to the time of duration of the plays and the limits of the theatre: and thus the law remained. Further, Augustus was relentless against actors who offended against morality. He had the comedian Stephanio whipped in three theatres at Rome and banished him, for having relations with a married woman, who had waited for him dressed as a boy with clipped hair. Hylas the pantomime was on a praetor's report publicly flogged in the *atrium* of his house; and even the famous Pylades was banished from Italy for pointing his finger at a spectator who hissed him.

Naturally, an infamous profession would generally be entered on only by slaves and freedmen, or free men from countries which did not feel the Roman prejudice, namely, Greeks, Asiatics and Egyptians, a circumstance which did not enhance an actor's reputation. Further, even in Greece, they were none too well spoken of. Gellius tells of a pupil of Taurus the philosopher, a rich young man, who liked the company of tragedians, comedians and flute-players, and notes for his Roman readers that these were free men. Taurus recommended him to cease this intercourse, to read an extract from Aristotle every day: for Aristotle ascribed the immorality of most Dionysian actors to the fact that their art withdrew them from philosophy, and that they alternated between misery and debauchery—both roads to ruin. At Rome, under the Empire, pantomimes, comedians, tragedians and actors were

part of a great household, singly or in troops : for a tragedy not only three actors were required, but *mutae personae* were also needed : hence Martial can speak of a troop of young comedians who were all so charming that none would do for Menander's 'Hated Man', but any of them for his 'Twice Deceiver'. The imperial household had the best and the largest number. Actors, like slaves, were transferable by bequest, gift, or sale, and served to entertain their master and his guests at table : they were also used for public exhibitions, let out and hired, and were a good investment, after their education had been paid for. Friends and flatterers never missed the theatre, and zealously applauded if the great man's slaves were acting. Often their skill earned the slaves their manumission, or the public interceded for them. But, at manumission, they pledged themselves to serve their patron on certain conditions, to hire themselves to him, and to appear without any fee at any play of his or his friends.

But, in spite of this general disrepute, some few pre-eminent actors attained very high positions. Under the Republic, Roscius and Aesop had thus risen ; both amassed great wealth, and Roscius was granted the golden ring by Sulla, as was Herennius Gallus by the Younger Balbus, when Quaestor at Gades. And at a time when plays had far more importance, and Greek manners and thought had diminished the prejudice against actors, whilst the upper classes were infatuated with the stage, great talent found the road easier to great position. The difference between the position of a great and a humble actor was much greater than now. Many an Agamemnon or Creon, magnificent on the stage, and decked with purple, lived on a monthly ration of bread, receiving some small pay, if well received, or even whipped, if hissed (as often happened). For, even in Cicero's time, the public was sharp enough to detect any false note, any fault of time or rhythm in delivery and gesture, and manifested its disapproval in hisses, stamping and outcry. But the few sovereigns of the stage moved in the highest society, were wealthy and influential, and saw nobles and noble ladies striving to gain their favour. 'Comedians and pantomimes', says Plutarch, 'who succeed on the stage, are admired and envied by free men and even by the nobly born'.

Naturally, prominent actors were awarded recognition and

honour by their colleagues: they used to hold the offices of honour and the priesthoods in the societies and guilds of actors, especially the so-called sacred synods. And the cities where they acted lavished on them inscriptions, statues, and even municipal distinctions. Roman towns were less generous in this respect than Greek cities, which squandered their franchises on travelling actors, as Cicero says of Rhegium, Locri, Naples and Tarentum. Yet the 'most famous, cities of Italy' were not ashamed to confer the *insignia* of *decurio*, *duumvir* or even higher honours, such as the augurate, on a pantomime who could arrogate the conventional title of the 'first of his time'. In the little town of Bovillae, a director of a troop of mimes, who was both a comedian and a tragedian, was made *decurio*, despite the legal disability of actors to hold city offices, and at the solemn inauguration of a statue set up to him by the Guild of Mimes in 169 he distributed largesse to all the inhabitants.

Famous actors received high fees for performances (in 15 A.D. a legal limitation was found necessary), and also gifts from the providers of festivals, who vied with each other in ostentatious generosity; their extravagance had to be restricted by law: Marcus Aurelius decreed a maximum of ten pieces of gold for such gifts: but such legislation must have failed. The prizes of the victors in the actors' competitions were also in money or valuables, golden wreaths—or copper wreaths, stained with ox-gall. Vespasian at the spectacles at the rededication of the theatre of Marcellus, gave every single actor as much as 40,000 sesterces, a number of golden crowns, and to Apollinaris the tragedian 400,000. The favourites to whom Nero is said by Plutarch and Suetonius to have dispensed 2,200 million sesterces (about £23,925,000), were all actors and athletes. Galba demanded the return of nine-tenths of this sum: most of it must have gone to the actors. Hence actors, if popular and famous, amassed great wealth. Pylades accumulated so much, that in his old age (2 B.C.) he himself provided spectacles at Rome: a later Pylades, who lived under Commodus, is famous for having given at Puteoli gladiatorial games and *venationes* on a very large scale. Pliny the Elder says that the highest price (700,000 sesterces) recorded for a slave, Daphnis the grammarian, was easily surpassed by the annual income of a pantomime who had purchased his freedom,

probably referring to Paris. Vitalis, the mime, on his tombstone states that his art brought him fame throughout Rome, reputation, a stately home and wealth. At Constantinople prominent actors earned large sums : according to Choricus, the mimes with universal fame went about in costly clothing, had well-filled pockets, silver plate and numerous slaves.

As already said, the most famous actors often belonged to the imperial household, and thus enjoyed general respect, and, the pantomimes especially, the favour of the emperors and empresses. For some time Apelles the tragedian found favour in the eyes of Caligula, and after his death, Mnester, the beautiful pantomime, whom he passionately loved : Mnester also was a forced lover of Messalina, who withdrew him from the theatre and had the coins of Caligula melted down to mould statues in his honour : he and she were executed together in 48 A.D. Paris, the pantomime, was the boon companion of Nero's debaucheries, and stood so high in his favour that he not only ventured to accuse the empress-mother, but escaped the punishment meted out by her to her other accusers. He demanded back from Domitia, the paternal aunt of the emperor, the sum of 10,000 sesterces which he had paid for his manumission, on the plea that she had not legally owned him ; and the emperor's intervention won him his case (56 A.D.). Eleven years later (67 A.D.) Nero had him executed, as he himself, desiring to excel in the art of dancing, feared a rival in his former teacher. Amongst Domitian's favourites was Latinus the mime ; another pantomime, the most famous of his time, who called himself Paris, after the stage convention, had relations with Domitia the empress, and was executed ; and rumour connected the murder of Domitian with some other liaison of hers with a pantomime. Probably during his reign, Juvenal was banished for a certain passage in his Satires in which he says that the support of a dancer is more effective as an introduction for a post, civil or military, than that of any great man ; this being read as an allusion to a pantomime then in high favour with the Court, whose protégés had frequently been promoted. Trajan, too, a great friend of all spectacles, loved a pantomime Pylades. Antoninus Pius 'loved the art of the pantomimes'. Amongst the freedmen who ranked high at the luxurious court of Lucius Verus, there were no less than three pantomimes ; these were Memphis

or Apolaustus (really Agrippinus), whom the emperor had brought back from Syria, Paris (really Maximinus), and another Pylades: and some whom city gossip spoke of as lovers of Faustina were pantomimes. Caracalla made Theocritus the dancer commander of the Armenian legions.

Hence, not unnaturally, the society of actors was sought after even by the upper classes. There was a useless *senatus consultum* of 15 A.D. forbidding senators to visit the house of pantomimes, and knights to form their escort. Under Nero men and women eagerly thronged to accompany them: young noblemen behaved like their grooms: city rumour said much of immoral relations between them and prominent persons: under the successors of Nero the greatest crowd followed them, and, under the Antonines, many regularly passed some part of the morning with pantomimes or charioteers. On the spot where Paris, executed by Domitian, fell, many of his admirers strewed flowers and poured forth fragrances, and Martial wrote his epigram: 'Wanderer on the Via Flaminia, do not pass by this noble marble monument. The delight of Rome, the wit of Alexandria, art, grace, merriment, joy, the glory and the grief of the Roman stage, and all the goddesses and gods of love lie here buried with Paris'. And ladies of high station were reputed to be susceptible to the charms of the actors, and to bid high for their favours.

As a result of this universal, intense interest in the stage and the actors, the rivalries of great artists necessarily led to theatrical factions; the more so, as of old competitions were customary, with palms, wreaths and other honours as the prizes. Even in Republican times actors organized a *claque* to secure this party attachment. They aimed at getting as many influential adherents as possible, paid their applauders well, distributed them in the crowd, and tried to gain popular favour through professional clappers. The instigator of the revolt of the Pannonian legions in 14 A.D., Percennius, was a soldier, an insolent agitator and skilled demagogue, and trained in early life as leader of a *claque*. Under the influence of the Circus factions and of distinguished sympathizers, including even the emperors, these theatrical parties were further developed; their attempts to terrorize and suppress each other led to bloodshed and scuffles in the theatre, despite the presence of a cohort (1,000 men) of the

Guard, and the frequent banishment of the actors, and punishment of their adherents. This disorder spread from Rome to the provinces. The imperial procurator of Epirus complained to Epictetus that he had been insulted in the theatre by the opponents of a comedian Sophron, whose side he had, however, taken, perhaps too warmly. He had shouted, risen from his seat, and his slaves likewise. How then, says Epictetus, could he wonder that, if he behaved like the mob, they treated him as one of themselves? And in the provinces it was the *collegia juvenum* who were most concerned in these scenes of disorder. Callistratus the jurist, writing under the Severi, says that people, calling themselves young men, regularly join in the tumultuous applause of the public. If it be their only crime, and first offence, they need only be caned (a punishment for low-class free men), or forbidden the theatre; a second offence shall entail banishment; and hardened offenders, with whom gentler measures fail, are to be executed. Only pantomimes are mentioned as the cause of such factions and tumults, which proves how completely this kind of show overshadowed all others.

The historians, who ascribe due importance to these incidents at Rome, mention those of greater consequence, and the attitude of the emperors. The rivalry of Pylades and Bathyllus in 17 B.C. caused uproars in the theatre; but Augustus was lenient towards the actors, as the causes, first, of diverting popular excitement from public matters, and also because Bathyllus was the favourite of Maecenas. In 15 A.D., at the festivals of the obsequies of Augustus, the rivalry of the pantomimes occasioned further disorder, but Tiberius, at the beginning of his reign, did not dare to inhibit the theatrical licence to which the people had become accustomed. But the following year a faction-fight in the theatre, incited by Drusus, led to scenes of tumult; the officials were disregarded; the Guard intervened, and, in the scuffle, several of the people and a centurion fell, and a tribune of the Praetorian Cohort on duty was wounded. The result was the *senatus consultum* empowering the praetors to inflict banishment for breaches of the peace. But disorder still continued, and the praetors were powerless; in 22 or 23 Tiberius had to decree exile from Italy against actors, guilty of exciting these tumults, or of other crimes, and especially against the pantomimes; and he was

deaf to any popular petition for their recall. Caligula permitted the actors to return at the very beginning of his reign, and under him and Claudius no decrees against theatrical disorder are heard of. In 55 Nero dispensed with the Praetorian Cohort on duty, ostensibly to withdraw the men from the temptations of the theatre: consequently faction-fights became more violent, especially as Nero incited the combatants by promising impunity and rewards, and took sides, first secretly and then openly; at one fight, when stones and broken benches were being hurled about, he eagerly joined in the fray, and wounded a praetor in the head. Then it seemed again the Guard was indispensable; the pantomimes were once more banished from Italy: the ringleaders were imprisoned by the praetors, and the attempt of a *tribunus plebis* to hinder this unpopular measure was foiled by the Senate. But very soon after, about 66 A.D., pantomimes were again allowed. Titus sternly refrained from applauding even his favourite pages, who were the leading dancers of the day. Domitian prohibited any public appearance of pantomimes; Nerva restored them at the earnest request of the people. Trajan at the beginning of his reign again forbade it, but removed the prohibition after his Dacian triumph of 107 A.D. Hadrian, and after him Alexander Severus, made Court pantomimes a public service. Lucius Verus especially favoured pantomimes. Prohibitions occur in the second century, but not afterwards; probably in those times of growing degeneracy, with the theatres absorbing all public interest, they were not issued.

IV. THE STADIUM

The athletic and musical contests of Greece were the last to acclimatize themselves at Rome. Not common under the Republic, with the gradual amalgamation of Roman and Greek culture and manners, they became popular under the Empire. Here we shall only speak of the athletic contests. This spectacle, like the *venationes*, was first introduced in 186 B.C. by Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, when many performers crossed over from Greece for the purpose. One hundred years later, Sulla at his triumph over Mithridates (81 B.C.) exhibited athletes at Rome in such numbers, that at Olympia only foot-

races could be held, for want of competitors in other contests. The example was followed by Marcus Scaurus in 58 B.C. in his aedileship (probably on an unheard of scale, since Valerius Maximus erroneously makes him the first introducer of them), and by Gaius Curio at his father's funeral (53 B.C.), and Pompey, at the dedication of his theatre in 55. But the feeling of most Romans is well exemplified by Cicero, who, writing to Marcus Marius, says he will hardly be keen on the athletes, as he disliked *even* gladiators; and Pompey admitted he had spent 'trouble and oil' in vain. But in 46 B.C. Caesar at his triumphal games set athletes fighting for three days on a stadium temporarily erected on the Campus Martius.

Augustus was extremely interested in these exhibitions, and also instituted contests of athletes, 'collected from all parts', on the Campus Martius, twice in his own name, and once in his nephew's. He was the first to ensure not only frequent but also regular contests. As a perpetual celebration of the victory of Actium he renewed and extended the festival of Apollo, there celebrated from of old: he founded the city of Nicopolis, and instituted gymnastic and musical contests at intervals of four years, probably on the anniversary of the victory (September 2): for athletes, after the *Augustalia* at Naples, used to go to Nicopolis. Augustus was present at the Augustalia, shortly before his death (August 19). The *Actia* became a fifth sacred contest of Greece, and, in the Early Empire, dates were sometimes reckoned by Actiads as well as by Olympiads; and these contests subsisted until very late, and ranked high. Julian restored them. Numerous inscriptions of athletes and musicians from the most various Greek-speaking lands, prove that the honour of victory at the Actiads was as great as that of the wreath of Olympia and Delphi. Similar periodical festivals were set on foot in honour of Augustus by princes like Herod of Judaea in 8 B.C., and, in many provinces, besides temples and altars, nearly every town held Augustal games.

At Rome, immediately after the Battle of Actium (31 B.C.), the Senate decreed a quadrennial festival to celebrate the victory, which was held for the first time under the presidency of Agrippa in 28 B.C., the year in which the Palatine temple of Apollo was dedicated. These games 'for Caesar's prosperity', and sacred to Apollo of Actium, were henceforth given every

four years by the consuls and the four great colleges of priests alternately, but only up to the death of Augustus ; the last celebration mentioned is in 9 A.D. At the games in 28 B.C. noble men and boys handled the chariot, as in the sacred games of Greece, and a stadium was specially erected in the Campus Martius for the athletes ; and a gladiatorial contest was also given. The festival lasted several days ; Augustus was ill, and on some of them Agrippa presided. Without doubt athletic games were a feature of subsequent celebrations. At a festival given by the *pontifices* the people demanded a boxing-match ; Augustus postponed it until the next day, and forbade women to come in before the fifth hour. He endeavoured to exclude women from athletic spectacles altogether.

Their greater frequency made athletic games popular, and soon the people demanded ' Greek contests ' from the officials who provided the State games and paid as much regard to such desires as did the emperors. Caligula gave gymnastic games at Rome in 38, and simultaneously at several places in 39 on Drusilla's birthday ; Claudius at the British triumph in 44 A.D. varied the chariot-races in the Circus with athletic contests. But it was Nero's love of Greek manners that contributed more to popularize these games at Rome. In 60, he instituted the first ' holy ' festival after the Greek model, with three kinds of contests, chariot-racing, gymnastics, and singing, music, poetry and oratory ; the festival was to be quinquennial and the cost to fall on the exchequer. The contest of chief importance was the musical competition, which had been lacking in the Roman games of the Actian Apollo, and the idea was due to Nero's desire to shine as a poet, singer and cither-player. It was celebrated in the theatre under the presidency of consulars, with distinguished Romans taking part in it and following the emperor's example. The victors were wreathed. At the first celebration the gymnastic contests were held in the *Saepta*, and the Vestal Virgins invited, because at Olympia the priestesses of Ceres were the only women allowed in. But the emperor, about the same time, annexed to his *thermae* a *gymnasium*, and, at its dedication, distributed oil to the Senate and the Knights, a plain hint to the upper classes to take part in these contests. But opponents stigmatized it as the utmost degradation to nobility, to bare the body, put on boxing-gloves, and exercise themselves in such contests, instead of in arms.

This took place once. One Palfurius Sura, the son of a consular, a talented but morally irresponsible man, appeared as a wrestler, and once, so rumour says, wrestled with a Spartan maiden. This tremendous insult to Roman feeling found no imitators. During the festival many assumed Greek dress. After the second celebration in 65, and its continuation in 66, the Neronea are no more mentioned, and perhaps were abolished after Nero's death. Gordian III restored and extended them, probably in 240, before setting out on his Persian campaign of 241; this was the 36th celebration of the Neronea. Thenceforward the festival was called the 'contest of Minerva'.

In 86 A.D. Domitian instituted the Capitoline Agon, which ranked with the Olympian, and obtained a far greater and enduring importance. This was also quadrennial, and held in the early summer, so that competitors might come from beyond the sea; the three main species of competition were the same, and the prize a wreath; Domitian added a few unusual contests, which soon ceased. Thus the competition in Greek and Latin oratory lapsed, but the unique prize for Greek and Latin poetry was a poet's highest ambition throughout the Empire, and the hope of receiving the oak-wreath from the emperor's hand, after the judicial pronouncement, brought the most talented poets from distant provinces beyond the seas to Rome. The memory of these coronations of poets on the Capitol lasted down through the Middle Ages, and Petrarch was proudest of his coronation by the Senator of Rome. In the musical competitions, originally there was only a contest of solo and chorus citherists; later in singing and in cithar-oedic (singing accompanied by cithers), and the Pythian solo flute, and also flutes in orchestra; possibly also, in dramatic representations. For these musical performances Domitian had a covered theatre, the Odeum, built on the Campus Martius by the famous architect Apollodorus, which was considered one of the loveliest buildings of Rome, as late as the fourth century.

The Capitoline Agon consisted of the same gymnastic contests for men and boys, as in Greece; the races for girls, introduced at first, after the Spartan custom, soon fell into disuse. Naturally, as a rule, competition was left mainly to Greek athletes, whose numerous extant memorials boast of the wreaths of victory. One Titus Flavius Archibius won in

four successive Capitoline Olympiads (94-106 A.D.), the first time in the boys' *pancratation*, and three other times in that of the men ; and Cassius Dio, the historian, mentions that Aurelius Helix the athlete was victorious (in 218) both in the wrestling and the boxing at the Capitoline *agon* : a feat achieved only by seven champions since Heracles at Olympia, and at Rome by none before. Domitian built a *stadium* for athletes on the Campus Martius, capable of holding 30,000, or 33,000 spectators : remains of it were still visible in the Middle Ages, and the name Piazza Navona (Campus Agonis) still preserves its name and form. The Greek character of the entire festival was outwardly preserved under Domitian, if not afterwards. The Emperor presided in a Greek purple mantle and in Greek shoes, wearing a golden crown with images of the three Capitoline deities, Jupiter, Juno and Minerva : the assessors and judges were the *flamen* of Jupiter and the College of Priests of the Flavian House in the same dress, except that the emperor was also depicted in their wreaths. Later the priesthoods, under the presidency of the Emperor, had the alternate conduct of the contests. The general assemblage was the most brilliant audience in the world for any athlete, artist or poet. These Games survived down to the very end of antiquity.

Other contests, perhaps exclusively athletic, were founded by different emperors, e.g., a Feast of Hadrian, instituted by Antoninus Pius ; Games of Hercules in honour of Alexander the Great, probably under Caracalla, which were celebrated as late as Alexander Severus ; the Agon of Minerva of Gordian III, and the quadrennial Feast of the Sun-god, founded by Aurelian in 274. A Greek athlete boasts in his inscription of having beaten the Romans in running, and in the stadium, as well as in the double course at the contests of the Sun-god, the Moon goddess, and Hercules, and of having won prizes and wreaths at them all. At the millenary festival of the city under Philip the Arab in 248, athletic contests besides others were held. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage (who died in 257) writes : ' Men practise for the race at the secular festival and account a wreath received in presence of the people and the Emperor as great fame '. In a Greek anecdote, a school pedant consoles an athlete who has failed in the contest : ' he will win at the next millenary *agon* '. Of all these *agones* nothing

further is known ; none attained anything like the repute of the Capitoline. But, apart from them, under the Empire, especially in the third century, the appearance of athletes at Rome at spectacles of all kinds became no doubt more and more common. Thus Severus at his triumph summoned musical and gymnastic performers from all parts of the Empire, and the medals of this celebration, as those of Gordian III in 244, represent an athlete in the Circus ; the same too appears in the circus mosaic of the Circus at Barcelona. At the great games of Carinus, a thousand athletes performed, and were presented, like other Greek artists, with gold and silver and silk clothing. After the fifth century gymnastics replaced gladiators, if not before ; thus at the consular games of Flavius Mallius Theodorus we find athletes, but no gladiators. In the astrological work of Firmicus Maternus about 350 A.D. nativities of gladiators are far less frequent than of athletes, who are often mentioned with their masters as being in the service of great men.

The Greek *agones* met with a very hostile reception at Rome from true-spirited Romans, who objected to athletic contests, although some were customary in Italy and the West, and public exhibitions of wrestling, boxing, and pugilism had been seen at Rome. Boxing, a national mode of fighting in Etruria, Latium, Campania and Africa, was practised in Italy by whole troops at a time : one of the high officials of Pompeii under Augustus allowed Greek boxers to appear beside native ones on the forum. This pastime was always popular at Rome, at the time of Terence (whose *Hecyra* failed on its first appearance in 165 because of the superior attraction of boxing-matches), as well as in Horace's time, when the mob often asked for a bear or a boxer in the middle of a piece, 'following its own sweet taste'. But Italian contests must have been very unlike the Greek, especially in the lack of science and grace. Roman objections to Greek gymnastics were primarily moral, for nudity was considered shameful ; Cicero approves the sentiment of Ennius, that 'the beginning of shame is to strip before fellow-citizens'. Another ground was its practical uselessness : the exercises did not tend to make good soldiers ; lastly, the fear of the corruption of youth by the idle life of the gymnasia, which, so the Romans thought, had principally contributed to the fall of Greece.

But, despite this general disesteem, Greek exercises were so much in favour towards the end of the Republic that, as Varro complains, at least one gymnasium was an essential to every villa. These gymnasia served for curative exercise (*iatrialiptice*): Prodicus of Selymbria, a pupil of Hippocrates, had devised this cure, and, according to Pliny the Elder, thus got the rubbers and doctors' assistants an income. At a banquet given by Apicius, a notorious glutton, Junius Blaesus was present, and gymnastics were the staple of conversation; one fine old man of 91, Isidorus, was there, as it were to prove, as a hale and hearty man and skilled wrestler, its utility in prolonging life. Celsus strongly deprecates the use of this curative exercise for healthy people, for whom he considers any athletics inadvisable; but probably, like all Greek customs, it made more and more inroads. Trimalchio is accompanied to his bath by three masseurs.

Nero promoted Greek athletics the most vigorously, introduced them in an official festival, built a gymnasium, manifested his preference for them—on the day he received news of a rising in Gaul, he was an interested witness of performances in a gymnasium at Naples—and gave large presents to the athletes. He and his freedmen, Patrobius especially, copied the generals of Alexander the Great, and imported Nile sand; a cargo of it arrived from Alexandria during a famine at Rome and exasperated the people. The Emperor's example and the Court spread the fashion far and wide. Greek athletics now became the mode, and the art was declared by its teachers indispensable to perfect health and a perfect body, and was recommended as a part of the training of the young; conservative Society dreaded the importation of Greek depravity with Greek gymnastics. For the ancient morality, even then declining, would collapse before foreign licentiousness; every subject or object of temptation would be paraded, and the next generation enervated by gymnastics, idleness and disgraceful amours. And these ultra-conservatives, who regarded the Greeks as the original source of all evil, considered the introduction of gymnastics as part of the dietary of the healthy not only useless but immoral, and complained that young Rome was cultivating the body at the cost of the soul. Lucan, too, at the time of his disfavour with Nero's Court, expressed the same view strongly, and deemed 'the young man fresh from

the Greek gymnasium weak through sauntering on the wrestling-ground and unsuited for war'. Martial praises one Atticus for being content with simple running, and disdaining the waste of time in gymnastic exercises, whilst other young men gave themselves up to a teacher with cropped ears (often represented in pictures of boxers) and paid undeservedly large fees to a dirty rubber. Elsewhere he asks, why waste the strength of the arms on stupid dumb-bells? a better exercise for men would be digging in a vineyard. So too Pliny the Younger is grieved that the old Roman military drill under a veteran, decorated with the mural or civic wreath, is being superseded by gymnastic exercises, under the supervision of a Greek gymnast. Greeks, even, confessed that the Romans were corrupted by the Greek habit of nudity, but they repaid their teachers for the damage with interest.

When Domitian inaugurated the Capitoline *Agon*, introducing Greek games on the largest scale known, this opposition became very lively, and continued, even after the repulsive girls' race had been abolished. Once in a Council of Trajan on the question of abolishing an *agon* at Vienne, Junius Rusticus, a man of great probity and firmness, assented, and added, 'I wish they were to cease here as well'; and Pliny the Younger, who was also of the session, mentions this as a proof of intrepidity and decision. He goes on: 'It was decided to abolish the *agon*, which was corrupting the manners of Vienne, just as ours corrupt universal morals. For, if the Viennese have vices, they keep them to themselves; but our vices propagate, and in the empire, as in the body, disease is worst, if it start from the head and extend'.

This national disinclination towards athletics and Greek *agones* lasted at least up to the second century, and, at any rate, had the effect of making participation in them by members of the upper classes very rare, and by no means common amongst the lower. In the first century we hear of many knights and senators on the stage, in the Circus or the arena; but Palfurius Sura is the only man mentioned as appearing in the stadium. True, even in Rome meaner men took up the profession of athlete. In the 177th Olympiad (72 B.C.), a Roman named Gaius won the long race, and Titus gave the preference to pancratist Regulus. Martial was acquainted with one Liber 'who dealt Greek blows with an Italian hand', and obtained

the wreath for boxing, and Juvenal says that foreign manners have gone so far that the citizens of Quirinus carry 'wrestling prizes round their wax-besmeared necks'. But though Naples offered the best opportunity for a regular training in athletics, Italy produced mainly itinerant boxers, who, as Horace says, exhibited at village festivals and did not aspire to the Olympian wreath, while Greece and the East, as before, supplied the great professionals. For, whilst there are as many inscriptions of Greek athletes as of Roman charioteers and gladiators, there are hardly any of Roman athletes.

The Romans, then, were never as addicted to athletic performances as to others, but, after Nero and Domitian, there were many amateur athletes, even amongst the women. In Nero's time the friends of this art welcomed the 'latest athletes' and eagerly watched their feats; and, in the great households, there were regularly slave athletes. Such slaves often prescribed their masters' diet, and even taught how the legs should be moved in walking and the cheeks in chewing. Under Vespasian rich men decorated their wrestling-schools and grounds with statues of athletes. In Domitian's time, young men frequented the Greek exercising grounds; and favourite slaves and freedmen were sent to be trained in the *palaestra*; thus Atedius Melior sent his favourite, Glaucias. Quintilian, comparing the tricks of wrestling with an orator's tactics, exhibits considerable knowledge of the teaching of wrestling, which was mainly given by unsuccessful competitors in other branches. In Martial and Juvenal's time there were female devotees of the art, who often carried devotion further—to the performers, and sent them costly gifts; there were even amazons, who took to the hard diet of athletes, rubbed themselves with yellow sand, wrestled and practised with heavy dumb-bells. In the course of the second century, the utility of Greek athletics became more generally recognized. Hadrian, a versatile amateur, only went in for exercise with weapons; but Marcus Aurelius, the most careful liver of all the emperors, according to Galen, was a regular visitor of the *palaestra*, arriving in the short days at sunset, in the long days at the ninth or tenth hour. He loved, says his biographer, boxing, wrestling and running. Lucius Verus also enjoyed the *palaestra* and the exercises of youth. Narcissus the athlete, the companion of Commodus in his exercise and also his

murderer, was credited with omnipotence. Alexander Severus was also a 'wrestler of the first order'.

In civil rank athletes stood higher at Rome than any other public artists. Their Greek reputation still clung to them, and the imperial 'holy' contests gave them so much distinction, that such competitors enjoyed more honour than actors or gladiators, and, at least, were not, like them, infamous. The great jurists Masurius Sabinus (under Tiberius) and Cassius Longinus (consul in 30) decided that athletes did not follow an actor's trade, but rather demonstrated their bravery. In other sports, slaves frequently appeared: but, when the victor was wreathed by the hand of the emperor at the imperial *agones*, and at the sacred games of Greece, only free men might compete; for a law of Alexander Severus, that only free men might run in the Sacred Games, was probably a re-enactment of an older law. Also, in accordance with Greek custom athletes were treated with some consideration by corporations and governments. One of the distinctions the emperors might confer on pre-eminent athletes, was the life-long post of a *xystarchus*.¹

There were many guilds of itinerant athletes, who appeared in municipal *agones* and festivals; in the second century, one of the principal was the 'Guild of athletes of the wreathed victors at the Sacred Games', who honour Hercules. These Guilds, like all others, nominated their own officials, priests and presidents from amongst themselves. This guild had a home at Rome, and its principal officer was apparently sometimes given the direction of the imperial baths. Hadrian and Antoninus Pius allowed them to have places of assembly for councils, sacrifices, and archives, especially for the Capitoline Games. Antoninus gave them as a home the baths of Titus. Some Greek letters from the emperors to these athletic guilds are extant. In the *curia Athletarum* statues of great athletes were erected. Thus Valentinian, Valens and Gratian (367-375) put up a statue of Filumenus, who had been victorious 'from east to west' in every contest in the matches, half-boxing and half-wrestling. Not only every athlete rejoiced that 'he was worthy of eternal fame', but the Senate and people of Rome enthusiastically assented. In the same guild

¹ Superintendent of the *xystus*, or covered portico in which the athletes practised in winter.

these Emperors between 384 and 392 put up a statue of a certain Johannes : a proof that the Christians did not abominate this form of sport, as they did all the other spectacles. Further, famous athletes were naturally honoured by their native towns with statues. To one such champion, who had won at many contests, even in Asian and African cities, the Senate of Ostia voted, 'for the first time, at the request of the citizens, a statue to be erected at the public expense for his extraordinary skill and services to his native city'.

But, in the first century at least, despite these appreciations, athletes were generally spoken of disdainfully at Rome. Seneca is strong on this subject, calls them stupid, their life an oscillation between drinking and sweating, their bodies fattened, their minds rude and neglected, their art oil and diet. Pliny compares their gluttony with that of horses. A Christian writer says their first victory was the acquisition of a stomach of superhuman capacity ; they sell their wretched face to be cudgelled, to feed their wretched belly. But the Greek provinces thought quite otherwise. True, in cultured circles, athletes were held in mean esteem. Plutarch says that their teachers weaned them from books and accustomed them to pass their days in jokes and frivolity, to be, like the gymnasium columns, glittering and of stone ; and Epictetus even puts in one class gladiators and the 'dirty pancratist'. Galen utterly despised athletics ; he had been irritated by the insolence of boorish athletes, who actually raised their voice against doctors in an ill-sounding, barbarous dialect, and even wrote books on dietary, of which they did not know anything at all. He evidently used his opportunity of abuse to the utmost. He says the athlete lived like a pig or worse, continually compelled to eat, sleep and exert himself beyond measure, a cycle of gorging, drinking, sleeping, evacuation, and wallowing in dust and mud. Further, athletics destroyed manly beauty, and gave the body an appearance of unnatural strength, but, for all that, a strength unequal to many functions ; and the athlete was far more liable to disease, and, even if he were not maimed, was soon useless in his profession : he could not even acquire wealth. The gymnasium made men idle, sleepy and slow-witted, so corpulent as to be hard of breath ; swine would carry out important business better than athletes. And even in their own art, they could not

do anything notable. In a contemporary lampoon (see Galen, *Protrepticus*, 13) athletes are thus impugned : if Zeus should summon all the animals to the *agon* in the Stadium as well as men, a man would never win : a hare would win in the simple race, and in the double race a deer, in the long race a horse, in fights involving strength, elephants and lions, in boxing, bulls ; and asses in the *pancratation*, and the annals would record the victory of the Brayer over the men at the 21st Olympiad.

But such views were far from common in the Greek countries, for Galen had to advise young men earnestly not to prefer athletics as a career to the useful arts and sciences, nor to be led astray by the great hope of popularity. Since Greek life had lost its real content, it filled the gap with the shadow of past greatness. These *epigoni* clung with a natural and touching tenderness to the ancient recollections, and tried to preserve the ruined remains, remains often unrecognizable, of Hellenic culture and fame. Gymnastics was the first of such pious memories, an important means of education, actively practised in the institutes of the *ephebi*, and found in every Greek community from Berytus to Massilia.

The smaller the circle of higher and nobler interests, the greater became the significance of athletic contests. 'Good Greeks', Trajan writes to Pliny the Younger, 'cleave to the *gymnasia*'. In Greece one could practise 'the arts of play with honour' : to men of great culture, pre-eminent athletes seemed ideals of manhood, strength, beauty and modesty, comparable with the heroes of olden times. All Greece still assembled at the Pythian and Olympian Games, where the customs and procedure were still the same, and consecrated by centuries of use ; the Olympian victory was still the highest prize, worth arduous, long and expensive training, or even life itself. Descent from an Olympian victor was also an honour, especially for an athlete. Skilled competitors would be heavily bribed by their opponents to allow themselves to be defeated. Pausanias is surprised that not only Egyptians and foreigners could be thus tempted, but even Greeks, e.g., an Elean, who at the 192nd Olympiad (12 B.C.) bribed the opponent to secure victory for his son in the wrestling bout. The victors were hired by the providers of festivals at high fees ; Dio of Prusa mentions a payment of five talents (£1,178 14s.). The names of the *paradoxonicae* (those who in one day

won the wreath for wrestling and the pancratiū) were celebrated and revered throughout the world by their grandsons and great-grandsons ; such were Nicostratus at the 204th Olympiad (36 A.D.), who was the 7th or 8th after Hercules, Aelius Helix the Phœnician, the first *paradoxonicus* at the Capitoline Games.

Further, athletes, especially those who won the wreaths, enjoyed many privileges which Augustus confirmed and extended. Probably one of them was exemption from the costly municipal offices and charges, a privilege restricted by Diocletian and Maximian to men who all their life long had taken part in contests and had been victorious in at least three sacred contests, one at Rome or in Greece proper, without any suspicion of bribery. The sacred *agones* were those for which the emperors accorded the triumphal procession of the victors to their native city, and their life-long maintenance at the public cost. The towns in which famous competitors appeared vied in celebrating them in busts, statues, decrees of honour, gifts of the franchise and the dignity of councillor.

Sometimes the athletes showed their prowess in war. Mnesibulus of Elatea, victor at the 235th Olympiad (161 A.D.), fought at the head of some volunteers (probably about 178-9) and repelled the Costoboci, himself dying on the field. At the gallant defence of Byzantium against Septimius Severus in 194-196, a boxer played a prominent part. Hence it is hardly credible that, in the Greek provinces, it was considered improper for a man of good, even distinguished family to appear in public as an athlete, although only one inscription in confirmation of such an appearance is found : that of an athlete, Claudius Apollonius Rufus, of the fourth century, a man of consular family. Romans of good family probably only took part with their chariots in the chariot-races, e.g., at the 195th Olympiad (1 A.D.), when Tiberius entered a four-in-hand, at the 199th (17 A.D.), when Germanicus took part ; at the 227th (129 A.D.), Julius Minicius Natalis, son of the consul of 106 or 107, and himself afterwards consul. Similarly the Roman senator won, who had his statue erected there in the time of Pausanias, if he was Roman.

Generally, the social position of an athlete in the Early Empire was far better in the Greek provinces than at Rome or in Italy. But, as Greek and Oriental civilization generally

broke up and finally dissolved Roman national feeling, in the same proportion Roman prejudice must have abated. When the floor of a brilliant room in Caracalla's *thermae* was decorated with long rows of pictures of athletic victors, when Cassius Dio mentions the double victory of Aelius Helix at the Capitoline *agon* in his annals, the heroes of the stadium stood in higher esteem in the capital and in the West, than when Seneca, the two Plinies, Tacitus and Juvenal so unanimously decried the worthlessness and depravity of Greek exercises and contests.

CHAPTER II

ROMAN LUXURY

GENERAL REVIEW OF THE SUBJECT

IN 1605 Meursius wrote a monograph, '*Roma luxurians sive de luxu Romanorum*', which, as a general impression of a number of motley and heterogeneous facts, of which the best known are the most strange and monstrous, conveyed the idea prevalent to the present day, that the luxury of the later Roman Empire was fabulous, unparalleled, immoral and senseless. This treatise is the main authority for this view. The memory of imperial Rome calls up those oft-repeated tales of palaces built into the sea, of high roof gardens, of gold and silver mules' shoes and receptacles for filth and rubbish, of baths in asses' milk and fragrances, of drinks in which costly pearls were dissolved, and dishes of peacocks' brains and flamingoes' tongues.

These exaggerations flourish in an atmosphere which magnifies everything Roman, good or bad, to a Titanic extent, as compared with modernity; a tendency to which even the best antiquarians are too prone, e.g., C. G. Zumpt, who thought we were babies, as compared with the ancients, in the art of enjoyment, and W. A. Becker, who deemed our most extravagant luxury poverty in comparison with the prodigal magnificence of Ancient Rome. But a closer examination shows that the authoritative facts have been distorted or misconstrued, and that this view must be taken with several grains of salt. This would be so, even if the facts were as fully credible, as their nature partially proves them not to be.

Further, since the first decades of the nineteenth century, and still more since about 1850, throughout civilization

luxury has increased enormously, and the standard for us is not that of those who, one or two generations back, thus expatiated on Roman luxury. Compare the first and the second French Empire; the luxury of the first astounded the world; it seemed modest to the second. Alfred Austin in 1883 said that, in the last generation, English luxury had advanced with prosperity, step by step; and Gladstone says that luxury has become far greater in the last fifty years than in all preceding centuries since 1066, and that the life of the rich is unlike anything known since the decline of Rome.

This traditional risk of antiquarianism, of drawing false conclusions from isolated cases, and mistaking the exception for the rule, has not been avoided by critics of Roman luxury. But, further, after the fashion of Meursius, statements from any epoch and of any sort have been jumbled together—tales of the extravagances of notorious spendthrifts, and refined debaucheries of voluptuaries—without, as a rule, any consideration of the point of view of the author, or the context.

But, above all, the tales of luxury of individual emperors should have been excluded. A Caligula or a Nero became abnormal in this respect, because they had a mania to inspire the world with the idea of their omnipotence, to prove the superhuman greatness of Caesardom, and the immeasurable gulf between the world-ruler and his subjects; a demonstration that for him nothing was impossible, that his will was limitless. Thus Caligula, whose Caesarian madness seems to have been tainted with actual insanity, who 'strove most of all to realize what men deemed impossible', had buildings set up in the sea during a storm, and squandered the tribute of three provinces (10 million sesterces, about £100,000) in one day; thus he and Nero, the 'desirer of the incredible', undertook to realize the wildest dreams of fantasy at their feasts, in their ships of state and palaces.

But in the first two centuries Caligula and Nero are isolated exceptions. Not even Lucius Verus is comparable; Vitellius' luxury was the sating of a monstrous gluttony. On the other hand, Tiberius, Galba, Vespasian and Pertinax were economical and even mean; the rest were never spendthrifts. And it is doubtful whether even the luxury of Caligula and Nero was more extravagant and per-

icious than that of many a petty German prince of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Augustus the Strong of Saxony spent 80,000 thalers on one opera, and five millions on his pleasure camp at Mühlberg. Charles of Würtemberg, the founder of the Karlsschule, made his court the most brilliant in Europe, had the best actors playing at his theatre, gave the most costly gifts by lot to his guests, had fountains of wine for the multitude, fireworks that cost half a ton of gold, dug lakes out of mountains, gave sledging parties on snow transported from miles around : and all the money for this wild extravagance was extorted from countries whose taxable wealth was hardly equal to that of a single Roman province. Under Augustus the Strong the revenue of Saxony was six million thalers. Würtemberg, a country of 155 square miles and about 600,000 inhabitants, found the revenue from the royal demesnes and the taxes insufficient to cover expenses. It would be as just to deduce the manners of Germany of that time from the habits of these absolutist Courts, as to infer from the luxury of Caligula and Nero the manners of Rome. It is equally misleading to refer to the Roman grandes of the late Republic, who in their victorious campaigns plundered wealthy and partially unexhausted lands, and returned home with vast wealth and treasure. The colossal expenditure of a Scaurus, Lucullus, Pompey, and Caesar was induced by conditions that never recurred in antiquity, and on a scale hardly surpassed by the emperors. Plutarch says that the gardens of Lucullus, despite the great increase of luxury, were still among the most splendid of the imperial gardens ; and, according to Pliny, Scaurus' theatre, the work of a private individual, was more wildly extravagant than any building of Caligula or Nero. We cannot tell whether the spoils of the centuries-old treasure-hoards of the Oriental despots, which fell into the hands of the Roman conquerors of Asia, were less than the booty of the Spanish *conquistadores* or the English conquerors of India. The ransom for Atahualpa, the Inca of Peru, was 23,300,998 francs (the franc then being worth at least four times its present value), of which Pizarro's share was 1,402,748 francs. Clive, says Macaulay, could easily have piled up a fortune in Bengal, greater than any other subject in Europe possessed. Without extorting more from the rich natives than was usual

under the mildest native ruler, he could have made sure of presents amounting annually to £300,000, since the neighbouring princes would willingly have bought his friendship at any price. Roman generals and provincial officials had the same opportunities in the East as Clive and Warren Hastings, and were as grasping as the latter. A few facts may illustrate the enormous sums they amassed. Aristobulus, the King of the Jews, at the time of his quarrel with the high priest, his brother Hyrcanus, bribed Aulus Gabinius the Legate with 300 talents, Marcus Aemilius Scaurus the quaestor with 400, and Pompey with a golden vine worth 500 (a talent = £235 15s.). Ptolemy Mennaeus, prince of a predatory state on the Lebanon, bought his freedom and independence from Pompey for 1,000 talents, with which Pompey paid his troops. Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia paid him 33 talents a month, which hardly amounted to the interest on his debt. Gabinius brought home from his proconsulate in Syria over a hundred million *denarii* (£3,500,000). He received 10,000 talents (£2,350,000) from Ptolemy Auletes of Egypt in return for his support, after Caesar in his own and in Pompey's name had mulcted him of 6,000 talents (£1,400,000). Crassus robbed the Temple at Jerusalem of money and valuables to the amount of 10,000 talents. Gaul, too, was a proverbial land of wealth, and rich in gold in Caesar's time. In 106 B.C. Quintus Servilius Caepio sacked the temple at Tolosa, a city of the Tectosages, and, according to Posidonius, secured over 15,000 talents (£3,500,000). In the whole region of the Rhine, and by the Loire and Seine all coins were of gold in many places, and Caesar's Gallic booty included so much gold that the value of the pound fell from 4,000 to 3,000 sesterces in Italy and the provinces, a depreciation of 25 per cent. as against silver.

But the necessary expenses of position and notorious crimes obliged the Romans of the late Republic to spend as large sums as they looted. Like Warren Hastings, their acquittals might mean a total or partial sacrifice of their filchings. And the huge expense incidental to political undertakings, bribery on an enormous scale, the maintenance of a numerous train of servants, the fabulously splendid spectacles, swallowed up tremendous sums. The aedileship of Scaurus exhausted his property and involved him in debt. Thus these

treasures were lost as soon as they were won: these nabobs owned very little in comparison with their receipts and their outlay. Crassus even, whose wealth was unexampled in his time, was not so rich as many freedmen of the Early Empire, such as Pallas, Callistus and Narcissus. Before the Parthian War he owned about 7,000 talents (£1,650,000). To the Elder Pliny, the later Republic seemed, in comparison with his own time, an epoch of penury. Probably, as a matter of fact, capital was accumulated in greater amount, and more generally, in imperial times than under the Republic. The causes of an increase of general prosperity also contributed to the making of large individual fortunes, especially the plunder of many new unexploited provinces, the increase of trade, especially with less civilized peoples, the assurance and facility of means of communication, and the quicker circulation of money.

But, although the greatest wealth of the Empire included slaves, a valuable property now practically extinct, it was still much less than the opulence of modern days. A freedman of Nero might call a man worth £652,500 deplorably poor, but millionaires in all ages are insolent; even if the tale be true, it is a proof, not that such a fortune was poverty, but that it was poverty compared with their own. Similarly, of one capitalist who only left £2,000,000, the greatest banker of Europe is said to have remarked, 'I did not think he was so poor'. The greatest fortunes throughout the history of Rome were only 300 and 400 million sesterces (£3,762,500 and £4,350,000), but only two persons are recorded worth so much, the augur Gnaeus Lentulus, and Nero's freedman, Narcissus; but capital then bore higher interest than now, at least 6 per cent. The largest income known in antiquity was that of the richest families at the beginning of the fifth century, about 4,000 pounds of gold net, and a third as much in kind: according to present standards about £243,624 a year.

A useful, if insufficient, estimate of these sums can be derived from a few facts as to the greatest properties and incomes at different epochs and in various lands: many of these fortunes are larger than those under the Empire. Huge fortunes were easily acquired and squandered under the Khalifs. Under Khalif Mahdy a rich Hashimid at Bassora had a daily income of 100,000 dirhems (or francs), and 50,000

clients. Lorenzo de' Medici left at his death in 1492, 235,137 gold florins.¹ Jacques Cœur (1400-1456) was the richest man in France in the Middle Ages, with all the banking business for imports and exports in his hands, and owned many branches in the Levant, and in most of the French towns, as well as copper, lead and silver mines; he was able to lend Charles VII 200,000 écus (16 or 20 million francs), to drive the English out of Normandy. He acquired more than twenty domains and castellanies, had houses and castles in the great cities of France and fitted several of the castles up. An unjust fine against him amounted to 400,000 écus. Agostino Chigi, the banker of Julius II, a Rothschild of his time, owned more than 100 ships at sea, and commercial houses at Lyons, London, Constantinople, Amsterdam, and even Babylon, had 20,000 men in his employ, and an income of over 70,000 ducats. The Fuggers, according to R. Ehrenberg, in 1511 possessed 250,000 florins in round figures, and by 1527, 2,000,000, and in 1546 their fortune amounted to 4½ millions; at the beginning of the seventeenth century, after a loss of 8,000,000, they became bankrupt. Voltaire estimated Mazarin's fortune at 200,000,000 francs. Under Louis XIV Samuel Bernard the banker was worth 33,000,000 livres, and Bretonvilliers, a former tax-collector, had an annual income of 3,000,000 francs (modern value). Alekséy Danilóvich Menshikóv (who died in 1729) at his banishment had either 5 or 10 million roubles. In Little-Russia he owned four cities, 88 ecclesiastical villages, 99 villages, 15 hamlets, and 87 fisheries; in Ingermanland 16 estates, 98 villages, diamonds and precious stuffs worth a million roubles, 72 dozen silver plates, 105 *puds* (1686 kilogrammes) of gold table plate. Potemkin, despite a frightful extravagance and luxurious life, scarcely rivalled in the *Arabian Nights*, amassed a fortune of 90,000,000 roubles in sixteen years, though the State revenue was only 50 millions. Kutaisov, the favourite of Paul, had an income of 300,000 roubles. The annual expenditure of Count Brühl was estimated at 6,000,000 marks. Cardinal Louis Rohan, notorious for the necklace case, had an income of about £250,000. Of the Spanish grandees in the eighteenth century the Duke of Alba had a revenue of 8,000,000 *reales* (more than

¹ The intrinsic value of the Ducato, Zecchino, Fiorino d'Oro, Scudo d'Oro is about the same, 11-12 modern francs.

£80,000), and the Duke of Berwick 2,000,000, but these incomes were chiefly squandered on a large train of servants. According to Bismarck in 1859 the Duke of Ossuna had an income of millions, owned splendid gardens and castles in Spain, Italy, Belgium and Sardinia, of which he had only seen pictures. Of the Polish magnates under Stanislaus Augustus, Felix Potocki could ride thirty miles on his own land, and, in despite of his father's debts, he still had an annual income of 700,000 marks, and was the richest man in Poland. The Czartoryskis owned fifteen cities, eleven domains with castles, two palaces in Warsaw, and the estate of Augustus Czartoryski brought in a revenue of £90,000. Karl Radziwill left, after a thoroughly Polish mal-administration, an estate worth £125,000 to £150,000 annually.

Up to 1863 the serfs, who comprised nearly a third of the population, formed a large part of these fortunes. Catherine II is said to have given away 800,000 of them, and Count Peter Borisovich Sheremetyev, the son of Boris Petrovich, ennobled by Peter the Great, was the largest owner of over 160,000 or 200,000 or 128,000 male serfs, some of whom were themselves millionaires. Prince Nicholas Borisovich Yusupov, when Frederick William III visited him at Moscow after the birth of Alexander II in 1818 at his estate at Archangel, gave a feast and had forty thousand serfs in festive dress to receive the guests and offer them salt and bread, the Russian symbols of hospitality. The Yusupovs, though their estates were often confiscated for conspiracies, in 1870 were wealthier than most German princes, and, as two serfs, father and son, as stewards had earned them 3 millions, were hardly affected. The Demidovs, it is said, owned a huge rock of malachite of which every *pud* was worth 800 roubles. Astashev, a very wealthy man, in a single year (1843) obtained 111 *puds* of gold, i.e., about £255,244 10s., from his mines in Siberia; Yakubov the ensign, 'perhaps the wealthiest man on the Continent in 1847' was worth more than £15,000,000.

In the rest of Europe and England in particular, as also in America, the accumulation of capital in a few hands since about 1850 had attained unprecedented heights. In 1818 Mme. de Remusat could still call a fortune of a million 'immense'. In England, in Johnson's time, no man of eminence could spend more than £5,000 a year; according to Macaulay, about

1760 an income of £40,000 was as rare as one of £100,000 in 1840; in 1854 there were only twenty members of the House of Commons with an income of £10,000, but in 1888 five times as many with an income treble or quadruple. Warren's *Ten Thousand a Year* was written in 1841. In New York in 1846 there were only sixteen persons with property over a million dollars; one of these 'modest millionaires' was John Jacob Astor, who died in 1848 worth 25-30 million dollars. These immense fortunes of individuals began with the great revival of America after her Civil War. In 1865 Alexander T. Stewart gave his annual income as 4,071,256 dollars, and paid 407,000 income-tax. Cornelius Vanderbilt in 1846 was worth 750,000 dollars, and died at the age of 81 in 1877; he said he had on the average made a million every year since his birth: he left his heirs 90 millions, and legacies amounting to 15 millions. Jay Gould in 1884 was deemed the richest man in the world, and had 275 millions. J. W. Mackay came second with 250 million dollars.

But if America has the largest number of individual incomes, England is the richest country: in 1888 it had 200 of the total 700 owning over £1,000,000; 2,418 had an income of over £10,000, and in France only 700-800, and in Germany only 144. A list was drawn up in 1884 of the twelve greatest millionaires. Rothschild, the richest man in England had £40,000,000, and the Duke of Westminster £16,000,000; the three other Englishmen are the Dukes of Sutherland and Northumberland, and the Marquis of Bute, who comes last with £4,000,000. The seven others are Americans. In Prussia, at the beginning of 1900, the income-tax registered forty-two persons with £50,000 to £100,000 annual income, fifteen with £100,000 to £350,000, and Krupp with £750,000 to £800,000.

But all these facts cannot settle the question whether the opulent of antiquity were richer than the opulent of to-day, even if the real worth of money in both periods were accurately known. It has been held that the purchasing value of money was then far higher than now, a view confirmed by the latest research on the subject by Robertus. He admits it sank from the last centuries of the Republic up to about Nero's reign, but only in Rome and Italy; and after Nero it rose throughout the entire Empire. But, apart from the many

side issues, the facts of antiquity by no means suffice for such sweeping conclusions. For, in ancient times, the means of enjoyment and the industrial products were enhanced in price by the difficulty of transport and the imperfect methods of manufacture, as also by their comparative rarity, the smaller amount of the noble metals in circulation in the Empire, and a proportionate absence of the means of enjoyment and of objects of value. The use of paper for money only developed slowly, and the rapidity of the circulation of money, which is equivalent to a greater abundance of it, cannot be estimated. It may never be ascertained (though it is not impossible), whether the mass of manufactured or imported commodities has not increased in the same measure as the quantity of gold and silver, or whether—and this is the principal means of comparison of wealth then and now—the greatest fortunes under the Empire were more in excess of ordinary incomes than they are now. Anyhow, any calculations of the relative purchasing value of the same sums in antiquity and the present time are absolutely arbitrary.

The luxury of emperors, and the great men of the dying Republic is abnormal, as also the other examples relied on, some of which are reported as quite exceptional. Apicius under Augustus and Tiberius squandered huge fortunes of 60 or 100 million sesterces in refined debaucheries, and, on credible authority, committed suicide on finding it reduced to ten millions, because he could not live on such a pittance, or possibly because he had exhausted every kind of pleasure ; he was regarded as a marvel of extravagance by his contemporaries. Apio wrote a learned book on his luxury : his name became proverbial, a myth and a perfect type of the reveller ; two hundred years later Elagabalus took him as a model. He was the subject of many anecdotes, of which the following, possibly borrowed from his book, will suffice. He once took a dangerous voyage to Africa from Minturnae, because he had heard the crabs were bigger there, and returned at once, when convinced of the contrary. As a rule, to infer universally from anomalies and exceptions is unsafe, and especially for imperial Rome, where influences and conditions, never since reproduced, tended to exaggerate vice and extravagances to the utmost : and thus Apicius and his compeers may have outdone a Count Brühl or a Cardinal Rohan, who is said to have failed

to understand how any one could live on less than 1,500,000 *livres* income.

But the senseless luxury which delights, not in enjoyment, but in the destruction and degradation of the valuable, is naturally rare, and apparently no commoner in Rome than in modern capitals, where at all epochs great wealth and licence of pleasure has produced satiety and arrogant vandalism. Examples can be found in other histories. The mediæval nobles sought fame in complete disregard of their property, which they thoughtlessly squandered and destroyed. In 1174 Henry II of England summoned to Beaucaire an assembly of squires and knights, and Bertram Rambaut had a piece of land ploughed and sown with 30,000 *sols* in pennies. Guillaume de Martel, who had a retinue of three hundred knights, had all the provisions in his kitchen cooked on wax torches, and Raimond de Venous had thirty horses burnt alive. In 1500 Joachim I of Brandenburg came to Frankfort to receive the allegiance of the city, and Herr von Belkow walked beside his horse in the mud in velvet boots set with pearls. He also used to ride into the pottery market with his brothers, let their horses smash all the articles, and then paid double the price: they then led their horses back into the *Rathskeller* and washed them in malmsey wine. In Russia certain very festive occasions are considered incomplete, if the plate is not broken; German sailors make a point of dancing on porcelain, when on shore; Creole women in Habana 'spread their new Paris-made dresses over the wheels of their carriages, to destroy them in an instant and so make a boast of their wealth'; these facts show that this perversity is not limited to any one epoch, but is implanted in the human soul.

The only striking instances of this form of luxury in ancient Rome are, apart from imperial extravagances, the use of singing birds and birds taught to speak as food, and sipping dissolved pearls. According to Valerius Maximus, the son of Aesop the great tragedian, who made a large fortune, had a mania for the latter, and, according to Pliny, used to set before every one of his guests a dissolved pearl. According to Horace, he once swallowed the pearl Metella had worn as an ear-ring, in order to drink down a million at a gulp. Maximus ascribes to the father, and Pliny to the son, the roasting of singing and speaking birds: Pliny estimates the cost of each dish at 6,000

sesterces, and the course at 100,000 ; and Horace mentions the two sons of Quintus Arrius, who used to feed on expensive nightingales. The variations in the accounts of these and similar anecdotes show that the details are untrustworthy, and that their only value consists in the general credence they obtained. The frequent repetition of such stories (including that of Cleopatra's pearl) has led to the conclusion that such incidents were common. But in reality these 'solecisms of luxury' were considered abnormal even then. Augustus, it is said, had his Egyptian procurator Eros crucified on a ship's mast, for buying and roasting a quail which had won its every fight. Such extravagances as breaking a silver vessel of Mentor, an old Cellini, in order to have the reliefs attached to a mistress' toilette-table, characterize the senseless wastrel or the uncultured *nouveau riche*. Trimalchio's cushions are stuffed with purple wool ; and a slave is whipped for binding his master's wounded arm up with white, instead of purple wool. These incidents no more illustrate contemporary luxury, than the luxury of the eighteenth century is indicated by a Prince di Conti, who bestrews the ink of a letter with diamond dust, or the daughters of Tepper, a Warsaw banker, who in 1790 had their coffee made on a sandal-wood fire.

A further source of error is the habit of assenting unreservedly to the condemnation by Roman writers of certain forms of luxury, whereas an unprejudiced examination would have shown them innocent and sensible, even welcome symptoms of advance in civilization and prosperity. For the idea of luxury is relative. 'Every individual rank and age declares every commodity a luxury which it does not consider indispensable'. But on the whole the views of antiquity in this respect were more austere than those of modern times. The life of the ancients, as to some extent that of the Southerner even now, was far more in accordance with Nature than ours. Hence, every artificial satisfaction of needs, created by greater civilization, appeared to them not only superfluous, but unnatural, whereas the highly civilized Northern nations, who have in the first place to compensate industrially the meagreness of Nature, regard—and often rightly—every advance in craft as not only harmless, but a sign of progress. And besides, our three main authorities on Roman luxury happen to be Marcus Varro, Lucius Seneca and Pliny the Elder, men

of peculiarly simple and strict habits, who acted on a principle of abstemiousness beyond the average of their contemporaries. This is especially true of Seneca, who in his youth abstained for a whole year from flesh, and, on the advice of Attalus, denied himself every forbidden and superfluous pleasure; he gradually became less severe; but, even in his old age, would not avail himself of oysters, mushrooms, scents, wine and warm baths, and practised great moderation in the few pleasures he permitted himself. The effects of his abstemiousness were shown by the condition of his body at the time of his death. He, Pliny and Varro, with very little qualification condemn every comfort, every refined and superfluous enjoyment; Seneca and Pliny are inclined to advocate a return to Nature. Pliny, contemplating the inexhaustible wealth of creation if left to herself, was confirmed in this tendency, and even stigmatizes the sailing-ship as an unwarrantable infraction of the order of Nature. Varro disapproves the importation of foreign foods. Pliny thinks the artificial growth of asparagus a monstrous piece of gluttony; he and Seneca—Seneca repeatedly—declaim against the cooling of drinks with snow, as an unnatural luxury: snow is now, and has been for centuries, indispensable to the poorest Southerner; Addison, who visited Naples in the beginning of the eighteenth century, thought a famine of snow, like a famine of corn elsewhere, would cause a revolt. And the desire is very natural; Galen recommends Rome, as snow is so easily procurable there. In Sicily, the growing use of snow is said to have raised the general standard of health.

Iced fruits and other flavoured substances were invented by the French at the end of the seventeenth century. The great spread of the manufacture and trade in ice in modern times is a good illustration of the difference between modern luxury and ancient, with its narrow limits. The American ice-trade, which about thirty years ago reached its height, and annually exported over £500,000 worth of Arctic ice to the equator, has now almost everywhere given way before manufactured ice, and probably refrigerators will soon be an indispensable household article.

Pliny was on insecure ground in declaiming against the use of snow as a refrigerator, but on surer, when protesting against feather-cushions, which, although mentioned by Cicero, can

never have been general, as they scarcely suit a Southern climate. But even this is hardly an excess of luxury. A political economist of the eighteenth century thought it evidence of the meagreness of Roman commerce that the Romans, to fill their cushions and pillows, only used the feathers of German geese and swans, whilst eiderdowns from the Polar countries were unobtainable. Pliny gives the price of goose-feathers as five *denarii* to the Roman pound (4s. 4d. for three-quarters of a pound). A pound of the finest eiderdown cost 6 thalers at Frankfort in 1786.

A further consideration is the tendency of most Roman writers of the period to extol the past at the cost of the present. Throughout the whole of later Roman literature there is a monotone of complaint at the degeneration of the age, and the regret at the prevalence of luxury, often justified, is far too much of an exaggerated commonplace. These *capucina*-*ades*, as Goethe called them, are, perhaps, one of the rhetorical commonplaces of the Schools, which infected even men like Seneca, who believed that human affairs always remained at the same level. Pliny, to judge imperial luxury, assumes as his standard the time when meal was eaten out of earthenware pots, and was the principal food, when the walls of houses were not even rough-cast, and one slave was sufficient for a large household. He and others talk as though this simplicity could have survived after Rome had become the capital of the world, with every commodity from every zone pouring in, and after a highly developed civilization had multiplied needs and pleasures, made them more refined and more widely spread. To such writers glory and splendour, grace and comfort, seemed as undesirable as the seamy side of civilization. Their grievance is as ill-founded as that of a modern who would set back the hands of the clock to a time of unpaved, unlit streets, when windows had no panes, and forks were unknown. Forks came into use in France in the fourteenth, and in Italy at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and were at first discountenanced; Dandolo, an old chronicler, tells of the wife of a *doge* who used a golden fork, and reeked like a corpse before her death as a punishment. Thus too the annals of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries regard every device for the increase of comfort or pleasure as a symptom of decadence, e.g., when bags of straw were replaced by mattresses, torches

by tallow and wax-candles, and bed canopies and curtains came into use. So too Holinshed prefaces his Chronicle of 1577 with a complaint at the introduction of stoves in England, and of pewter dishes and plates instead of earthen and wooden ones.

Finally, criticism of luxury has been rendered more difficult owing to its varieties not being distinguished, and excess in one being ascribed to all. But the same people at the same time may be very extravagant in one direction and very economical in another. Thus, according to William of Malmesbury, the banquets of the Anglo-Saxons were very lavish, but their homes mean, whereas the Normans were moderate eaters and built themselves splendid castles. In Germany from the sixteenth century up to recent times the homes were meagrely fitted up, but luxury was shown in dress, as so many sumptuary laws on dress prove. In the seventeenth century Russian luxury was exhibited in the extravagant use of jewellery, and otherwise almost exclusively in richness of attire, mostly of Oriental stuffs and silk. The Patriarch Nikon in 1652 in seven months spent 700 roubles or 150,000 pounds of rye on his dress, and lived otherwise on a peasant's fare, and very cheaply. Even at Court, there were golden dishes but no plates or napkins. In the seventeenth century Spanish grandees similarly combined finery and cheese-paring. Their luxury consisted in an enormous expenditure of the huge supplies of gold and silver from Mexico and Peru, mainly on plate; in accumulating costly furniture and decorations, and in numerous retinues of ill-paid, starving attendants; their living-rooms were vast, their sedan-chairs magnificent, their mules gorgeously draped, hooped with silver; they had coaches and horses at enormous prices (e.g., 12,000-25,000 escudos); women's dresses were overloaded with jewellery and pearls. But fine linen was so rare, that many had only a single skirt, and had to do without or stay in bed whilst it was being washed. In fact all this tinsel concealed great poverty; ready money was scarce, and was hoarded up, instead of being put out at interest. President de Brosses (1739-40) observes that French and Italian ideas of splendour were very different. 'We in France reckon a great house or a great man by the excellence of his table.' The rich kept a large kitchen-staff, livery servants, had three times as many courses as they needed,

had the dessert very elaborately served: the Italians used their wealth to bedeck their native city with monuments or fine buildings, so to immortalize their name and artistic taste. De Brosses also says that the Venetian patrician ladies glittered at feasts with their jewellery, but lived very sparingly, in the simplest rooms of those proud palaces, any one of which in less than seven hours could offer the imposing spectacle of forty splendidly furnished rooms.

Thus varieties of luxury are nowise necessarily connected, and the luxury of the table, dress, decoration of the home and domestic arrangements, of burial, slaves, and art in the Roman Empire depended partially on very diverse conditions, and require treating separately. In the same way public and private luxury must be severally considered. At this point we deal circumstantially only with the latter.

The first period of vast luxury at Rome was the reign of the nabobs, and Lucullus, enriched with the booty of two Oriental kingdoms, could live like a 'Xerxes in a toga', and was, then and after, regarded as the type, which introduced into Rome the fashion of extravagance in buildings and banquets. But such expenditure was isolated under the Republic, or at least confined to a limited circle, and became general only under the Monarchy, when, as has been said, wealth became greater. Hence Tacitus is undoubtedly right in saying that Rome's period of greatest luxury was from the Battle of Actium up to the accession of Vespasian, who, himself old-fashioned, did more by his example to restrict extravagance than any laws or decrees. And, besides, many great families, under the Julian Emperors, had been ruined in the attempt to distinguish themselves by their magnificence, and the survivors profited by their example. And, lastly, the Italian cities and the provinces had introduced many *novi homines* into the Roman aristocracy, who preserved their native economy amidst their new surroundings. For the whole of the second century these facts tended to diminish luxury, as also the good example set by the emperors (with the exception of Lucius Verus), and the steady decline of the old and rise of the new nobility. Hence it need not be assumed, that, after Trajan, in whose latter years Tacitus made his statement (above quoted), there had been any material change in this respect.

I. THE LUXURY OF THE TABLE AND THE IMPORTATION OF FOREIGN FOODS

§ 1

The censure of the ancients on the luxury of the table must be very cautiously taken. Southerners need much less nourishment, are far more moderate eaters and drinkers, and would regard a seasonable diet of ours as excess. The attitude towards the use of unmixed wine is one instance. Even the philosophy of Epicurus inculcated the greatest simplicity of pleasures, and the highest moderation as its first precept. The 'Teacher of Luxury' exalted him as Jupiter who was satisfied with bread and water: on this rule he insisted, and, as a supreme indulgence, allowed himself only Cythnian cheese; like Pascal at Port-Royal he tried to restrict himself to the minimum of food necessary to sustain life, and was proud that it cost him less than an *as* ($\frac{2}{3}d$); Metrodorus could not reduce his fare as much and spent a whole *as*.

At Rome, for a long time the greatest simplicity prevailed at table. In 188 B.C. the army returned from Asia Minor, acquainted for the first time with Oriental luxury and debauchery, and with the knowledge that there was any *art* of cooking; from that time cooks, hitherto the least accounted of slaves, began to fetch good prices; but even then and for the next hundred years, the luxury of the table cannot have been very great. For up to 174 B.C. the *matronae* baked their own bread; and in 161 B.C. the fattening of hens aroused great indignation, and was forbidden by a censorial edict, which was re-enacted in all subsequent sumptuary laws: but the provision was evaded by fattening cocks. Much later still, foreign birds and shell-fish were imported into Rome; these, and dormice, were forbidden by an ordinance of 115 B.C., or perhaps not till 78 B.C. About 100, Greek wine was still never served more than once, even at splendid banquets, and, in view of the facilities of communication between Greece and Italy, this fact testifies to the modesty of the table at that time. Posidonius the Stoic, in one of his notes written about 100 B.C., observes that the wealthy in Italy accustomed their children to quite simple fare, and made them eat anything there was at hand, and

'drink mostly water: 'the father or the mother would often ask the son if he would like some fruit for dinner; and, after he had eaten some, he was satisfied and went to sleep'.

Yet 'flourishing trade made foreign foods and other articles necessities'. Rome's oversea relations became closer and wider; commerce more lively, and the shores of the Mediterranean exchanged their products: very soon the Romans learned that the best kids were to be had in Ambracia, the best donkey fish at Pessinus, oysters at Tarentum, and dates in Egypt. The severer moralists like Varro disapproved this tendency, and like Luther and Hutten in sixteenth century Germany considered as very reprehensible the neglect of excellent home products in the search for luxury. But this stern attitude was never common even in antiquity. Thucydides exalts Athens as receiving the imports of all countries and enjoying foreign commodities as its own; and the later Attic comedians, like Antiphanes, and Archestratus of Gela (who supplied material to Ennius) made a gastronomic tour of the world, and drew up lists of cosmopolitan delicacies with the same complacency as Brillat-Savarin, who celebrates the international origins of the meals of Paris, to which every quarter of the globe contributes its share.

Varro would be still more out of court to-day when 'a middle-class German family breakfasts on coffee from the East Indies, Chinese tea, sugar from the West Indies, English cheese, Spanish wine, and caviar from Russia, without being accused of luxury'. 'I assured him', says Gulliver, 'that this whole globe of earth must be at least three times gone round before one of our better female Yahoos could get her breakfast or a cup to put it in'. In our time, every day we derive our food from the whole world and see nothing to blame, much less any sign of luxury in it; and Varro's complaints would be all the more out of place as transport to Germany from Asia, America and Africa is certainly no easier or less costly, than from the near Mediterranean coasts to Rome, which was practically a harbour. And the preference for certain commodities of certain places is always a necessary consequence of the increase of prosperity and commerce. The Paris, for example, of the thirteenth century was in many respects the first city of Europe, yet trade and wealth were scarcely as great as in Varro's Rome; yet 'with

regard to the source of certain foods anything but indifference prevailed ; every one knew what district produced this or that article best, and whence the *gourmet* might fill his larder. Thus Vermandois peas, Orleans cresses, Auvergne turnips, Corbeilles onions, Étampes shalots, Champagne and Brie cheese, Bondy fish, Burgundian pears and Auvergne apples were greatly esteemed. The best chestnuts came from Lombardy, figs from Malta and raisins from the Levant : of foreign wines, Moselle wines, Spanish, Cypriote, Greek and Italian were specially in demand. Similar facts may be collected from all times and countries, whose commercial development is sufficiently known. Nicolai, in his life of Sebalduß Nothanker, makes a German count and epicure catalogue all the best foods of the German provinces alone, since his patriotism could not endure French food. Every day by post he received large marenas (a kind of salmon) from Pomerania, three-quarters of a yard long, flounders from the Isle of Hela, and Berlin *sandar* (perch-pike); cold tarts from Hanau, spiced brawn from Frankfort, are to be sent him in March ; so too fieldfare from the Harz, pheasants from Bohemia in February ; crabs from Sonnenburg, Westphalian hams cooked in champagne, caviar from Königsberg, Astrachan melons and pineapples. And Germany was then a poor and commercially undeveloped country.

A perusal of what Roman writers say about ' the disgusting hunts ' and the explorations of land and sea for delicacies would make one think huge preparations were made, and whole armies of men sent out on long, dangerous and difficult expeditions, to fill the plates of Roman epicures. With Vitellius it certainly was so ; for he had the ingredients of his famous gigantic dish fetched by the Roman fleets even from Spain and Parthia ; they were flamingo tongues, mackerel livers, pheasant and peacock brains, and lamprey-milk. But, even among the emperors, Vitellius only found one imitator, Elagabalus ; there were many more *gourmets* among the French of the eighteenth century. Verdelet, for instance, had one dish made out of the tongues of two or three thousand carp, which cost 1,200 *livres*, and Prince de Soubise often dined on an *omelette royale* invented by the cook Martin for Louis XV, and made out of cockscombs and carp-milk, which cost

100 *écus*. But, apart from the monstrosities of the imperial orgies of ancient Rome, a simple explanation is, that among the products of all countries their foods and dainties also came into the market and found a good sale. And of these delicacies from distant countries, which excited such indignation, most are birds, pheasants and the Numidian guinea hen, flamingoes and some others ; part of them were already being bred in Italy and cannot have been expensive ; in the tariff of maximum prices ordained by Diocletian, the pheasant is only priced a quarter as much again as a goose. Both birds were roasted for feasts : at the very frugal table of the Emperor Alexander Severus two fowls, one hare and much game were served up daily, and a goose on ordinary festival-days, and a pheasant only on extraordinary occasions : the Emperor Tacitus was also fond of pheasants.

Further, only after the establishment of the monarchy did the acclimatization of foreign animals and vegetables (which will be dealt with later), and their acquisition through commerce, spread to any extent, and Varro's angry censures are directed against the beginnings only of such luxury. For, in his time, foreign dishes were rare even at luxurious meals. A list of dishes eaten at a priestly inauguration between 73-63 B.C. has been preserved ; there are a few foreign dishes, but none rare or costly. It took place on August 24. The first course consisted of sea-urchins, plain oysters *ad libitum*, two sorts of mussels, a thrush on asparagus, a fatted hen, a *ragout* of oysters and mussels, black and white chestnuts ; then different kinds of shell-fish and marine animals with becaficos, loins of does and wild boars, game-pie, and purple fish with becaficos. The chief course consisted of udders of sows, a pig's head, fricassee of fish and sow's-udder, two kinds of duck (boiled or otherwise prepared), hares, roasted game, a meal pudding and Picentine bread. The menu of the dessert is lost. At this meal the most distinguished men and women of Rome sat down, including Julius Caesar as Pontifex, and six priests and six priestesses in all ; and the fare was luxurious even for the proverbially voracious priesthoods ; otherwise a writer four or five centuries later would hardly have troubled to record it. But still it would be easy to select various banquets of modern times, equally costly, which still hardly excited attention ;

and this sacerdotal dinner is not comparable with examples of eighteenth and nineteenth century luxury. Between the date of this dinner and Varro's censures the importation of foreign delicacies may have increased. But Horace describes the feast given by the rich Nasidienus to Maecenas and his friends, at which no foreign dishes are mentioned, and his satire is directed, not against the excess of food, but the absurd refinements of these epicures, a passion ridiculous to the poet, who loved simple dishes most and vegetarian fare, in accordance with the precepts of Epicurus.

As Tacitus says, the battle of Actium marks the beginning of the great epoch of luxury, when commerce flourished with universal peace, and extended by way of Alexandria to India and all Asia. At last Rome became a city into which the trade of the world, year in, year out, poured in profusion, bringing 'what every people produced and made' and 'when most distant products could be examined close at hand'. At last the rarest and costliest products of all zones could be lavished on the epicure's table. 'Now,' says Pliny in his pedantic fashion, 'different ingredients were so commingled that each perforce had to tickle the palate with a savour foreign to its own nature, and the result was a general confusion of the products of all zones and climates. In one dish India was laid under contribution, in another, Egypt, Cyrene, Crete and so forth. And even poisons men are not loth to swallow'.

The luxury of banquets in Rome from Augustus to Vespasian was no doubt very great, but Pliny the Elder, Seneca the Younger and others no doubt exaggerate its extent and its profligacy. Much that they utterly condemned, we can condone; much that was to them a heinous innovation is everyday experience to us; and other things had a different meaning in reality.

Great banquets were very costly, but the expense consisted in more than the food; there was the decoration, the service, etc.: the cost is no final estimate of the luxury. According to Kotzebue, an elegant dessert at Paris, which cost 10,000 thalers, employed workers in sugar, decorators, painters, architects and florists. At the Lord Mayor's banquets formerly food and drink cost a half of the total, under George III a third, and at the banquet of 1853 in honour of Napoleon,

only a quarter ; at the last banquet the lighting cost £1,000, the arrangement of tables and chairs £1,860, and the decoration, £1,750. So too Quintus Metellus Pius' splendid feast in Spain (72 B.C.) was extravagant in decoration and fittings. A banquet given by one of Nero's friends cost in roses more than 4,000,000 sesterces (£43,500), but it was winter and they were profusely used ; generally banquets were an occasion of expenditure in flowers, far more lavish than in our days. The great Condé in April of 1676 gave a feast at Chantilly and spent only 1,000 *écus* on carpeting all the rooms with narcissi. But this form of expenditure has grown of late. In England £2,000 is sometimes spent on flowers for a ball. In the table decorations of expert designers for the country houses of the great, baskets of flowers from Nice or Paris are used as a centre for hothouse groupings. The rarest orchids deck 'banquets worthy of a Lucullus' ; and huge posies out of season are sold from three guineas upwards.

Another cause of outlay at ancient banquets was the habit of giving presents to the guests, or distributing them by lot. The raffles consisted of articles of very different value ; at Elagabalus' feasts the guest might win ten camels or ten fics, ten pounds of gold or lead, ten ostriches or ten hen's eggs. In Martial's distichs for such raffles, there are always pairs of articles, one worthless and the other valuable. They might be writing materials, toilette articles, clothes, furniture, crockery, instruments of all kinds (musical included), eatables, games, caged birds, weapons, works of art, books, animals, (such as a trained gerfalcon), slaves ; or such valuable articles as scarlet mantles, ancient wrought goblets, vessels of crystal and *murra*, statuettes of gold or silver, or slaves, such as female dancers, shorthand writers, dwarfs, jesters, cooks, pastry-cooks. At a feast of Lucius Verus (which cost 6,000,000 sesterces, or £63,750) all the presents were of value ; beautiful slaves are mentioned, living animals, dishes of costly material, wreaths of flowers of all seasons with golden ribbons, silver-wrought carriages with yokes of mules and drivers.

The expense of the banquet of Lucullus in the Hall of Apollo may have been 200,000 sesterces, and the Arvales often dined at 100 denarii the cover ; but how much of this represented wreaths, flowers, scents (in which great luxury was shown), light, decorations, uniforms, scenic performances and presents,

we cannot tell. But this outlay at Roman banquets and its refinement was easily rivalled later, as will be subsequently shown. For the present, to take one instance, when the custom of raffling for gifts was introduced into France from Italy in the seventeenth century, at a feast at the Louvre given by Mazarin in honour of the Queen of England, all numbers won, and the greatest prize was a diamond worth 4,000 *écus*; on August 17, 1661, Superintendent Fouquet gave the king a banquet, with jewels, splendid costumes, costly weapons and horses as prizes.

Further, extravagance in banquets and the high prices paid for single delicacies are, in imperial Rome, to be ascribed not only to debauchery, but also to fashion, ostentatiousness, and the desire of being talked about among *gourmets*; and so too with other forms of luxury. 'Spendthrifts', says Seneca, 'devote their whole lives to becoming the topics of conversation, and deem lack of notoriety failure. Everything they do must be rumoured abroad, or they are discontented. Many there are who squander their property or keep mistresses; but to have a name amongst such, the extravagance must be committed with a certain *éclat*; in so busy a city ordinary dissipation is not worth gossiping about'. 'You are not content, Tucca,' says Martial, 'to be a glutton; you want to appear one and be known as one'. This striving after notoriety induced the spending of huge sums on *mulli* (barbel) of extraordinary size, often mentioned as a proof of unexampled luxury. Thus one Publius Octavius, an eminent man, bought for 5,000 sesterces a barbel weighing 5½ pounds (Roman), and the glory of having something too dear even for the emperor Tiberius and his rival Apicius; and 'thus gained much repute with his peers'. Such fancy prices were determined by the purse of the purchaser. Juvenal speaks of people who look through all ingredients and delicacies, and, regardless of price, express a preference for what costs most, ruining themselves to have dishes brought to table worth 400 sesterces. This sum (£4 7s) was considered prodigious—proof sufficient of the lower standard of luxury in food at that time. In fact, one litre of the rarest tit-bits, only used in small quantities, a fish-sauce called *garum* made out of the inside of the tunny fish and manufactured at Cartagena, only cost £1 13s. in present currency. In 1596, at a time of famine, banquets were given at Paris, at

which the dishes cost 45 *écus* or 440 francs ; at a supper of the Maréchal de l'Hôpital, in Mazarin's day, each dish cost 400 *écus*. In St. Petersburg under Potemkin the grandees gave as much as 300 roubles for a fish soup made of sturgeon, the special delicacy at their banquets. Potemkin himself for a time, when prices were low, spent 800 roubles a day on his board, and, at his balls in 1791, spent 14,000 a night, when a fish-soup worth 1,000 roubles was set on table in a silver dish weighing 300 pounds. The cost of a giant trout and sauce sent by the city of Geneva to Chancellor Cambacérès was assessed by the exchequer at 6,000 francs. Pliny says, with some exaggeration, that cooks in his day cost more than erewhile triumphs ; but their wages would work out at much less than those in modern Paris or London. Antoine Carême served in the kitchens of Lord Stewart, Talleyrand, Rothschild and the Emperor Alexander, and at the Russian Court received 2,400 francs as monthly salary, and his bills came to 80,000-100,000 : some letters recently published show that some cooks in England received £1,200 a year. Seneca stigmatizes as monstrous a 'famous dish, the talk of the city', containing the finest delicacies, such as were usually served up separately—oysters and other shell-fish, sea-urchins, boned mullets—mixed together with one sauce, so as to be indistinguishable : 'no vomit were so well commingled'. If such a dish excited such interest, Neronian cookery must have been far less refined than modern French cuisines. Publius Servilius Rullus, in Sulla's time, introduced the fashion of serving whole boars, even when the guests were few—a fashion, too, of the Regency in France ; this coarse luxury (much in vogue in the Elder Pliny's time) makes us doubtful of the refined taste of the Roman table, since swine, wild and tame, prepared in all sorts of ways, were at all times a favourite meal. One well-known dish, invented by Aelius Verus, was a special favourite of the *gourmet* Hadrian, and also used by Alexander Severus ; it consisted of a pie of pheasant, peacocks, boar, or the udder of sows and ham.

Further, the use of emetics after meals is by no means so convincing a proof of gluttony or intemperance, as it appears to modern ideas. Caesar was conspicuously temperate, but took an emetic after a heavy meal with Cicero, who mentions it without any disapproval ; it follows, not that men com-

monly ate with bestial gluttony, but that what we now regard only as a medicine, was then a usual dietetic, like bleeding and purging with our forbears. 'Every one' says Seneca, 'knows his own bodily defects; hence one man will relieve his stomach with an emetic, or another strengthen it with good food, or another empty and purify it with a fast'. The ancient Egyptians, according to Herodotus, were the healthiest of mankind, and three days in every month used emetics and clysters; the great Greek physicians, such as Hippocrates, recommended regular vomitives and purgings, and later doctors mostly concurred, only deprecating their abuse. Asclepiades indeed utterly condemned the use of emetics in his book on health; and Celsus did not blame him for being forced into this attitude by men who took them daily; he disapproved of them as an aid to gluttony, but he knew that, as an occasional resource, they were conducive to health. So too Archigenes, a famous physician under Trajan, commends their use two or three times a month, and Galen before, rather than after meals. Pliny and Plutarch only advised emetics in actual disease. But, amongst those devotees of the belly who lived to eat, who had seven courses even when alone, knew how to prepare fine dishes and were such connoisseurs that they could tell at the first taste from which shore an oyster hailed, there may well have been many who 'vomited to eat, and ate to vomit, and did not deign to digest their repasts furnished from all parts of the world', at least under Nero, when Seneca wrote these words. But the exaggerations and generalizations of prejudiced writers do not justify a belief that this disgusting habit of daily vomits with all its evil consequences was common in wider circles, even at a time of debauchery, let alone in later days. Of the Emperors, whose habits the biographers have described to the most trifling details, Vitellius, the abnormal glutton, and Claudius are the only ones who habitually used emetics. And perhaps he was no worse than Charles V, whose 'heroics in gluttony' forced his 'horrified' doctor to recommend plenteous senna and rhubarb, after a four days' gorging.

§ 2

These considerations show that luxury at table under the Empire has been stigmatized as frightful and unnatural

only because exceptions have been taken to prove the rule, and the diatribes of the ancients against gluttony, and the facts alleged by them have been accepted without reserve, and without the qualification of the proper standard for the time. The question remains, whether, and how far, Roman luxury has been surpassed since the fall of Rome. In addition to what has been stated, the following facts will assist the argument.

In the Early Middle Ages, under the Khalifs, banquets were profuse in delicate foods and splendid appurtenances. The son of Gabryl, the physician of Haroun al Rashid, in the summer used to dine in a room cooled with snow, and in the winter in a conservatory warmed by logs of fragrant wood, and ate such luxuries as roasted fowls stuffed with almonds and pomegranate juice. At the Circumcision Feast of the son of Khalif Motawakkil the carpet was of gold-stuff, worked with jewels: on it were figures made of a paste of amber, aloes and musk; each guest had heaps of gold and silver pieces poured out before him, from which he could fill his pockets at pleasure, and, on leaving, each received a dress of honour. In Moorish Spain, with all its artistic luxury, cookery attained a high stage of refinement.

In Christian Europe and Germany the cloisters were the homes of good eating. At feasts pheasants and peacocks were favourite dishes; both are mentioned in the kitchen accounts of the eleventh century cloisters on the lake of Constance. Foreign foods and ingredients were also imported; at Hirschau under Abbot William (1069-1091) a number of foreign fishes and fruits (lemons, figs, and chestnuts) and roots such as pepper and ginger, were known and used. Peter of Clugny about 1130 complained that many monks were not content with home foods, but sought for foreign ones. And medieval barons kept a sumptuous table, having even (like Nero in his Golden House) ceilings that showered down fragrances and sugared cakes on the guests.

In France the art of cooking was well advanced in the fourteenth century, and progressed more in the fifteenth. The cooks of the famous school of Charles VII's cook Taillevent, aimed at making dishes artistically attractive, and disguising the nature of the viands. The principal course consisted of sweets, a peacock, a pheasant or swan, in its skin and feathers,

with a gilded beak, carried on a lofty dish. The peacocks were brought in to the sound of trumpets and the clapping of hands, and were a favourite roast until the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, when turkeys and pheasants supplanted them. At the marriage of Adam Geizkofler, a native of the Tirol, legal adviser to the Fuggers in 1590, six turkeys and seven peacocks were served up. In Spain, peacocks fattened with nuts were eaten in old-fashioned houses as the principal course, down to 1815.

In England the reign of Richard II was an age of luxurious food; the ordinary dinner of a man of rank at the end of the fourteenth century consisted in three courses of seven, five and six dishes each; at greater feasts eleven, nine and twelve dishes. The fifteenth century also distinguished itself in this way. When George Neville was made Archbishop of York in 1466 there was a huge banquet, at which were devoured 4,000 cold game-pies, 104 peacocks and 200 pheasants.

The greatness of Italian luxury at feasts in the fifteenth century may be illustrated by a description of the one given by Benedetto Salutati, a Florentine, grandson of the famous chancellor, and his associates, February 16, 1476, to the sons of King Ferrante in Naples. The staircase was decked with embroidered carpets and wreaths of yew; the great hall decorated with tapestries; from the canopy, which was in cloth with the colours of Aragon, two candelabras of carved and gilded wood hung down. Opposite the main entrance, on a platform covered with carpets, stood the dining-table, spread with the finest linen over a worked cover. One side was taken up by a huge sideboard, on which were set out eighty ornamental pieces of plate (besides the silver table-service), mostly of silver, some gold, and three hundred plates of various kinds, bowls, beakers and dishes. To the sound of drums and fifes the guests sat down. The *hors d'œuvre* consisted of a little dish of gilt cakes of pineapple kernels, and a little majolica bowl with a milk pudding. Eight silver dishes of capon's breast jelly, decorated with coats of arms and mottoes; and the principal guest, the Duke of Calabria, received a dish with a fountain in the middle, spraying forth a shower of orange-flower water. The first part of the banquet consisted of twelve courses of various meats, game, veal, ham, pheasants, partridges, capons, fowls, blancmange; at

the end, a huge silver dish was set before the Duke, who took off the cover and released a number of birds. On two magnificent salvers there were two peacocks, apparently alive, with tails spread, burning essence in their beaks, and the Duke's arms attached to a silk ribbon on their breasts. The second part of the feast consisted of nine courses of various sweets, tarts, marchpane, light and delicate pastry with hippocras. The wines were mostly Italian and Sicilian; between every two guests was placed a list of the fifteen brands. At the end of the banquet, every guest was handed fragrant water to wash his hands; then the cloth was removed, a large dish was put on the table, containing a mountain of green twigs which gave forth fragrant scents, whose perfume filled the hall. During the meal and after, the guests were entertained with music and a dumb-show. About an hour later, dessert was served; sugar designs in silver vessels with covers of wax and sugar, in which there were coats of arms and devices. Towards the fifth hour of the night the guests left, after having stayed nearly four hours.

In the sixteenth century, Venice perhaps indulged in the most gorgeous feasts in all Italy. In 1552 Cardinal Grimani, a nephew of Julius III (Ranuccio Farnese) gave a banquet for a hundred guests; ninety dishes were served up and the dinner lasted four hours. The Venetian burghers generally spent 400 or 500 ducats on city banquets. Not only spices and scents were lavished, but gold as well. At a breakfast to King Henry III in the apartments of the Ten, everything was of sugar, including table-cloths, covers, plates and even bread. The banqueting halls and tables were extremely artistic and splendid. Some of the centre-pieces represented white peacocks, with tails spread, quite life-like, overhung with ribbons of gold and silk of all hues and gilded sugar, with scents burning in their beaks and love-mottoes between their feet; figures in marchpane three palms high, and so forth. Songs, poems, operas and other entertainments served to enliven these banquets.

The biographer of Agostino Chigi has described three of his banquets, at which Pope Leo X was present. After one fairly modest one (it only cost 2,000 ducats), seven heavy silver dishes were missing, but Chigi forbade any search, and was surprised that so few were missing out of so many. At another

banquet given in the summer on a colonnade on the Tiber, nets were spread in the river, and after each course all the silver used was thrown in before the eyes of the guests, in order that none might be used twice ; the remains were given to the numerous crowd. At the third, the Pope and twelve cardinals and other great men were present, and every guest found his arms faultlessly engraved on the silver off which he was eating, and couriers had been despatched in time to bring the best dish of his country, prepared on the spot, to each guest fresh on that day.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, according to the cookery-book of Bartolommeo Scuppi, the cook of Pius V (1566-1572), ' banquets were of four courses : the first of sugar fruits and tarts, representing the Papal arms, and filled with little birds. The rest were composed of all manner of dishes : birds in their feathers, capons cooked in bottles, fish, venison, meat, sweets in alternation, quite contrary to our culinary notions. There were dishes made with rose-water ; on the same dish the most varied ingredients might be combined. The union of opposites was the triumph of culinary art. Before dessert, the cloth was removed ; hands were washed ; the table was covered with sugared eggs and syrups, which sent forth numbing fragrances. At the conclusion, bouquets were distributed'. Fragrances played a great part then in cooking ; Montaigne, who loved them, speaks with approval of their use for meat dishes. At a visit of the Bey of Tunis to Charles V at Naples, the Bey's dishes were filled with spices so costly, that two pheasants and a peacock cost 100 ducats ; when they were carved, the room and the entire palace and the neighbouring houses became redolent with a pleasant smell, that lasted some time.

Indeed, in every art and in cuisine Italy in the sixteenth century was the first nation in Europe. Montaigne says of the domestic steward of Cardinal Carafa, an Italian : ' He delivered me a lecture on the science of gorging, with a magisterial air, as though pronouncing on some great theological problem. He unravelled the differences of appetite ; how a man feels before the meal, and after the second, and after the third course ; how these various states of feeling may be artificially satisfied and excited. He discussed the management of sauces ; first generally ; and then, in particular, on the

qualities and effects of the ingredients ; the difference of salads according to the season, and which should be served up warm and which cold ; how they should be dressed, to make them pleasant to the eye. And he lost himself in deep and beautiful thoughts on the arrangement of the table, and used a rich and splendid vocabulary, such as befits a statesman, speaking on affairs of State '.

In the sixteenth century French cooking also had made great advances ; but, under Louis XIV 'French cookery legislated for all Europe '. Substantially it was founded by Taillevent, but owed much to Italy ; nevertheless, it still seemed imperfect to contemporaries. Of its variety a *menu* may testify at a banquet given by Louvois, the Minister of War of Louis XIV, to the dauphin and several other members of the Royal family : 11 *potages différents*, 11 *entrées*, 13 *hors d'œuvres pour le premier service*, 24 *plats d'entremets*, 11 *hors d'œuvres de légumes, d'omelettes, de crèmes, de foie gras et de truffes*. The dessert is not mentioned. The feast given by Superintendent Foucquet on August 17, 1661, at his Castle of Vaux to the King cost 120,000 livres. It was arranged by the famous cook Vatel. 80 tables and 30 buffets were put up, 120 dozen serviettes were used and 500 dozen silver plates, 36 dozen silver dishes, and plate of massive gold. Afterwards, Molière's *Les Fâcheux* was played in the garden, Molière himself acting. It concluded with a magnificent display of fireworks. Mme. de Sévigné's account of Vatel's suicide in April, 1671, shows the importance attached to cooks and their art. The feast given by the great Condé to Louis XIV at Chantilly cost 180,000 livres (the fireworks alone coming to 16,000), but there were some trifling mishaps ; the sea-fish ordered from all the harbours did not arrive in time ; and thus 'the great Vatel, this genius, who could have borne all the burdens of State, would not survive his imagined disgrace ; and stabbed himself '. He is the ancestor of the long line of great French chefs, inscribed by History on her rolls : an honour which in imperial Rome's greatest days of luxury fell to gladiators and charioteers, but never to cooks.

Under Louis XV the cuisine was already at its height ; connoisseurs say, at its best towards the end of his reign ; according to others, not until Louis XVI. In 1873 all Paris talked for a whole fortnight of a supper given by the *gourmet*

Grimod de la Reynière (junior) for twenty-two people. Of the nine courses, each consisted of one kind of meat, prepared in twenty-two different fashions.

Anyhow, the eighteenth century was the age of 'great cooking and cooks', one of whom was Marin, the *chef* of Prince Soubise, the author of the *Dons de Comus* (with a preface by the learned Jesuit Father Brumoy, translator of the *Théâtre des Grecs*, 1748). The *chef de cuisine* in great houses had a whole host of assistants. The *maître d'hôtel* presided over the service at table in rich garb, a sword at his side, a diamond-ring on his finger, a pouch of perfumed snuff in his hand; sometimes he had to state that his master had spent 100,000 *écus* in the past year. One single dinner given by Soubise to the King and the court cost over 80,000 livres. Many recipes went by the name of great personages who designed them. In Prince Condé's kitchen 120 pheasants a week were consumed; 152 *hommes de bouche* travelled in advance of the Duke de Penthièvre, when he went to open the States of Burgundy.

The Regency, if not the time of the best cooking, was that of the greatest gorging: nobody thought of anything else, according to a contemporary. In the middle of the tables of that day were huge mountains of meat, and pyramids of game and birds; a whole young boar, a roast loin of veal with three fowls and six doves round it, a haunch of venison with all kinds of game, a great sturgeon with mullet. In Law's time this extravagance reached its height. 100 pistoles would be paid for a litre of peas. In Lent, 1720, the butchers' supplies were unequal to the demand. At one Parisian lady's table an ox, two calves, six wethers, etc., were consumed every day.

Fashions of table decoration varied much, from artistically arranged and ornamented centre-pieces, to imitation flower-beds in clay planted with cut flowers, or designs of buildings, statues, and landscapes. A certain Carade invented a hoar-frost which melted in the heated room and made 'the river thaw, the trees turn green, the flowers bloom, and spring follow on winter'. Under Louis XVI 'sableurs' used coloured sand or marble-dust, powdered glass and sugar, and fashioned Persian carpet patterns with marvellous rapidity before the guests came in, to vanish at a breath or a drop of water.

The Revolution scarcely affected this luxury; under the

Directory extravagance was as great as ever. Barras is said to have had mushrooms brought from the mouth of the Rhône by express messenger, and Danton gave banquets at 400 francs per cover.

German Society, as in all else, imitated France in the arrangement of the table. Lady Montagu, when at Vienna in 1716, often dined with the aristocracy off more than fifty dishes, all of silver, and dessert on the finest china on the same scale; eighteen choice wines, of which lists lay on the table, were handed round. But even amongst the middle class of that time of poverty luxury at the table was common. 'For an ordinary friendly dinner', says a writer of 1730, 'five or six delicate dishes suffice; a banquet requires 12-16 courses without reckoning the dessert; for a private individual to give 50-80 dishes is snobbery. For men of rank and ministers of State it is different'. About 1780 in Vienna, the middle class, the lower Court officials, merchants, artists and superior artisans regularly dined on 6, 8 or 10 dishes with 2, 3 or 4 sorts of wines. The *menu* of a dinner given at the investiture of Superintendent Deyling at Leipzig on August 13, 1721, unmistakably shows French influence. At the high table guests 24 in number, including the evangelical clerics, the Council and the *Rector Magnificus*, sat down to a first course of seven dishes: venison pies, partridge-soup, boiled trout, wild rosemary with butter-sauce, *biranges*, *pistachios*, horse-radish, Hamburg meat and beans, two legs of mutton, two craw-fish tarts. The second course consisted of five dishes: pork with six pheasants, a whole deer roasted, a pig's head with ox-tongue, salads, and two *Babtis*-tarts. The arrangement followed a previous plan. At three tables of four and twenty persons, where the pastors sat, six dishes each were served. The lady superintendent also had the following menu for six: a turkey pie, a haunch of venison with two roasted partridges, boiled trout and a currant tart. The twelve musicians and 32 waiters had four dishes each. The sweets consumed were: at the first table, 30 almond tarts, 30 meat-tarts, and 30 dishes of confectionery; at the other three tables, a basket of sweets, an almond tart, a meat tart; and at the lady superintendent's table, fruit as well. Three pails and six cans of Rhine wine, one pail of old Rhine wine, two casks of Wurzen beer, three-eighths of a cask of Lobgünn beer were drunk. This was

certainly at the cost of the city, but gives an idea of how the average rich citizen of Leipzig then lived.

But in all Germany luxury was at its height at Hamburg ; a writer of 1780 calls it 'excessive'. T. H. Voss has written an idyll on a 'rustic' supper given by a merchant of Hamburg in 1778. He first describes the *Canditor* table design, a rich landscape with figures of men and animals, and then the dishes, of which twelve were ready on the table : 'some cold, and some simmering on marble, and hot dishes in silver receptacles'. The menu was : pheasants and Indian bird's-nests and *asia*, young turkeys and soy, trout boiled in wine, cod with oyster-sauce, a sucking-pig in jelly, partridge-pie from Bordeaux stuffed with truffles, different vegetables, and fresh herrings, lobsters, Elbe salmon, Paderborn ham, Göttingen sausages, a *ragout* of scollops, lambs' tongues, pineapples and capers, a haunch of Harz venison, a hare, a red grouse, ortolans, a rich dessert, including apricots and peaches from Potsdam. The wines were comparatively few : Rhine wine of the sixties, Pontac and Burgundy, Silleri, Tokay, and Cape wine. At Hamburg, according to the same authority, it was the rule to have a special wine for every course, not only at feasts, but at the ordinary meals in wealthy households : 'malaga for fresh beans (often costing a ducat a dish) and fresh herrings, burgundy with fresh peas, champagne with oysters, port or Madeira with costly salted fish'.

Examples of Sarmatian luxury with its crude excess, massive but tasteless gorgeousness and boundless extravagance are found in the feasts of the Polish nobles of the eighteenth century under Stanislaus Augustus at Warsaw. In 1789 Prince Charles Radziwill gave one of the most splendid. Four thousand invitations were issued. In the hall, where the King dined, all the dishes were of gold ; in three others transformed into one, there was a long table with magnificent silver plate of Augsburg filigree work ; the long sideboards were also filled with silver ; the carpets and liveries were equally gorgeous. The fare was plenteous, beginning with oysters specially transported from Hamburg : some hundred dishes of them were consumed. The cost of the banquet was about 1,000,000 marks.

Potemkin's feasts perhaps surpassed all. The extravagant luxury of fare and service render them almost fabulous. At

a banquet given to Catharine on April 1, 1791, at St. Petersburg, the Court expended 16,000 pounds of wax for candles, and 70,000 roubles worth of wax in addition was brought from Moscow. The winter garden was six times as large as that in the Imperial Palace, was laid with artificial grass, gravel paths, fruit-trees with glass fruit, jasmine bushes, mirrored grottoes, an *eau de lavande* fountain, an obelisk of crystals and precious stones; in the grass were nests of singing-birds, and bowls of gold-fish, lanterns shaped like pine-apples and melons, and a temple with six columns supporting a statue of the empress. About 3,000 guests were invited: many thousand roubles were given to the people; the ballet masters La Pica and Canziani received 5,000 and 6,000 roubles. The estimate of 200,000 roubles for the whole is far too low.

In North America luxury at table was also great: in 1775, when paper money still stood high, in Philadelphia £800 was spent on pastry alone.

The tradition of the cuisine of the eighteenth century was followed in the nineteenth, especially by the gastronomes of France. In 1803 Grimod de la Reynière's *Almanac des Gourmands* appeared, and sold enormously, called by the Duke of York 'the pleasantest book published'. Macaulay knew much of the eight volumes by heart and amused his guests by quoting, e.g., that oysters weary after the sixth dozen, or dishes '*du potage brûlant tel qu'il doit être* down to '*biscuit d'ivrogne*'. In France Talleyrand's house was *la première maison dînante*, and the dinners at the Foreign Office in the Rue de Varennes were, according to Carême, only equalled by those of the chancellor Cambacères. According to Kotzebue (1804) the latter consisted of 70-80 dishes, which a Lucullus or Apicius would not have disdained. The cooks were worthy descendants of their predecessors, were equally valued, and as convinced of their high importance to society. The Marquis de Cussy, the Court supervisor of Napoleon's kitchen, boasted of knowing 365 ways of cooking a fowl. Antoine Carême refused the post of *chef* to George IV at a clear salary of £500, full disposition of the kitchen money, fifteen holidays a month, and a pension. He dedicated his work on *French Cookery in the nineteenth century* to Lady Morgan, who in her book on France had glorified a dinner given under his supervision by Baroness Rothschild on July 6, 1829, and said that many

epics required less genius than one such dinner. In his dedication he said something more than wealth inflamed him. At all times some disinterested men had sacrificed all to develop art or industry. Enough for him if his great work lightens the heavy labours of the cook.

In the first half of the nineteenth century the expense lavished on meals was as great as ever. Macaulay in 1833 found the Annual Fishmongers' Company Dinner only fairly good ; formerly it had cost £10 10s. a head.

The importance of gastronomy a generation ago is proved by a large gastronomic literature with classics in Grimod de la Reynière, Rumohr and Brillat-Savarin, who are more easily paralleled in Greek antiquity than in Roman. Even a Byron condescended to devote a series of stanzas to a banquet.

Luxury in food then increased from 1800-1850, and the gigantic progress of commerce since then has developed it yet more. On February 5, 1877, at a banquet given at the Berlin Exhibition of Cookery, some of the dishes were : Périgord truffles, Cancale oysters, Volga caviar, trout from the Lake of Garda, sturgeons from the Black Sea, elk buttocks from the Forest of Bialowicz, Indian bird's-nests from Bombay, sea-crawfish from Ostend, snipe from the Pyrenees, Scotch partridges, Florentine quails, Italian pears, Tyrolese apples, Spanish grapes. Zola in his *Pot-Bouille* describes the dinners at the Café Anglais, at 300 francs a head, consisting of delicacies of every clime ; a 'royal choice' of wines, and unseasonable and costly foods, partridges in July and peaches in December. But Chinese cookery seems to pride itself even more on distant delicacies, transported with difficulty ; at least a Hong Kong dinner on March 6, 1877, is thus reported : 'one kind of mushroom came from the South Polar Ocean, whale sinews from the Arctic, shark-fins from the South Seas, and bird's-nests such as only occur in one cave in one island'.

A tirade against luxury and exotic delicacies were much more justified now than in the days of Varro, Sallust, Pliny and Seneca ; an Apicius would feel small at a modern banquet of a modern capital !

II. THE IMPORTATION AND USE OF EDIBLE ANIMALS AND PLANTS

§ 1

Luxury in food, both in Roman and modern times, was not merely deleterious or useless ; it caused the importation of foreign plants and animals into the countries of the West, improved the standard of living, and so helped to spread and promote civilization.

Even under the Republic many of the animals and vegetables for the tables of the rich were grown in Italy. Uncompromising opponents indeed censured both the acclimatization and the purchase of foreign fish and birds. Under Tiberius Optatus Elipertius, Praefect of the Fleet, succeeded in breeding a fish, the Scarus, found in the seas between Rhodes and Crete, on the Italian coast between Ostia and Campania. In Pliny's time it was plentiful ; he says : ' Gluttony has then secured its delicacies by sowing the seas, and giving them new inmates ; one need not be astonished if foreign birds breed in Rome '. Making a profit out of luxury in food the severest censors did not disapprove ; Varro even gave careful instructions for artificial breeding of game, birds, fish and shell-fish, including exotic ones, such as the African guinea-fowls, Gaulish and Spanish hares and rabbits, Illyrian and African snails.

And, according to Pliny, it was greed of gain and not gluttony that made Sergius Orata invent an oyster-bed in the Lucrine lake, though others, before him, had unsuccessfully attempted artificial breeding. Aristotle says that some Chians from Pyrrha in Lesbos had taken living oysters and put them in similar spots in their own seas. After some time, they grew bigger, but did not fertilize. Outside Italy, ancient oyster-beds have only been found at Bordeaux. But what was then the speculation of a few is now an important livelihood for whole districts, and a considerable part of the revenue, as well as a problem deemed worthy of the serious efforts of naturalists. The French Government actively subsidizes a flourishing oyster-trade by artificial breeding, as perfected by Coste ; in the Lago di Fusaro primitive methods still obtain and prosper.

The animals acclimatized by luxury in Italy were mostly birds. The peacock, which Hortensius was the first to eat

as a roast, had been long known. The increasing demand led to peacock-breeding as a farm industry. The little islands off Italy, even in Varro's days, were turned into peacock-isles, and peacock farms were laid out on the Continent as well. In Athenaeus' time Rome teemed with peacocks. The guinea-fowl (*Numidica, gallina Africana*) was already eaten in Varro's time, but rare in Italy and expensive; in Martial's day it was common in the larger poultry-yards. As early as Ptolemy Euergetes II pheasants were imported from Media (i.e., from the South Caspian countries) to Alexandria, but are not mentioned as Roman delicacies either by Varro or Horace; they were not introduced until the beginning of the Empire. They are always spoken of as imported from a distance; but Martial expressly states they were bred in Italy by 90 A.D.; the same was the case with flamingoes, which, however, are rarely referred to; Apicius may have initiated their consumption, or, anyhow, made their excellent tongues well known.

Poultry-yards are quite within the means of the small cultivator, but in Italy were on a larger scale. To-day too 'the Romance peoples in accordance with locality and tradition are the greatest eaters and breeders of birds.' 'In Italy during the Roman period there could be no talk of abundance of game, as in the German forests, and the Northern moors, whence distance and the warm climate forbade the transport of big game and large birds. Thus the Romans had to be content with artificially rearing delicate birds to a more or less complete state of domestication, but all on an immense scale. Modern attempts at breeding have not followed this example; though the wilderness in modern Europe has been continuously driven further back, railways now bring the slaughtered game from distant deserts with lightning rapidity to the centres of consumption: the Paris market fetches its partridges from Algeria and Northern Russia'.

More extensive than the importation of animals to Italy was the acclimatization of fruit trees and vegetables, which thence spread to other countries. But here again later antiquity only followed in the tracks of early antiquity, and further extended the foreign plantations, thus, in the course of the ages, transforming the vegetation of South and Central Europe.

Grapes were grown in Italy from the earliest times; but the Greek colonies on the coast must have fostered them; the

vine 'flourished so abundantly on the hills of Lower Italy, that Sophocles in the fifth century B.C. could call Italy the favourite land of Bacchus'. Olives, too, were a Greek importation; if Pliny's statement from Fenestella, the chronicler, be correct, dating from the time of the Tarquins. But the fig is probably as old as Greek colonization. In Varro's time, Chian, Lydian, Chalcidian, African and other foreign figs had been introduced into Rome. Under Tiberius Syrian figs were transplanted to Italy. Cato already knew of the almond as the 'Greek nut', and perhaps, also of the chestnut (*nux calva*): 'in any case, the want of a settled nomenclature forbids the assumption of a general cultivation of these trees in Italy of that epoch'. Virgil is the first to mention chestnuts; and Varro and Cicero walnuts (*iu-glandes*); the name '*amygdalum*' first came in under Augustus. Cato mentions the plum only once; it was commonly cultivated under Augustus. Pliny mentions a confusing number of varieties, and says that the best, the Damascene, had long been grown in Italy, and another Syrian sort only recently. Pomegranates were common in Italy in Cato's time; and quinces (which the Greeks derived from Crete) were also old in Italy. Cherries were unknown to Cato, and Lucullus first imported them from Pontus to Rome; Varro mentions them once, and later authors frequently. This cherry was a novelty in Italy, and may have been a larger, better, and juicier morello cherry; wild sweet cherries (*prunus avium*) were indigenous, for remains of them can be clearly traced in the pile-dwellings in the valley of the Po; a superior kind of cherry was cultivated in Asia Minor as early as King Lysimachus. 'Both sorts were rapidly propagated, imported largely from Asia, grafted on to the native wild stock, and a number of cross-species produced'.

As to flowers, 'the Oriental garden-rose came in with the Greek colonies, and with it the lily as well', thence to be exported everywhere. 'Besides roses, lilies, violets, the Eastern crocus (indigenous in Cilicia) were found in Roman gardens'. 'But crocuses were foreign still; their cultivation a great feat, like that of casia, incense, myrrh, with which Columella puts them. According to Pliny saffron did not do well in Italy', though often found. Of edible plants of the East, Cato does not mention the *medica* and the *cytissus*; Varro does: they must have been introduced in the intervening century.

Thus Italy, even in the last centuries B.C., and the ancient world generally, must have been 'an artificial garden'. Varro already could call Italy a great orchard, while the elder Greeks (from the Peloponnesian War down to Alexandrian times) 'knew the peninsula as a country northern and primitive in character, in comparison with their own and the East, producing mainly corn, cattle and wood. Now, in the stead of vast barren forests and wildernesses with their produce of wood, pitch, game and pasturage, there were plantations of oriental fruit trees; in the stead of the old flesh and pulse diet, the delicious fruits of the South and the East. The factors of this change were largely Asiatic slaves and freedmen, Syrians, Jews, Phoenicians and Cilicians; horticulture and delight in the quiet, gentle occupation of training and tending plants were an old inheritance of the Aramaic stock'.

The increasing commerce under Augustus naturally augmented the stock of foreign plants. Columella says that Italian industry raised in Italy nearly all the fruits of the world. Amongst the plants imported in the Early Empire were, perhaps, the African lotus, Ascalon shalots, certainly peach-almonds, and peach-nut apples (planted and imported by Sextus Papirius, consul in 36 A.D., from Africa and Syria), the *colocasias* from Egypt, Syrian radishes, East Indian millet (Syrian radishes shortly before Pliny wrote, and the millet at least ten years before); rice and maize only came in about 1500. 'By about 50 A.D. industrious gardeners had planted apricots and peaches, and charged a high price for their first Persian apples and Armenian plums'. Pistachio nuts and other garden fruits were transplanted from Syria to his estate near Alba by Lucius Vitellius, the father of the Emperor and legate in Syria under Tiberius. Melons were imported in the first century of our era into the gardens of Naples from the oases on the Oxus and Jaxartes; Pliny describes the wonderful new Campanian *meloepones*, Later imperial biographers call them *melones*. It is doubtful whether the carob tree was naturalized in Roman times. But the citron tree, which produced the medical apples (*arbor citri*, *citrus medica cedra*), which were admired as the fruit of the Hesperides, was really acclimatized in Italy in the course of the first centuries. Pliny mentions unsuccessful attempts to transport trees in clay or perforated tubs to Italy; but Florentinus (about 200 A.D.)

speaks of citrons being grown in hot-houses, walled off, as at the present time in upper Italy, towards the North, and covered with mats in the winter ; and Palladius (in the fourth or fifth century) saw citron-trees growing in the open in Sardinia and Naples, on specially good soil. And the latest ingenious and learned investigator, who sees in the Empire only a period of rapid and irremediable decay, acknowledges 'the progress in many less obvious branches of human activity, such as the exchange and utilization of the natural products of the most various countries'. The lemon and bitter orange came in in the time of the Crusades, the sweet orange (*portogallo*) through the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, and the mandarin in the nineteenth from China.

The cultivation of fruit and vegetables, and the development of their varieties seemed to Pliny to have reached the limit of possibility in the Early Empire. From his point of view, he should have condemned the acclimatizing of foreign growths, as much as he did disapprove their commercial importation (e.g., pepper from India). But he never does, partly because the opponents of luxury preferred vegetarian to meat diet, and hence were more tolerant of the development of varieties of plants; partly because to censure the centuries of useful industry in this direction seemed ridiculous. The use extreme luxury was to make of acclimatization was not as yet suspected. One example out of modern times may suffice. In 1806 the *Almanac des Gourmands* announced as a triumph of civilization that real *maraschino* had been made in France. A manufacturer at Grasse had transplanted the cherry-tree grown at Zara for the purpose ; after fifteen years' costly experiments he had acclimatized it ; and the new *maraschino* was pronounced better by connoisseurs than the Dalmatian. The same man had himself fetched a root used in distilling from England, and grown it at Grasse. 'Blessed', says the writer, 'be this industrious and intelligent citizen, who combines his own interest with the common weal, increases the enjoyments of the most spoiled palates and promotes the prosperity of his home. This is patriotism *in excelsis*. M. Fargeon is a patriot in the most honourable sense, a word degraded by the civism of our Republican revolutionaries, and rehabilitated under the Restoration'.

But if Pliny condoned acclimatization, he would not alto-

gether sanction artificial gardens and orchards, on the ground that every advance was a step away from Nature, and, therefore, made the unnaturalness of these growths more apparent. He recognizes that improvement of edible plants and fruits conferred a benefit even on birds and wild animals, but complains of the fruit being taken from the poor in consequence of the 'adulterous conjunctions of trees'; grafting being brought to such a point that the revenue from a fruit tree near Rome (2,000 sesterces, £21 3s.) exceeded that from an estate in former times. And if we allow fruit to be grown so large, so flavoured, and so strangely shaped as to be beyond the reach of the poor, 'must differences be invented even in vegetables, and must wealth introduce grades in dishes that only cost an *as*? Must asparagus be grown so thick, as to be too thick for the poor man's table? Nature let wild asparagus grow, which any one might reap; artificial kinds are now to be seen, and at Ravenna three weigh a pound'. 'What monstrous gluttony!' Even the most profitable cultivations could only be spoken of with a sense of shame; little fields of artichokes (*cardui*) near Carthage, and Corduba bring in 6,000 sesterces a year (£65 5s.): 'we even utilize for the table the monstrous products of the soil, which the cattle disdain'. Nay, more; they are manured, flavoured with vinegar and thin honey and other condiments, so as to have artichokes every day. Although horticulture excited then all this wonderment, compared with modern times, its achievements were meagre. In the great nursery gardens near London about 1828 there were 435 sorts of salads, 261 kinds of peas, 240 species of potatoes, and so on in every article. The prices now obtained are also higher. At a Rothschild dinner in London the dessert alone cost £100. Truffles in ancient times were not liked; the black species was unknown; in France of to-day it is more and more extensively cultivated and exported, and is called the black diamond. In 1865 the export was 104,000 pounds to Russia, England and America, in 1866 120,000; in 1867 140,000. One Carpentras firm in 1832 disposed of 15,000, and in 1866 of 109,000. Incidentally narcotic luxuries may be mentioned. On tobacco from 1882-1883 Germany spent £15,650,000 (and £17,250,000 on the army); in England in some cases £5 a day is spent on cigars.

§ 2

Up to now, we have spoken of Italian horticulture only. But, as the centre of a world Empire, it spread these plants further and further afield, and transformed the vegetation and the diet of the provinces. Attempts at acclimatization of all sorts were constantly made, as Galen shows, when he says that plants if removed only two *stadia*, change somewhat, and the same grapes give different wines at different places. The same is remarked on nutritive plants in economic and botanical treatises. Fruit trees crossed the Alps surprisingly fast. In 47 A.D. cherries were grown in Britain, four years after the conquest, and 120 after the first plantation in Italy; in Belgica (between the Seine, the Saône, the Rhône, the Rhine and the German Ocean) and on the banks of the Rhine Lusitanian cherries were considered the best in Pliny's time. Lucius Vitellius first grew pistachio nuts in Italy and his comrade-in-arms, the knight Pompeius Flaccus, acclimatized them in Spain. In Pliny and Columella's time a large kind of spring cherry was being produced in Provence. A *casia* grown for its fragrance in Pliny's time flourished 'on the marge of the Empire, washed by the Rhine', planted in bee-gardens. A shady tree newly acclimatized at Boulogne, was probably not, as Pliny says, the plane but the Northern maple. Germany, too, which Tacitus considered too cold for fruit growing, is indebted for its flourishing orchards to the initiative of the Romans, like England and France.

The most important result of these plantations was the spread of vines and olives. 'When the Roman Empire was defined, its boundaries became almost the boundaries of oil and wine'. But the olive and the vine only advanced slowly at the expense of butter and beer. The progress of Greek and Roman civilization was marked 'by the spread of the noble olive from her home in the south-east corner of the Mediterranean over all the countries where it is now found'. From Marseilles it spread to the Northern frontier, and on to the Ligurian coasts: in the low-lying marshy ground near the estuary of the Po, it could not flourish, but prospered in Illyria and Liburnia; and Istrian oil competed with that from Southern Spain. Into Spain the olive advanced with civilization.

The vine was able to make itself at home much farther North. 'Columella quotes Saserna, an older agricultural writer, as

saying the climate had changed, for realms formerly too cold for vines and olives now had enough of both and to spare'. But the climate had not changed, but their cultivation had spread north, in the course of the centuries; whilst, in modern times, the vine has receded from the north, e.g., the north of France, England, Brandenburg, West Prussia, where it was no longer profitable. From the shores of the Adriatic the grape climbed the slopes of the Euganean hills and the southern declivities of the Alps; Cato praises the wines of Raetia (Tyrolese and Valtelline). In North Africa the Phoenicians had introduced it, Islam destroyed it. According to Strabo, Spain lacked vines, olives and figs almost entirely, except in the south and the east, on the north because of the cold, and in the interior, because of the barbarous inhabitants. The Lusitanians drank beer, and wine was rare there, though already penetrating into the home of port; in Pliny's time Spain was still mainly a beer-drinking country. An imperial official of equestrian rank was appointed in Baetica (Granada, Andalusia and Seville) 'to plant Falernian'. In Gaul Marseilles was the starting-point; the colonies of Marseilles spread vines east and west along the coast, and inland; in the interests of Italian vineyards the Romans soon had to curtail the export of Gallic wine and oil. Immediately after the conquest of Gaul, Caesar began Romanizing the province; there were only imported wine and native beer, and Strabo says the wine is not good, beyond the land of figs and olives, and towards the Cévennes. But in Pliny and Columella, we have 'modern France as an independent wine-producing country, with various brands and exports and plantations of its vines into Italy': they mention Burgundian and Bordeaux wines. During the Empire the vine spread over the valleys of the Garonne, the Marne and all along the Moselle, into Switzerland (an inscription in confirmation has been found on the North shore of the Lake of Geneva near St. Prex between Rolle and Morges) but was scarce on the left bank of the Rhine, and non-existent on the right bank. Probus is said to have allowed free vine-growing in Gaul, Spain or Britain, or perhaps Gaul, Pannonia and Moesia. It was planted on the southern slopes of the Carpathians, on Mount Alma near Sirmium (Mitrovicz) and was the beginning of Hungarian vintage. One hundred years later, Claudian writes of the 'vine-shaded Danube'. But, in anti-

quity, Italy remained the first of vine-lands. Now it is Central and Southern France, and it is in places close to the northern limit of its extension (Burgundy, Johannisberg) that the vine produces its best wine.

Thus, in the Roman Empire, influences could meet and work, which completed the process of assimilation and produced a homogeneous cultivation of the soil in all the Mediterranean countries. Central Europe has to acknowledge its debt to the South in this direction as in 'all sources of our civilization'; and we must not forget that the much maligned Empire played no small part in this great work.

III. LUXURY OF DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Luxury in dress at this time took a different direction than in the Middle Ages and now. The slight extent of manufacture meant a paucity of rare stuffs. The oldest clothing was wool, though linen garments were worn by women, even in the Republic, whilst men at its close and later used fine linen mainly for handkerchiefs. Linen tunics were common in Rome by the third century. The finest linen, or *byssus*, came from Egypt, Syria and Cilicia. East Indian cotton (Sanskrit *Karpāsā*, *carbasus*) was imported to Rome after the Asiatic Wars (191 B.C.), if not before, and muslin was perhaps also in use for clothes. Chinese silk was at first imported only as yarn and raw, but finished articles were broken up, dyed, and woven with linen or cotton into a light half-silk substance. These transparent and gay half-silk dresses were worn in the first century by women and effeminate men: very much later the increase of commerce with the East brought heavy pure silks into Europe; Elagabalus was the first man to wear them. (Satin and velvet were unknown in antiquity; satin (*Atlas* in German, from the Arabic for 'smooth') was an importation from the time of the Saracen supremacy. Together with silk, the similarly Oriental extravagance of silk garments with gold worked in spread, but gold embroidery was found only in carpets, curtains, coverlets and triumphal dresses, or trimmings or insertions in women's clothes. Clothes made of gold and silver stuffs, so common in modern times, were rare in antiquity. The mantle of 'pure woven gold', worn by Agrippina at the naumachy on Lake Fucinus was unexampled, men-

tioned as such by Pliny and Dio and Tacitus : whereas Charles the Bold at the Battle of Granson took with him 400 cases of silver and gold stuffs, including 100 gold-embroidered coats for himself. Furs were used in Italy from ancient times for particular purposes, but they were not common before the Germanic invasion of the South, and they were never extravagantly used, as in the Middle Ages. Marco Polo mentions the price of the sables, with which the halls and rooms of Kublai Khan (1214-1294) were decked, as 2,000 golden bezants, if flawless and big enough to make a dress ; if imperfect, as 1,000. To line a cloak for King John II (1350-64) 670 marten-skins were used ; one of his sons had 10,000 martens brought in to line five cloaks and five ladies' doublets. To line a dress for one of his grandsons 2,790 squirrels' skins were used. This large demand raised the prices correspondingly.

In antiquity, too, there was none of the waste of material in long trains and broad bodices, or any of those studied deformations, so common in medieval and modern fashions, such as pointed shoes, trunk-hose, hip pillows, hoop-petticoats, trains, full-bottomed wigs, which were often costly ; the ordinary wig of a distinguished man cost £7 10s. and often as much as £150. Ancient dress was both more natural and graceful, and, on the whole, fashions were much less changeable. To-day generations differ more than centuries did then. Hence the extravagance of fashion was much less than in the Middle Ages or now. Lastly, ancient dress was simpler, and consisted of fewer articles. In gloves and headgear there was no luxury ; whereas in modern Persia the headgear has to be renewed thrice or four times a year, and costs 60 ducats. All along the south-west coast of America Panama hats are worn ; they practically never wear out, but the best cost up to £50 and ordinary ones £20 or £30. And the seasons occasioned far less change of dress in the south. Some dandies, however, made absurd and trifling distinctions ; thus, Juvenal scoffs at one man who has light summer rings on his perspiring fingers, since large jewels weighed too heavily.

But the hot summer made many changes of suits necessary, as in modern Persia, and the better-dressed had a large wardrobe. Their chests of drawers contained cloaks of every colour possible. The inside of the trunks full of dinner dresses was equally gay ; and a whole tribe could have been clothed with

the *togae* of Apulian wool (Martial). Naturally, too, people often changed several times on the same day. But only one instance of this last practice is recorded, in one of Martial's *nouveaux riches*, who changed his *synthesis* (a dinner costume) eleven times at one banquet, ostensibly, because of the heat, really, to show off his extensive wardrobe. But, in modern times, an unnecessary frequent changing during the day has become common and carried to ridiculous excess. Towards the end of the sixteenth century the clergy in Germany complain of it; at the beginning of the seventeenth a wife left thirty-two full suits, and her husband Hans Meinhard von Schönberg possessed seventy-two, and about the same number of gold-embroidered gloves and twenty-one hats, to which twenty-six sets of coloured feathers belonged. Clive between 1767-1770 ordered 200 shirts, as good as could be had for love or money. Count Brühl carried this affectation to excess; would never wear a dress more than twice, and his accumulations of disused clothes became prodigious. About 1790 ladies changed wigs for every new toilette. About seventy years ago an English dandy used twenty shirts a week, twenty-four handkerchiefs, nine or ten pairs of summer trousers, thirty scarves (when not wearing black ones), a dozen waistcoats, and stockings *à la discrétion*.

Extravagance in bright costly colours, so common in the south, was found in the Roman Empire in both sexes alike. Persius makes one great dandy wear a hyacinth-coloured mantle. Martial tells of one moralist who prescribed dark grey or brown cloaks for men, and declared violet or scarlet effeminate; a hypocrite who concealed vice under a pretence of austerity. Juvenal says that the great retinue with torches and the scarlet cloak of a young noble coming home from a feast is warning enough to keep clear of him. Statius' friend, Atedius Melior, made his favourite page Glaucias always wear the most beautiful clothing, red, green or purple. Scarlet, and still more the various purples, were the most valued colours. One pound of the best Tyrian purple wool, stained twice through, cost over 1,000 *denarii* (£43 10s.); a less valued kind in amethyst or violet only £15. Martial says that the price of a Tyrian purple cloak of the best hue was only 10,000 sesterces (£108 3s.). Hence, if he intends the kind most valued in Augustus' time, prices must have sunk incredibly; Martial

can only be speaking of a second-rate sort. But the genuine purple wool, so much sought after, was also almost everlasting, and, like shawls in the East, may have been handed down for generations. But, most probably, in the Early Empire, whole purple cloaks were very rare. Generally purple was only used in stripes, for galloons, as a trimming, braid, edging, fringe or furbelow. Caesar restricted the use of whole purple garments to certain persons and certain days; Augustus permitted them only to senators holding office, when presiding at their games; and Tiberius endeavoured by his example to enforce obedience to these laws. Nero went so far as to forbid the sale of Tyrian and amethyst purple; but under Domitian, if not before, permission must have been restored. Marcus Aurelius and Pertinax had the imperial wardrobes, which must have abounded with purple robes, sold by public auction.

But the use of purple in Rome cannot be compared with modern extravagance in dress. In Italy, at the time of the Renaissance 'dress was as costly as it was beautiful; the sartorial artists of that time would have looked with contempt upon those of modern times, for real artists worked at that time of artistic development; they worked with the finest velvet, silk, and gold embroidery, whilst painters designed the colours, the folds and the shapes. Hence dress was a thing upon which, as an essential of appearance, the greatest value was placed'. Hence the chroniclers of the great feasts of that time describe very exactly the garments of the great men and women. At a famous tourney given by Lorenzo de' Medici on the Piazza Santa Croce, which on his own statement cost 10,000 gold florins, the dresses were splendid; that of Giuliano de' Medici cost 8,000 ducats. Benedetto Salutati used 168 pounds of silver at sixteen ducats a pound on his horse's trappings, and the jewellery on it was valued at 8,000 ducats. But love of art went with this extravagance: his silver helmet was made by Antonio del Pollajuolo. In the dowry of Lucrezia Borgia at her betrothal with Alfonso d'Este (1501) were comprised, according to a report of the agent of Marchese Gonzaga to his master, a trimmed dress worth more than 15,000 ducats, 200 expensive shirts, some worth 100 ducats apiece, each sleeve with its golden fringes costing thirty ducats. Another writer values one single dress of the bride at 20,000, and one hat at 10,000 ducats. Very great importance attached

to fine dress. The two ambassadors of Venice at this wedding had to appear before the Senate in new robes of crimson velvet with fur-trimmings and capes of similar material. More than 4,000 people stared at them in the great Council Hall and the people thronged round to see them in the Piazza di San Marco. These cloaks (twenty-eight and thirty-two yards of velvet) were the bridal gift of the ambassadors to Duchess Lucrezia.

In the second half of the fifteenth century extravagance on dress in Germany became 'incredible'. According to Geiler von Kaisersberg many a burgher's wife carried on her back, in clothes and jewellery, more than 300 or 400 florins' worth, and had at home over 3,000 worth. In England in Elizabeth's reign, according to a contemporary account, it was quite a common thing for a thousand oxen and a hundred oxen to go to the restoration of a costume, and for a fop to carry his fortune on his back. Towards the end of the sixteenth century extravagance in dress was increased by lace-trimming, embroidery and gold borders, jewellery and pearls: and prices went up tremendously: and £90 might be earned on a single dress. One dress of Marshal Bassompierre was embroidered so richly as to cost over £2,100. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries extravagance in dress was scarcely less. At the procession of Queen Christina of Sweden into Rome in 1655, the dresses of the Roman ladies who received her cost 500,000 to 600,000 scudi, and that of the Princess di Rossano 700,000. When the Infanta Maria Teresa Antoinette, the Dauphin's betrothed, entered Paris (1745), the dresses were so expensive that they were only hired. Marquis de Mirepoix hired three for 6,000 *livres*, and only wore one a day: in one gala-coat of Marquis de Stainville, of silver stuff embroidered with gold, the marten's skins for the lining alone cost 25,000 *livres* and so forth. A fashionable lady of that time bought a dress she had ordered and could not afford, on the terms of an annuity of 600 *livres*, and made a contract to have a new dress supplied every day for 24,000 *livres* a year. In France from the Regency to the Revolution the fancy for laces amounted to a passion, even with men; solemn men of all ages were seen with 15,000 or 20,000 *livres* worth of laces on their scarves, frills and cuffs. The lace *alb à point à l'aiguille* worn by the Elector of Trèves John Philip (1756-68) on State occasions at Versailles was valued at 100,000 *livres*. Northern extravagance in dress con-

sisted mainly in wasting valuable materials, furs and jewellery especially. In the splendid dress worn by Adam Rzewuski at his farewell audience of the King as ambassador at Copenhagen, the saddle of his horse is said to have been worth 45,000 gold florins (£20,250). The price of a pair of sable skins in the eighteenth century rose to over 170 roubles, and one skin is sometimes said to have cost 20,000. The value of Potemkin's gala costume inset with jewels is given as 200,000 roubles.

The nineteenth century is, on the whole, apart from extraordinary occasions, the period of least extravagance in male, but probably not in female dress, as is shown by the price of a cashmere shawl (£300), the lace veil of a rich bride (£735), the furs of Empress Eugénie (sent to England after her in 1870) 600,000 francs, or the fabulous expenses of the queens of fashion in the great capitals. And perhaps never before have the artistic ladies' tailors earned as much and ranked as high as under Napoleon III in France, when all the greatest ladies were at their feet. Compared with the *toilettes* of the second Empire, those of the first, when the most elegant ladies (Mme. de Savary and Mme de Maret) spent only 50,000 to 60,000 francs a year, seem almost paltry.

In Roman antiquity extravagance in oriental stuffs and manufactures, used for adornment in the widest sense, such as silk, *byssus*, jewellery, pearls, scents, was at any rate confined to women, and to a very small circle amongst them. Pliny probably bases on the returns of the frontier customs his statement that in no one year was less than 55 million sesterces' worth of Indian goods imported into the Empire (about £600,000), and that about 100 millions (£1,087,500) at the least annually left the Empire in exchange for Arabian, Chinese and Indian goods: 'our women and amours are very expensive!' But if this reflection implies that not all Asiatic oriental luxuries have been mentioned, but only those specially used for female adornment, this import would seem quite small, if entirely met with this outlay: the patriotic irritation at seeing so much money go annually into foreign, even hostile countries, would be quite justified. For there was no corresponding production of gold to the outflow, and the continuous export of centuries doubtless contributed to the decline in Roman money in the third century. True, thirty years ago, the export of metal to Asia, besides a considerable export of

goods, was on the average twelve times as much as in Pliny's time (£13,666,666.) According to Johann von Horneck, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, 'those bloodsuckers of Austria', woollen, linen and French wares, withdrew at least fifteen to twenty million florins annually (and silk goods seven million and French goods three million). By about 1750 France was selling Germany sixty-seven million livres' worth of silk and fineries alone; in 1853 her export to England in silk amounted to sixty-three million thalers, and five times as much to America, and twenty-one million thalers for Paris articles (bronzes, trinkets, clocks, fancy goods, passementerie work, marquetry, instruments, etc.).

Compared with modern commerce, the use of Asiatic *articles de luxe* in the entire Roman Empire seems astonishingly slight, even allowing for Pliny's statement of outlay being less than the reality, as the frontier customs increased the price, and the purchasing-value of money may have been higher. For the prices of single oriental products were very high, higher than now. Silk as late as 250 A.D. was weighed with gold (a fact mentioned in Chinese literature); a Roman pound of betel nut oil might cost 400 (£17 8s.), a pound of cinnamon, 1,500 *denarii* (£65 2s. 6d.); some pearls cost millions of sesterces. One shop in the Via Sacra or Forum Pacis might easily contain oriental imports of this value. And Roman prices were centuple, according to Pliny, of the cost price; and the frontier-tolls augmented considerably the cost of transport: on this higher estimate the whole import mentioned by Pliny must amount to 100 millions. If it cost no more, all the luxury in oriental wares must have been confined to Rome and a few great cities, a view confirmed by some remarks of Galen (*circa* 200). He says that silk could be found 'on rich ladies' at many places in the Empire, especially in the great cities, and specifies nard as one of the essences 'made for Rome's rich women'. In the fourth century wholly different commercial relations spread the use of silk amongst all classes.

But perhaps Pliny only wanted to state how much bullion was withdrawn from the Empire by trade with the East. For some Chinese statistics of the land of Ta-Tsin (Syria) seem to show that no small part of the import from Asia was covered by export from the West. The longest of these lists comprises sixty articles, characteristic industries of the mar-

kets of Syria, Phoenicia and Alexandria. To them belong the products of Ta-Tsin (according to a Chinese author, far better than Babylonian goods) with worked and embroidered animals, men, trees, clouds, etc., in different colours; glass-ware (especially coloured), which was popular in China down to the beginning of the fifth century, after which date the Chinese began to learn the craft from Syrians or Indians and to manufacture for themselves; all the metals found in the Roman Empire; gold pigment and realgar (specialities of Syria); jewellery (including corals and amber), of which the best were brought by merchants from Ta-Tsin, and, finally, drugs. The greater the export of these wares the higher must have been the value and quantity of the import into the Roman Empire. But as Galen's expressions imply a small trade, it may have developed after the beginning of the third century.

Extravagance in pearls and jewellery came into Rome after Pompey's triumph over Mithridates. Diamonds, though esteemed in Rome the most costly of jewels, were scarcely used as ornaments, except rarely in rings. The diamond handed to Trajan by Nerva as heir-designate, and by Trajan to Hadrian, was apparently not set in a ring: but one diamond-ring, the talk of Juvenal's time, was given to Berenice, Queen of the Jews and mistress of Titus, by her brother Agrippa. Emeralds ranked next. According to Pliny the best came from Scythia, as now, from the mines of the Ural and Altai. The third in order were beryls and opals, and were largely worn by women; and fourth, the sardonyx, which was very suitable for seal-rings: Pliny, on the authority of the ladies, maintains this hierarchy of stones. In their estimate of the diamond, the Romans imitated the Indians, whereas the Persians, in the thirteenth century, ranked it fifth, after the pearl, the ruby, the emerald, and the chrysolith. Benvenuto Cellini places it after the ruby and the emerald, and only worth an eighth of the ruby. Garcia de Orta (1565) declares the diamond the king of jewels for hardness, but the ruby first in value and beauty, and the emerald second. Up to the sixteenth century the emerald was very costly (Benvenuto Cellini makes it 400 *scudi d'oro* the carat): but it sank in price after the large Peruvian exports; and, with the complete cessation of these, has risen again: a perfect emerald is the most costly of all jewels in the London market.

Very little is known of the price of jewels in Roman antiquity. The emerald into which an amymone was cut, and which the flutist Ismenias bought for four gold pieces, must have been a chrysopras. Incised emeralds hardly occur before Hadrian's day: the best are said to have been portraits of himself and Sabina. Possibly Hadrian had a preference for this stone and thus caused it to be more eagerly sought in its principal home (Jebel Zaburah in Egypt). The price of a jasper-ring with which a statue of a woman in South Spain was decked by her son, is given as 7,000 sesterces; this implies a cut stone. The senator Struma Nonius owned a ring with an opal in it as big as a filbert; Antony proscribed him for it; he fled, taking with him the ring alone of all his possessions. It was apparently valued at 2 million sesterces (£21,250).

Pliny speaks at large and expertly on the imitation of jewels, and of manuals containing instructions for making false emeralds out of coloured crystal, and sardonyx out of carnelian; he says it is one of the most profitable of fraudulent industries. There was a correspondingly perfect science of testing the genuineness of jewels, in more than one way. Out of the very many ancient forgeries in coloured glass, the glass emerald stands out; it is much harder, brighter and better coloured than modern pastes, and is still often sold as genuine by jewellers. Besides, imitation jewels were no doubt often honestly made for sale among the poorer classes.

The worst and most censured extravagance was the ladies' love of pearls, which commanded higher prices than any other jewels. This use of pearls as ornaments spread after the conquest of Alexandria, which exported the fisheries in the Persian gulf and the Indian Ocean mainly to Rome. This incessant import may have accumulated pearls in Rome, as in Venice of the sixteenth century, when the Patrician ladies possessed vast hoards of them, the result of the past commerce with Ormuz on the Persian Gulf and all the other Eastern lands which Venice had so long exploited. The prohibitions of the *Provveditori delle Pompe* (sumptuary magistrates appointed in 1514) were aimed principally at this form of extravagance. At the present time Russia is the country richest in pearls: in the one monastery of Tróitsa, on priests' vestments, episcopal robes, altar and grave cloths, there are more than in all

the rest of Europe : in some governments every peasant wears on her head and neck 200 to 300, often 1,000 and more, genuine pearls ; in Nizhni Nóvgorod the poorest fishwife owns at least two or three necklaces. Nero even could build whole rooms of pearls for amorous dalliance (these were probably in the Golden House, and their walls covered with pearls). Roman ladies wore them as ear-rings ; and, according to Pliny, poor women copied the example, as a big pearl in one's ear was as good as a lictor to lead the way ; pearls were also used on shoes, not merely on the straps, but whole slippers were set with them. The cost must have been very great : Seneca may well be right in saying women sometimes carried two or three fortunes in their ears. There is no further information. Julius Caesar at his first consulate in 59 B.C., when pearls were rare at Rome, bought one for six million sesterces (£65,250) for Servilia, the mother of Marcus Brutus Servilia ; but a love-present from the first man in the State, desirous of creating an impression by his extravagance, is no criterion of the average price, any more than what Pliny tells of one of Caligula's wives, Lollia Paulina. He had seen her at a modest betrothal festivity, with an ornament of emeralds and pearls, covering head, hair, ears, neck and fingers, and worth forty million sesterces (£400,000 or £450,000), as she proved by documentary evidence. But it was not a gift from the Emperor, but an inheritance from the spoils of her grandfather Marcus Lollius in the East : Lollius' notoriety had brought him into disfavour with Gaius Caesar, who compelled him in 2 B.C. to poison himself.

The enormous hoards of jewels in the families of the men who could control the treasuries of Eastern despots, can only be compared with the jewellery owned by the Spanish *conquistadores* of the sixteenth and the English nabobs of the eighteenth century. Cortes' wedding-gift to his bride in 1529 consisted of five jewels cut by skilled Mexican jewellers out of emeralds, and artistically adorned with pearls and gold : for one of them a Genoese merchant at Seville had offered 40,000 ducats. It all was lost in a shipwreck on the expedition against Algiers in 1541. Nadir Shah's booty, on the capture of Delhi, consisted mainly of jewels, and was valued in Europe at £70,000,000. Clive, who rambled freely in the vaults of Mursahabad amid heaps of gold and jewels, with liberty to take what he would, showed great moderation : but his purchases

of diamonds at Madras alone amounted to £25,000, and a jewel-case belonging to his wife was valued at £200,000. Lady Clive probably owned more jewellery than the greatest princesses of her day. Sophia Charlotte at her coronation as Queen of Prussia in 1701 wore jewels worth over a million thalers. The famous necklace which cost Marie Antoinette so dear only cost 1,600,000 francs. In the modern Orient extravagance is still rife in pearls and jewellery, and was enormous under the Khalifs. In Persia, besides other ornaments, women wear bracelets on arms and feet of pearls, and noble ladies a diamond egrette as well ; sash-buckles set with jewels often are worth 1,000 to 2,000 ducats, and saddles and harness are laden with gold, pearls and jewels. Fifteen or sixteen rings, five or six on each finger are worn, and the Shah is the greatest owner of diamonds in the world.

In medieval Europe, pearls were used to embroider texts of songs on clothes, and there was great luxury in jewellery ; most of all at the Court of Charles the Bold of Burgundy. His robe of State was set with pearls and precious stones, and valued at 200,000 ducats ; his consort's ladies-in-waiting received 400,000 Brabant thalers a year for ornaments. But this extravagance increased after the discovery of America. Maria de' Medici at her son's baptism in 1606 had a bridal dress made, set with 3,200 pearls and 3,000 diamonds, and worth 60,000 *écus*, but too heavy to be ever worn. In the inventory of Meinhard von Schönberg (who died in 1625) the pearls alone filled two closely written folio pages ; fifteen large pearls were sold for 3,286 florins. Imitation pearls were first made by Jacquin at Paris in 1680 ; the annual export is now £40,000.

How far luxury in dress and ornament were prevalent among the lower classes in antiquity, how far the semi-civilized custom of the South obtained of carrying some of one's reserve property on one's back, is hardly known at all. But the long gold chains which the Roman barmaids wore on their bare necks must have been as genuine as the gold ornaments of women and girls of the lower classes in modern Italy. The amber necklaces which Pliny the Elder saw worn by Lombard peasants North of the Po, partly as amulets against swellings of the neck, can hardly have been costly.

Extravagance in scents has always been endemic in the East.

Arabia, as Herodotus knew, was the land most fertile in fragrances, and from the earliest ages a fondness for perfumes was general. In the Book of Esther, we read, 'When every maid's turn was come to go in to King Ahasuerus, after that she had been twelve months, according to the manner of the women (for so were the days of their purifications accomplished, to wit, six months with oil of myrrh, and six months with sweet odours, and with other things for the purifying of the womb)'. The Talmud says the bride may lawfully thus spend a tenth of her dowry. In Rome this form of luxury came in not direct from the East, but from Magna Graecia. Under the Empire, it was only common at Rome and in the larger cities. According to Pliny, a Roman lady so plentifully scented herself that attention was drawn to her approach, if for no other cause, for the fragrance that streamed from her hair and clothes. The same is true of Arabian ladies of rank. Pliny thought this extravagance all the sillier for being momentary, and, if anything, altruistic. Men, too, made much use of scents, mainly balsam and cinnamon. Domitian's favourite, Crispinus, smelt stronger in the morning than two funerals. So too at the Renaissance. Alfonso d'Avalos, the cousin of the Marquis di Pescara, could not do without scents, even in time of war; his horse's saddles even reeked of them. Mention has been made of the great cost of fragrances in ancient Rome. Martial is in doubt whether he shall give Phyllis 'ten yellow-boys from the imperial mint' (about £10 10s.) or one pound from the shops of Cosmos or Nicerus, the famous dealers in salves and essences. At these shops noble ladies' accounts may have been as high as that of Marion de Lormes, who owed her *parfumeur* £7,500 by the end of one year. The use of scents at funerals will be referred to later.

But Roman or modern luxury of this kind does not approach the oriental. In the apartments of rich Arabs at the time of the Khalifs, and on reception days especially, stood casks of strong musk or burning aloes. Even the most austere sticklers took care to follow the example of the Prophet, who only loved women and fragrances, and were always well perfumed. Before and after meals clothes were held over a censer, or the guests bent over it. Neither flowers with a strong smell nor perfumes might be absent from the table; they were worth their weight in gold and given as a costly gift. In rich homes there were

always in stock the principal varieties (such as ambergris, aloes, musk, camphor, amber, and mixtures such as civet). In the early Khalifate Irak and Persia commanded the market; and Persian rose-water was exported as far as China and Spain; later, as in all luxuries, Moorish Spain secured the field. To this day Arabian ladies spend £100 a year on perfumes.

The scanty and casual information extant on Roman luxury in dress prevents any final pronouncement. It does not authorize any assumption that ancient luxury exceeded modern, rather, on the other hand, that, as in all else, modern luxury is far greater.

IV. LUXURY IN DWELLING-HOUSES

(a) CITY PALACES

Luxurious inner fittings of houses first come into evidence in the interval between the first and second Punic wars, if not before; there were then houses decorated with 'citrus-wood, ivory and Punic floors'. But luxurious buildings only came in about 100 B.C., up to which date the houses of the nobles even were simple and inexpensive. Sulla (born in 138), as a young man, felt the pinch of circumstances, and lived in the ground floor (which was considered the best), for which he paid 3,000 sesterces (£26 5s.) rent; a freedman occupied the upper story at 2,000 a year (£17 8s.). Travertine stone came more and more into use for houses and frontages during this century, marble being almost unknown. Even in 92 B.C. after so many victories in Greece and the East, which abounded in marble columns, there were none in any Roman public building. Hence the Censor Lucius Crassus, one of the first men of the State, irritated public feeling by decking his house on the Palatine with four (or perhaps six or ten) columns of marble from Hymettus, which had been intended for the theatre built in his aedileship. His co-censor Gnaeus Domitius censured him sharply, and Marcus Brutus nicknamed him the Palatine Venus. Crassus' house was mainly valuable for a garden with six fine old lotus trees, worth 3 millions of the total 6 millions, i.e., more than £50,000, as money then stood; but the houses of Quintus Catulus (consul in 102 B.C. and conqueror of the Cimbri), on the Palatine, and of the knight and jurisconsult Gaius

Aquilius (on the Viminal) were far superior, Aquilius' being considered the finest in Rome. In 78 the house of the Consul Marcus Lepidus was deemed the finest; its threshold of *giallo antico* (a Numidian marble unknown before in Rome) caused much talk.

But thirty-five years later there were over a hundred finer houses in Rome. Pliny regards this marvellously rapid growth of splendour as doubly foolish, considering the shortness of life, and one of the wonders in the history of Rome. Wonderful rather was the long backwardness in this respect of the capital of the world; in other flourishing cities (see Macaulay on the progress of English towns since 1700) private magnificence came in more gradually: in Rome in one generation. Those thirty-five years from the consulate of Lepidus and the death of Sulla to the murder of Caesar (78-44) witnessed the largest acquisitions in East and West. It was the time of the wars of Quintus Metellus Creticus, Publius Servilius Isauricus, Pompey and Lucullus in the East, and Julius Caesar in Gaul: the Empire was enlarged by the provinces of Bithynia, Pontus, Crete, Cilicia and Syria. Generals, officers, officials, business men (e.g., Pompey's freedman Demetrius, who amassed 4,000 talents or £943,050) gained huge fortunes: partly spent on magnificent public buildings, even on temporary ones, such as Scaurus' gorgeous theatre in 58 B.C. But this magnificence also spread rapidly to private buildings. The largest of the 360 pillars, all 35 feet high, which had adorned his stage, Scaurus set up in the atrium of his house on the Palatine: they were of dark marble from Melos, first introduced by Lucullus and named after him. The first owner of a house (on Mount Caelius) consisting only of marble columns, and monoliths of green-veined *cipollino* from Carystus in Euboea, and marble from Carrara, was the Knight Mamurra of Formiae, Caesar's chief engineer in Gaul. As Pliny says, his house was a more eloquent satire on his shameless plunderings in Gaul than Catullus' verses. He was also the first who introduced Alexandrian incrustation. Sallust could tell of palaces laid out on the scale of towns. Together with the number of buildings the areal value and the rents rose (the ground of the forum built by Caesar in the busiest part cost 100 millions, £877,050) and, as compared with the other cities of Italy, four times as much. Caelius lived in a modest fashion (according to Cicero)

in a house owned by Clodius for 10,000 sesterces (£87 15s.) : his accusers alleged three times the rent, to convict him of extravagance and raise prices for Clodius. Cicero bought his house on the Palatine from Crassus for $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions (£30,696 15s.), and, on his return from exile, the Senate offered him 2 millions compensation for the ruined house ; the areal value may, therefore, be reckoned at $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions (43 per cent. of the whole sum).

The battle of Actium heralded another great building era at Rome, owing to the feeling of security after the general peace, the growing prosperity and population, the influx of capital, and also because of Augustus' strenuous endeavour to make Rome a worthy capital of the world, to turn a city of brick into a city of marble. The marble quarries of Carrara, which Vitruvius does not mention, were regularly exploited towards the end of Augustus' reign ; blocks of marble from there and other materials were landed at Ostia and floated up to Rome.

The poems of Horace, Tibullus and Propertius teem with the impressions of witnesses of this great luxury in building, and friends of the former simplicity. The 'novel' *atria* of great palaces were imposingly tall ; perhaps Scaurus' *atrium* was the first of them : it was 38 (Roman) feet high, whereas Crassus' *atrium* had been only twelve ; a standard of the difference between the palace and the citizen's home ; other dimensions must have correspondingly increased. In these *atria*, pillars of Phrygian marble (with spots of violet ; *pavonazetto*) aroused envy. Beams of white stone from Hymettus pressed down on columns of reddish-yellow marble with green veins, and of serpentine, quarried out in Numidia, Euboea or Taenarum. On gilded soffits (seen for the first time in the Temple of Capitoline Jupiter after the destruction of Carthage) ivory glittered. Between the gay columns in the yards stood bushes and groups of trees, fountains splashed, and purple awnings stretched from one capital to another shielded off the sun, and cast a red shimmer on the pavement or the moss. Under Sulla mosaic must have been very usual in Rome : Caesar took mosaics with him on campaign to spread in his tent. The directions of Vitruvius for the building of a great house correspond very well with the descriptions of Horace, Propertius, and Tibullus. Vitruvius says that for nobles royal lofty

vestibules, spacious *atria* and peristyles, parks and roomy, gorgeous avenues, libraries, picture galleries, *basilicae* must be laid out on the same scale as in public buildings. The palace of Augustus' friend, the Knight Vedius Pollio, covered 'inside its walls more space than many a town': its site was occupied afterwards by the Colonnade of Livia. And in smaller dwellings, e.g., at Pompeii, the number of apartments for separate purposes was considerable, though the rooms and the total area were small.

From Augustus to the death of Nero, extravagance in palaces tended to increase, as the great families vied in princely splendour; the economies of Vespasian's reign could not prevent monuments of gorgeousness arising equal to the old. Towards the close of Tiberius' reign, Valerius Maximus says that a palace with its appurtenances (i.e., garden), only four acres in extent, was considered small. This may seem exaggerated, but Velleius Paterculus is strictly accurate in saying a man living in a house under 6,000 sesterces a year (£66 15s.) is hardly recognized as a senator. This statement is a reminder not to dwell overmuch on the generality of rich homes, as in a modern capital no similarly highly-placed man would pay less than three or four times that sum. In 1462 Venetian nobles paid 50 to 120 ducats (600 to 1,440 francs); in 1658 the Venetian ambassador paid for his house at Paris 400 *doppie* (4,400 francs): in modern currency both amounts would be greater. The wife of the Russian ambassador at Vienna in 1852 paid about £450. Bismarck as Federal representative at Frankfort in 1851 paid the small sum (for Frankfort) of 4,500 florins, and at St. Petersburg for the furnished Hôtel Stenbock 7,000 roubles a year, and the Duke of Ossuna for his, 12,000. In 1863 there were in Paris 9,985 rate-payers, with houses from 4,000 to 8,000 francs a year; 1,413 houses cost 10,000 to 25,000 francs a year; and some 400 even more.

As both Seneca and Sallust say that city palaces were as large as towns or country estates, it is not known whether palaces increased in size after the time of Tiberius. These rhetorical exaggerations are at least to some extent justified by the architecture of large Roman houses. There was only one floor in the centre, and sometimes at the sides as well, and they occupied a comparatively large area with their gardens and parks and outhouses, such as Vitruvius mentions, foun-

tains, baths, colonnades and roads ; and with all the magnificence, accommodation may have been scant. Martial calls the Petilian Palace, where his patron Sparsus lived, a kingdom : it was a *rus in urbe* with long walks and a vintage as good as on a Falernian hill. In Violentilla's palace the gables rested on countless pillars, old groves cooled the air, living fountains played in marble basins, and it was cool in the dog days and mild in the winter.

What the price of such houses was at Rome, we do not know. Martial mentions a figure of 100,000 sesterces ; but only a small plain house could have been had at this price, and no fine house for double. For, according to Juvenal, a bath might cost 600,000, and a covered drive more ; these figures are not too high, perhaps too low, for Fronto (who was not a rich senator) spent 350,000 on a bath ; the description of the bath of Claudius Etruscus also bears this out.

But one form of luxury, unexampled in the history of architecture, was common, namely, decoration. The use of coloured marble for columns, and the ancient Asiatic fashion of covering the walls with bright sorts of stone and other costly materials, began under Augustus. Vitruvius knows nothing of this ; Seneca is the first to fulminate against the extravagance of 'walls glistening with large and expensive circular pieces of marble, with Alexandrian blocks contrasting with Numidian'. Besides this fashion of inlaying, under Claudius pieces were cut out of blocks, and the hollows filled in with other stones ; thus animals or other objects could be drawn ; in Pliny's phrase, 'they could paint in stone'. Two of these marble incrustations have been found on the Palatine. Under Nero, fancy marbles were produced by laying in bright veins and druses in tablets of other kinds of coloured stones.

But the wasteful use of valuable and rare kinds of coloured stone became very general during the first century. In one refectory built by Caligula's freedman Callistus, Pliny saw thirty columns of oriental alabaster ; four smaller columns of the same stone had been put up by Cornelius Balbus in his theatre under Augustus, as a curiosity. With the new countries gained, the Romans could exploit more quarries. Thus the ridges in the Arabian Desert of Egypt, at Jebel Duchan, yielded them porphyry, Jebel Fatiteh granite, Hamamet the Egyptian *breccia*, so much in favour at Rome, and Jebel

Urakan, the honey-coloured Oriental alabaster. But the two first quarries were only opened under Claudius, and, no doubt, many others in the course of the Empire, e.g., the Numidian under Marcus Aurelius. The extant remains imply more than forty sources of Roman luxurious architecture. In the splendid small bath built by Claudius Etruscus, according to Statius, the ordinary costly marbles were disdained, such as Thasian, Carystian, Ophite and onyx alabaster. Green Laconian Serpentine was only tolerated, in order to be a setting for inlaid blocks of white violet-spotted Synnadian *pavonazzetto* in long flutings; there was also a snow-white Phoenician marble, of which Pliny knows nothing. The arched roofs gleamed with gay pictures in glass mosaic; the water sprang up into silver basins through silver pipes; the bath was edged in with marble and the water flowed in so clear that the bottom could be seen; the room for playing at ball had its floor warmed from beneath. Other passages in Statius and Martial prove the generality of this luxury in coloured stones. According to Statius, Violentilla's palace gleamed with African, Phrygian and Laconian stone, onyx and marble, as bright as purple and the sea. According to Martial, a rich man builds *thermae* of Carystian, Synnadian, Numidian and Laconian marble. Hadrian's reign may have been the zenith of this extravagance, but the fashion lasted down to the end of the Empire; the villas and Domitian's palace will be described presently.

About thirty years ago the discovery of the ancient warehouse of marble at the harbour at the foot of the Aventine gave a new and surprising idea of the wealth in marble of Imperial Rome. About 1,000 blocks and columns, mainly of coloured species for architecture, were found there. The great fire of 64 A.D. may have been the occasion of this great accumulation, which was, however, only a part of the imperial stock, containing imports from Asia, Africa and Greece, and not all of these, and none from Egypt or Carrara. This store was used up to about 200 A.D.; what is left is what was not wanted for the buildings of the Flavian and Antonine periods. The scanty relics of the marble decorations of the imperial palaces, still give the spectator some idea of their magnificence. In the provinces, in addition to the native quarries, Carrara and Greek were also extensively drawn upon. The walls of Roman

villas near Zürich are still breast-high, covered with well-carved blocks of Jura marble, and the richer villas and the baths at Baden with Italian marble as well. In the garden of the archiepiscopal palace at Narbonne magnificent ruins, with marble from the Pyrenees, Africa, Carrara and Greece recall the whilom glory of Narbo, the city of Mars; and at Vienne there also are considerable remains of various foreign marbles.

The use of glass for decorative purposes was also carried to excess quite early. Seneca speaks of arched roofs hidden by plate-glass. The foundations of Rome are sown with panes of glass and relics of floor and wall decorations, artistic and carved. At Veii a floor of compact glass of the size of the room was found. Glass cut like cameo in two colours (like the Portland Vase) is still to be seen in the ruins of the walls it once adorned. There are also fragments of real painting on glass. Pliny mentions as a new invention the use of glass mosaics to decorate ceilings; and also speaks of walls covered with plates of gold; a form of luxury that reached its height in Nero's Golden House. In the seventeenth century (according to Vacca) a room was found on the Aventine, the walls of which were hidden behind gilded bronze tiles with incrustated medallions, and (on the authority of Bartoldi) on the Palatine a room incrustated with plates of silver, in which still more costly ornamentations must once have been set. Other inventions of gorgeousness in architecture must date from Nero's reign, such as movable soffits, especially in banqueting-rooms, which changed for every course. Sometimes, to point the contrast, these same palaces would contain so-called 'poor apartments', artificially simple.

Yet all this splendour was nothing in comparison with the fairy splendour of the palaces of Caligula and Nero, which, according to Pliny, 'embraced the whole city'. Of Caligula's little is known. Nero's Golden House, recommenced after the fire of 64 A.D., covered 50 hectares: the Romans were invited in a satire to remove to Veii anew, as Rome was all filled up, before it extended to Veii as well. It lay on the Velia, the Esquiline and the valleys in between; on the Esquiline it adjoined the imperial gardens of Maecenas, and was cut through by several streets. In the forecourt stood a colossal statue of Nero more than 100 feet high. The palace contained triple colonnades a Roman mile long; a pond, 'as

big as a sea' (on which the Flavian Amphitheatre was afterwards built), surrounded with buildings like a town; country seats with vineyards, meadows and woods, stocked with beasts, tame and wild. The apartments were gilded over, and decorated with jewels and mother-of-pearl; the 'love-chambers' were decked with pearls. The finest sculptures from Greece and Asia Minor were used to decorate. Of the artists employed in the work Pliny mentions a painter Fabullus, who was famous for his bright colours. Remains of painted walls, hidden below the *thermae* of Titus and Trajan, are in a style like the last Pompeian, but better and more sustained, as well as in the framed pictures and decorations, which inspired the grotesques of Raphael and Giovanni da' Udine. New discoveries and inventions were applied; a temple to Fortuna was built of a stone found in Cappadocia, so transparent that it was light with the doors shut. The ivory tiles on the ceilings of the banqueting-rooms could be shifted, so as to shower down flowers on the guests, or scents from pipes. The main banqueting-room was domed and turned day and night round its axis. The baths contained both sea and mineral waters. When the palace was habitable, Nero, on entering, expressed his satisfaction, and said he could now live like a man. Otho granted 50 millions (about £550,000) towards completing it. Vitellius thought what was as yet built unworthy of an emperor; but Vespasian had the greater part demolished and replaced by public pleasure resorts. The amphitheatre supplanted the pond, and Titus' *thermae* were built on the Esquiline. The Colossus of Nero Vespasian transformed into that of a Sun-god: the pedestal is still extant.

Of the later Emperors, Domitian distinguished himself by his palaces. Plutarch says that in Domitian's Temple of Capitoline Jove (the fourth) the gilding cost over 12,000 talents (£2,750,000); but any one who had seen a single colonnade, basilica, bath, or mistress-room in the palace, would be bound to call Domitian a Midas whose touch turned everything into gold. The ceiling of the banqueting-hall, of enormous span, with a huge opening to let in the light, rested, according to Statius' panegyric, on few columns, but those strong enough to support the heavens. Numidian, Synnadian, Chian, Carystian marble vied together and granite from Syene; only the pedestals were of Carrara marble; and the height was

such that the weary eye could hardly reach up to the gilded soffits.

(b) VILLAS AND GARDENS

§ I

In the City herself building was restricted by the small area and the high price of ground ; but on their huge estates the grandees' passion for building could be indulged without limitation. The unhealthiness of Rome in the summer and early autumn made country-life a delight and a necessity ; and large properties gave, even in the later Republic, a choice of pleasant residences. The increase of villas made the price of suitable sites rise. Lucullus paid for Marius' villa at Misenum 2,500,000 *denarii* : it had been bought by Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, for 75,000 : the enhancement of the price must have been due to improvements.

After the battle of Actium the building-fever gained ground all over Italy. Soon, thought Horace, will the princely demesnes leave but little land for the plough ; everywhere artificial lakes, larger than the Lucrine Lake, will extend, and the plane supplant the elm with its graftings of vines ; in the stead of fertile olives, there will be shady myrtle and laurel groves and fragrant violet-beds, and in the place of natural turf colonnades to ward off the sun and north wind. Further, senators by a series of *senatus consulta* and imperial decrees were frequently compelled to invest in Italian land ; the number of villas consequently increased. In the heat of the summer they might repair to their homes in the Sabine or Alban hills for fresh air ; in the spring or late autumn to the soothing warmth of Southern Italy ; or they might enjoy the beautiful splendour of the Gulf of Naples, or forget the bustle of Rome in the retirement of the plane-groves of Upper Italy. Everywhere, country houses or palaces were ready to receive them. Pliny the Younger, who was not very rich, owned properties in Etruria (near Tifernum Tiberinum), near Comum, Beneventum, villas on Lake Como, and an estate near Laurentum. His contemporary, the famous orator Regulus, who was worth over 60 million sesterces (£650,000), owned properties in Umbria, Etruria, near Tusculum and in the Campagna near the road to Tibur.

The luxury of villas was often heightened by difficulties of building. Sallust speaks of the wealth squandered on houses jutting into the sea, or on mountain plateaus. Statius says of the villa of Pollius Felix near Surrentum that Nature had been made subservient to man. 'Where you now see a plain, there was a hill; where you go under cover, was a wilderness; where you see lofty trees, there was no soil: here the stones obey, the palace advances, and the mountain retreats'. Sea-rocks were grown with vines for the Nereids to pluck at night-time. In the villa on the Lago di Fusaro, in which Servilius Vatia, a rich man of Praetorian rank, vegetated away his last days, there were two artificial caves, hollowed out with great labour, as large as the largest *atria*, the one never seen by the sun, the other in sunshine all day long. A canal from the sea to the lake of Acheron passes through an avenue of planes: here they fished, when the sea was too rough. The villa had all the amenities and none of the disadvantages of Baiae.

The predilection for the sea, and the desire of enjoying it close at hand produced many expensive water-palaces, the walls of which, as Ovid says, thrust back the blue waves. Horace also repeatedly speaks of the quarry-stone rocks in the sea. 'On any little bay', says Seneca, 'you lay your foundation and create fresh soil'. The remains of the palaces of the sea near Antium and elsewhere can still be seen in the water. There were also similar buildings on the provincial coasts. On the estates of the rich sophist Damianus of Ephesos on the sea, there were artificial islands and dams, where merchantmen could anchor. His town houses were partly like city residences and partly in grottoes, and all his country estates teemed with shady fruit trees.

There are almost contemporary accounts of villas gorgeous and modest from Pliny the Younger and Statius. Pliny's Laurentine and Tuscan villas were on healthy and beautiful sites, the one on the sea, the other in the valley of the Tiber on a slope of the Apennines, with apartments suitable for every season, and wonderful and various views from all the windows. The furnishing was comfortable and bright, without extravagance. Except for four small columns of Carystian marble, which supported a vine in the Tuscan villa, there was only white marble (and that only in small quantities), or the walls were

decorated with simple paintings; in the Laurentine villa the openings in two covered walks were closed with isinglass-stone, and there was no fountain (in the Tuscan villa there were several). The gardens had only the usual plants and trees, which would grow well, violets, box, rosemary, vines, mulberries, figs in the one, and, in the other, roses, acanthus, box, vines, laurels, planes (some overgrown with ivy) and cypresses.

One of the two villas described by Statius was built for Pollius Felix, a rich man of Puteoli, on the Punta della Calcarella between Capes Massa and Sorrento and has been mentioned to exemplify the great outlay on the foundations. The outbuildings and gardens appertaining comprised the whole coast from Marina di Puolo and the East side of Capo di Sorrento. On the shore there was a warm bath with two cupolas, temples of Neptune and of Hercules; a colonnade went along a sinuous path up to the villa. The rooms had a varied outlook on the sea and the islands. The most prominent part was a wing or hall, whence the Gulf of Naples could be seen; it was decked with bright marble from the best quarries of Greece, Asia Minor, Numidia and Egypt. Everywhere valuable pictures and sculptures of the old masters were to be seen, and portraits of philosophers, poets and generals. A few relics, such as bright marble pavements and columns, have occasionally been recovered on the coast and at Marina di Puolo.

In the estate of Manilius Vopiscus near Tibur, there were two palaces opposite each other on the two banks of the Anio, at a point where it flowed peacefully (above and below were waterfalls): the distance was so short that one could talk and almost shake hands across the stream. A dense lofty wood converged to the bank and the beshadowed water reflected the leaves. It was cool in the dog days and the July sun could not penetrate the apartments. These gleamed with gilded beams, doorposts of yellow marble, wainscotings with designs in inlaid coloured veins, costly mosaics, numerous *chef-d'œuvres* in bronze, ivory, gold and jewels by famous masters; every room had its own water-supply, and its own outlook, on ancient parks or the river; it was all peace; the bubbling stream lulled to rest. There was a warm bath on the bank. In the centre of one of the palaces stood a fine tree overtopping the

roof. An orchard, grander, according to the poet, than the gardens of Alcinous and Circe lay near the villa. Niebuhr credits the poems of Statius with reproducing the true local colouring, and being popular in Italy: they are good to read in those parts and recall the bygone splendour, formerly combined with the charm of an opulent Nature, which made the rich and great enviable.

This is perhaps most of all felt in wandering through the green wilderness of ruins that was once Hadrian's Tiburtine villa. The total surface area was about two-thirds of a square kilometer, four times as large as the Palatine. There were two palaces and other buildings, named after famous spots which Hadrian had visited. There was a Lyceum, an Academy, a *poekilē Stoa*, a *prytaneum*, a Canopus and a Tempe, and a Hades. This reminiscent nomenclature may have been common in the well-travelled aristocracy: on a property of Severus, who was especially interested in Egypt, there was a Memphis, and, on another estate, a Labyrinth. Galen tells of a rich man who transported to Italy enough Dead Sea water for a small pond. Of the villas of the later time that of the Gordians on the Praenestine Road deserves mention. It comprised a square *Tetrastylum* with 200 pillars of the same height, fifty of *giallo antico*, of *cipollino*, *pavonazzetto* and red porphyry respectively; basilicas 300 feet long, *thermae* only equalled by those at Rome, and all else on the same scale. Provincial villas will be dealt with later.

A comparison of Roman luxury in palaces, villas, parks and gardens with modern times is doubly difficult, because ancient taste had a different source and direction, and many detailed descriptions would be requisite. Only a few examples from various epochs and countries of magnificence in buildings can be given here.

Venetian palaces as early as about 1500 were the most gorgeous of Italian Renaissance buildings. In a room twelve yards long, in which a great lady in the family way received visits, the mere fixtures cost 2,000 ducats (24,000 francs). About 1600 Venice contained a hundred palaces, some costing at the outset over 200,000 ducats.

Jacques Cœur's house in his native city Bourges (built in 1450, and still standing) was adjudged by a contemporary superior to any royal palace: before completion it cost 100,000

écus (8 to 10 million francs) : the exterior and interior were covered with artistic sculptures, the rooms with costly tapestry and gold and silver. Amongst other magnificent private houses of the Renaissance in France (mostly destroyed at the Revolution) Château Gaillon was famous; it was built by Georges d'Amboise, minister of Louis XII and archbishop of Rouen. Richelieu spent 10 millions on his castle, 'the most splendid in France before Versailles was built'. The castle and gardens at Vaux belonging to Foucquet, the minister of Louis XIV (who fell in 1661) cost 18 million livres, and was valued by Voltaire at double. The huge gardens occupied the area of three villages which Foucquet bought up. They were partly designed by Le Nôtre, and considered the most beautiful in Europe : the fountains were then thought marvellous, and the royal castles of St. Germain and Fontainebleau were not comparable with Vaux. The leaden waterpipes were afterwards sold for nearly half a million. About 1750 English gardens were made near Paris and ran away with vast sums. Hence they were called *folies* : the *folie Brumoy* ruined the Marquis de Brumoy, a tenfold millionaire. The great tax-farmer and banker Joseph de la Borde bought his *folie Méréville* for 30 millions : he had constructed in Beauce an Alpine country with waterfalls and pine-woods, a devil's bridge over an abyss, and beyond the bridge a marble Temple of Friendship.

The French country-seats of the eighteenth century were the models for the rest of Europe. At Rosswalde, near Hotzenplotz in Moravia, Count Hoditz spent 3,000,000 florins on a fairyland. Pulavy, the residence of Adam Czartoryski, was a little Versailles inside vast gardens. The immense castle of Felix Potocki at Tulczyn cost many millions, and was more like a royal palace. At the same expense, and employing 10,000 labourers, Potocki in the last ten years of his life (1795-1805) built his Sophia the castle Sofiyovska, 'an enchanted world sprung from nothing'.

Of the nineteenth century country-seats Count Pückler has described those of the English aristocracy. Woburn Abbey, belonging to the Duke of Bedford 'with its stables, riding-ground, galleries of statuary and paintings, hot-houses and gardens is a little town, a self-complete example of tasteful luxury', such as only centuries of thought could produce.

Amongst the various gardens are a huge plantation of azaleas and rhododendra ; a Chinese garden with a dairy, built like a Chinese temple, with an excess of white marble and bright glass, and a fountain in the middle. The aviary consists of a large fenced-in space and lofty plantations and a cottage, with a small pond in the centre : the countless birds (partly rare and foreign) live in oak-branches wired together, with a wire roof, and evergreens all round. The park is sixteen miles round, and Ashridge Park, the seat of the Duke of Bridgewater, twelve ; in the latter there are a thousand sorts of wild animals and countless groups of giant-trees ; the pleasure ground and the gardens are larger than in Cassiobury Park (the seat of the Earl of Essex), the upkeep of which costs £10,000 a year. Warwick Castle, which was partly burnt down on December 3, 1871, was a 'fairyland'. The rows of reception-rooms on both sides of the hall were 340 feet long. Walls 8-14 feet thick formed in every window (10-12 feet wide) a regular room, with splendid views. The English aristocracy, too, own many more country seats than the Roman grandees used to have ; in 1848 it is said one peer offered a French friend a castle of his as a refuge, which he had never seen : it was said to be very beautiful ; in expectation of his arrival the table was laid every day with twelve covers and a carriage was always kept ready.

In 1860 Paxton designed a château at Ferrières, of more than princely magnificence, for Baron Alphonse Rothschild ; ' Too great for the middle-class ', said King William, who saw it in 1870. The hall looked fairy-like with its galleries all round covered with splendid carpets, and, with its 1,110 gas-jets, according to Drumont, was alone worth the journey thither. The tasteless accumulations in the inner apartments of the artistic masterpieces of all times is only ' the brutal triumph of wealth ' and produces wearisomeness rather than admiration. In the Park the conservatories and aviaries are very attractive. One of the most splendid Russian castles is the palatial villa at Archangel, near Moscow, in Italian style, which Prince Yusupov bought from Prince Michael Galitsin for 6 million roubles. It stands in a broad park, with fine views on meadows and woods, has a great gallery of valuable pictures, a splendid chapel, a concert hall, a theatre seating 500, many reception-rooms with costly vases, etc. A palace at Alupka, an estate

in the Crimea belonging to Prince Woronzov, was said to have already cost 7 million roubles, and was not nearly finished when Haxthausen saw it in 1843-4. Count de Vogüé in 1886 describes it as finer than the largest palaces of the Sultan on either side of the Bosphorus 'in certain points, its situation and its gardens. Only a Russian of the first half of the nineteenth century could have designed this oriental wonderland. In Russia one loves the impossible and soon tires of it'. The lofty Moorish halls and labyrinthine walks of the Park of Alupka are a wilderness. While the gorgeous English castles were the work of centuries, the Roman palaces of the empire were quite recent, only dating back to the last century B.C. But perhaps building extravagance has never been so great as from the reign of Augustus up to Vespasian. Circumstances combined to make it unparalleled. The deep Roman love of the colossal, developed by the world-dominion, could only be satisfied by the 'massive and roomy', in both private and public buildings. The desire of representing Rome's dignity suitably, the pride of impossible obstacles surmounted, the habit fostered by slavery of realizing the moment's whim, all these were tendencies which culminated in the autocracy, but were common to all the rich and great, who regarded themselves as the lords of the earth. Julius Caesar, when poor and in debt, had a villa, recently built at great expense, pulled down, since it did not reach his expectations. Cassius Dio tells of one Sextus Marius, who, as a friend of Tiberius, attained great wealth and power, and entertained a neighbour, against whom he had a grudge, for two whole days; during this time he had the latter's villa pulled down, and rebuilt more gorgeously, to make him dread him as a foe, but value him as a friend. Horace says, if a rich man admire the coast of Baiae, the lake and the sea at once feel the passion of the impatient architect: a new whim to-morrow, and the labourers must remove to Teanum. Strabo remarks that the ceaseless sales of houses at Rome furnished constant occasions for alteration and rebuilding. Naturally this essentially noble passion drove many into debt or bankruptcy. A valuable house, says Plutarch, makes many a man a borrower. Cetrionius, says Juvenal, had the building mania, and was always erecting on the winding shores of Gaeta, the heights of Tivoli, or the hills of Palestrina, lofty villas, with marbles from Greece or distant lands, which put the Temples

of Hercules or Fortuna to shame. Thus he somewhat impoverished himself, but his son built yet costlier villas of rarer marbles and completely ruined himself. Little men also vied with the great: Horace and Martial apply to them the fable of the frog. Martial tells of a *vici magister* (district-superintendent), who competed with a consul. The consul possessed a palace four miles from the city, the other bought a plot of land at the same distance; the consul built elegant *thermae* of coloured marble, the other a bath no bigger than a kettle; the consul had a laurel plantation on his estate, the other planted a hundred chestnuts.

Such a characteristic waste of costly, coloured marbles was only possible in the capital of a world-empire, which could import by sea pillars, beams and blocks from the numerous quarries in the Mediterranean countries, which have since relapsed into a barbaric condition. But Macaulay, on visiting the Vatican Museum in 1838 could still rightly wonder that 'in our moneyed and luxurious age no one attempted to open quarries like those which supplied the ancients. The wealth of modern Europe is far greater than that of the Roman Empire; and these things are highly valued and bought at enormous prices. And yet we content ourselves with digging for them in the ruins of this old city and its suburbs, and never think of seeking them in the rocks from which the Romans extracted them'. His expectation that the French settlements in Africa, and the rule of a Bavarian prince in Greece would induce such undertakings, has only to a slight extent been fulfilled. The quarries of Numidian marble at Shimtu (Simitthu) have been reopened after a thousand years, and the blocks cut by Roman chisels are being sawn by steam-saws.

Thus Roman palaces may have been more gorgeous than English or other modern ones, but the gardens and parks were very inferior and smaller in area. Whether the Roman grandees had as much space to dispose of as the British is doubtful. According to John Bright, in 1866 half of England belonged to 150 persons, and all of Scotland to ten or twelve; the Duke of Sutherland, the greatest real owner, possessing 482,676 hectares, and the Marquis of Breadalbane being able to ride ninety miles straight through his own domain. But Roman taste delighted in artificial gardens and scenery, rather than landscape, and was not enamoured of parks; nothing was known of hot-

houses and the reproduction of the vegetation of foreign zones and climates.

And in Roman gardens, unlike the variety of the decoration of the walls, there was lacking the brightness of the modern flora. Roman luxury in flowers consisted in the extravagant use of a small variety, especially lilies, roses and violets. This was excessive and unexampled ; at a feast given by one of Nero's friends the roses cost over 4,000,000 sesterces (£43,500), and we are told of the beds and tables of Aelius Verus, consisting entirely of roses and lilies. In Varro's days, nursery gardens of roses and violets near Rome paid well, and flower beds surrounded the city, extending even as far as Campania and Paestum. Under Nero, winter-roses were in demand : they were partly shipped from Egypt, partly, like lilies, cultivated under glass. In the winter of 89-90 the number of Paestum roses in Rome was so great that all the streets were red with the cheap wreaths. Egypt, says Martial, instead of exporting us such, might have imported.

Modern Europe owes much of its splendid garden flora to the Turkish love of flowers. Stamboul originated the tulip, the fragrant syringa, the oriental hyacinth, the crown-imperial, the garden *ranunculus*, and spread them *viâ* Vienna and Venice into the West, as well as the chestnut, common laurel, and the mimosa or *acacia Farnesiana*. Carnations, at the Renaissance, spread from Italy across the Alps. America brought many new varieties, the wild vine, the Peruvian capuchin-cress, the lombard or pyramidal poplar, the American plane, the North American acacia, the *Bignonia Catalpa*, tulip-tree, and South of the Alps, the magnolia and pepper-tree, etc. The Opuntian cactus and the aloe 'have completed the type of Mediterranean landscape, which derived its severe calm colour from the East, with an entirely harmonious addition'.

The great increase of artificial cross-breeding has produced a form of luxury, utterly unknown to antiquity ; and the prices paid by amateurs for rare flowers in modern times (e.g., 70,000 francs in 1838 for a bed of dahlias, £100 in 1839 for another variety in England) are only comparable to the prices paid in antiquity for rareties and amateurs' delights. Of the *Araucaria* at the Villa Pallavicini at Pegli in 1865 every species was valued at 10,000 francs, some at 30,000. James Veitch & Sons specialize in orchids and carnivorous plants, and in 1879

sent out six gardeners to the Tropics, Asia, the jungles, the swamps and woods and the heights of the Himalayas to search for new species.

V. LUXURY IN DOMESTIC ARRANGEMENTS

Domestic luxury in antiquity (and in some respects to this day in the South of Europe) was intermediate between our Northern standard and that of the East. It aimed not at 'comfort' (for which the Southern languages have no word), but at parading the owner's dignity as much as possible. The dwelling-rooms were but little used by day, and sparsely furnished according to our ideas; but the lofty and large reception-rooms, intended for the crowds of morning visitors and evening banqueters, contained relatively few articles, but very costly and mainly decorative, e.g., tables of citrus wood with ivory legs, sofas inlaid with tortoise-shell or ornamented with gold and silver, Babylonian carpets, splendid vases of Corinthian bronze and *murra*, Aeginetan candelabra, sideboards with old silver, statues and paintings by famous artists.

Of several articles of luxurious furniture, the prices are extant; they are always very high, and sometimes enormous. Aeginetan candelabra were bought at 25,000 sesterces, or even twice that sum. *Murra* was a material the ancients did not understand, coming from the East, as valuable as gold, and first introduced by Pompey after the conquest of Mithridates: it was probably some form of agate; *murra* vases worth 300,000 (£3,262 10s.) were in private hands. Nero had a drinking-cup made which cost a million. Comparable is the price given for porcelain in the eighteenth century: Count Brühl owned a service worth a million thalers. In Paris 20,000 *livres* for a service of Saxon porcelain was a large sum, yet there are some vases now which are worth £750. Many Romans also had a mania for rock-crystals; Pliny says 'some years ago, a lady of moderate means bought a rock-crystal wine scoop for 150,000 sesterces' (£1,631 8s.). Under Nero two small artistic goblets of novel workmanship were sold at 6,000 (£65 5s.). The passion for wrought silver dates back to 200 B.C. Lucius Crassus the orator (consul in 95) possessed dishes

worth 6,000 sesterces a pound, the craftsmanship costing twenty times as much as the material; in Martial's time 5,000 a pound was considered a large sum. But the work, genuine or spurious, of famous artists sold for much more. Babylonian embroidered coverlets for sofas in the banquetting-hall sold in the second century B.C. at 800,000 sesterces (then worth £7,016 8s.); Nero had some worth four millions (£43,500). But the worst was the 'mania' for citrus-wood tables, which furnished women with a retort, when reproached by men for their love of pearls. Beautifully grained boards of *citrus* (a kind of thuja growing on the Atlas) fetched fabulous prices, as the trunks were seldom thick enough to make table-tops, though there were some with a diameter of four feet. Cicero bought a table of citrus-wood, which existed in Pliny's time, for 500,000 sesterces (then worth £4,385 5s.), a price Pliny thinks extraordinary at an epoch so comparatively simple and poor. Later on there were even more expensive ones, e.g., for 1,400,000 (£15,226 10s.): Seneca is said to have had 500 tables of citrus-wood.

All these prices are extraordinary, and, as such, recorded; the standard of comparison must be similar luxuries of later times. Evidence that the average price of luxurious furniture was much lower is afforded in a poem of Martial's, describing a snob who exaggerates the quality and cost of all he has. He buys slaves for 200,000 sesterces, drinks old vintages, has plate worth 5,000 sesterces a pound, a gilded coach worth as much as an estate, a mule bought for the price of a house, and all his not very large possessions cost a million. This sum must have been sufficient to furnish a fine house, if not a palace.

Pliny's prices are exceptional fancy prices, such as amateurs or madmen (as Pliny says) will give. Of such fashionable perversions Pliny instances Annius the Consular, who collected *murra* ware with such enthusiasm that, having bought a cup (containing 3 *sextarii*) for 700,000 (£7,612 10s.), he gnawed its rim so as to increase its value. Similarly in modern times rareties have fetched enormous prices 'through the insanity of a few' (as Seneca says of the Corinthian bronzes) from connoisseurs, the English especially: e.g., £600 for a *heller* of Emperor Henry VII, £2,260 (in 1812) for a decameron; in ancient times such prices were paid for historical curiosities, e.g., the lamp of Epictetus (3,000

drachmae: £117 16s.), the stick of Peregrinus Proteus for a talent (£235 15s.). But the fancy prices then paid have apparently never since been attained ; this highest form of extravagance in these objects, as in some others, has remained unique.

With regard to luxury in household furniture, the greater costliness of the fewer *objets de luxe* in the Roman palaces is fully balanced by greater multiplicity and variety in the modern, especially as the cost was, and still is in some cases, enormous.

At the Renaissance in Italy rooms were expensively and artistically decorated. There were richly ornamented ceilings, marble fireplaces, carpets of gilded leather, or silk and velvet, with gold and silver designs, tapestries, pictures in costly frames, magnificent carved wood furniture, heavy curtains, oriental embroideries, vessels of gilded or enamelled silver, crystal, Murano glass, and majolica, figures and articles of bronze and ivory, etc. In Venetian palaces in which internal luxury and art reached their height in the sixteenth century, the palace of Vendramin Calergi was noted for its use of valuable marbles and stones in chimney-pieces and columns, and for the ebony and ivory on the doors. In the 'Golden Room' of the Cornaro house there was a splendid chimney-piece with golden caryatides, tapestries of gold, and the gilding on the beams was valued at 18,000 *zechini*. In Wolsey's palace all the eight ante-rooms to his Audience-hall were hung with costly tapestries, which were changed every week.

In France towards the end of the reign of Louis XIV expensive furniture came in mainly through the rich business men, who filled their rooms with tapestries from Beauvais and gobelins, Boulle, Chinese and Japanese furniture, Venetian and Nüremberg mirrors, pictures by French and foreign masters, silver plate and valuable porcelain. This luxury, which increased during the Regency of Louis XV, combined comfort and good taste to the satisfaction of the utmost indulgence. In the *boudoir* of a house fitted up with most refined extravagance (1758), the walls were all covered with mirrors. Trees realistically grouped together and covered with foliage, were decorated with porcelain flowers and gilded chandeliers, which held rose and blue candles ; the soft light was delicately reflected by the mirrors, some of which were shaded with gauze. Scents had been mingled with the paint on the wainscoting; thus the artificial thicket smelled of violets, jasmine and roses.

Such boudoirs were no doubt numerous at that time in Paris. Under Louis XVI extravagance in cut and gilded bronze made it almost as valuable as gold. The carving on one pedestal by the famous Gouthières was valued by the artist at 50,000 *livres* and the Comtesse du Barry owed him 756,000 *livres* at her death. In opulent houses the mere construction was only a quarter of the expense: 'all the splendour of the nation was to be seen inside'. In Beaumarchais' palace, famous for its architecture and gardens, the gorgeous show-rooms were real art galleries; his richly painted desk cost 30,000 francs. In 1796 Bonaparte had to spend on his wife's small palace, which was worth 40,000 francs, 120,000-130,000 for the furnishing. From France this passion spread. The Elector of Bavaria, Max Emanuel II (about 1700) paid 60,000-100,000 thalers for a chimney-piece and two rococo tables from Paris; the furniture in Countess Kosel's pleasure palace of Pillnitz cost 200,000 thalers.

The last decades of the nineteenth century have seen a great increase of luxury: at the Paris Exhibitions bookcases worth 25,000 francs, desks worth 10,000-15,000, were seen, and at the Berlin Industrial Exhibition of 1879 furnished rooms costing 4,000-14,000 francs. Count Pückler illustrates the splendour of English castles. The furniture of Northumberland House is worth several hundred thousands. Warwick Castle is 'a realm of past centuries', everything being 'old, splendid and original'. One could see 'the rarest and richest articles such as modern craft cannot make, and gold, silver, velvet and silk all together. The furniture consists almost entirely of ancient and splendid gilding, carved dark walnut and oak, or old French cupboards with bronze ornaments. Magnificent mosaics and inlaid wood may be seen. The art treasures were countless; the pictures nearly all by the greatest masters'. These descriptions of English castles prove that the connoisseurs of the Roman Empire never realized the reproduction of definite historical styles, by imitation or collection.

§ 2

Silver-plate, as a form of luxury, requires special mention. Tiberius forbade the use of golden plate by private individuals, except at sacrifices; Aurelian repealed the law. But Tiberius' edict was disregarded: we hear of golden plate

being used almost as often as in modern times. Great extravagance prevailed in silver plate, as well as in wrought silver articles, valuable chiefly for their antiquity and their workmanship (*caelatura*). In the Early Republic silver plate was so rare at Rome that the Carthaginian envoys found the same service at every house they dined at; conquest made it more common. The conquests of Spain (the Peru of the ancient world) in 206 brought the Cartagena silver mines under Rome's domain. According to Polybius, about 40,000 men worked there, and a net profit of 25,000 drachmae (£975) a day was obtained. Syria, Macedonia, Carthage, Corinth, Asia, Provence, and the Mithridatic campaigns supplied Rome with precious metals in abundance. The discovery of America increased the bullion of Europe from £34,000,000 to £130,000,000 by 1700, and £297,000,000 by 1800; on the smaller area of the Roman Empire this smaller importation of the precious metals operated similarly. Some few facts may illustrate the luxury in gold and silver in modern Europe.

In the fifteenth century it was already considerable. True, in Florence families lent one another their wrought silver, and brass or silver knives and forks were ordinarily used. But some individuals possessed large masses of silver and gold, e.g., Cardinal Pietro Riario in 1473 was host to the bride of the Duke of Ferrara at his palace in Rome; he exhibited four church candlesticks and two angels in gold, a praying stool with lion-shaped feet of gilded silver, a silver set of fire-irons, a silver close stool with a golden chamber, and a fresh service of silver plate for every course; in the banqueting hall was a buffet of twelve tiers full of golden and silver dishes set with jewels. In France, under Louis XII, architectural gilding and gilded silver came in; lords and prelates had plates of gilded silver or pure gold. In Germany, whose miners made her the fifteenth century Peru, Aeneas Silvius was astounded at the universal extravagance in gold and silver, and especially in armour and decorations. According to Wimpheling the rich merchants ate off dishes of silver and gold, and, on their journeys, had such dishes (weighing 30, 50, or 150 pounds) sent after them.

In the sixteenth century Guicciardini mentions the massive silver of the Flemish burgesses, and Holinshed is grieved at the introduction of silver spoons into England. Cardinal Wolsey's silver was valued at 150,000 ducats. In the seven-

teenth century under Charles II of Spain (1665-1700), in spite of the want of ready money, the quantity of silver plate was enormous. At the death of the Duke of Albuquerque, the weighing and cataloguing of his silver and gold plate took six weeks; there were 1,400 dozen plates, 500 large and 700 small dishes, 40 silver ladders (which were used in the silver cupboards). The Duke of Alba, who thought himself poor in silver ware, had 600 dozen plates and 800 silver dishes. All this came from Mexico and Peru. In England the fashion also spread. Civil and military uniforms were embroidered in gold and silver; nobles and rich citizens had mirrors and pictures in silver frames, and tables of silver plate. In France many noble families had silver worth 400,000-500,000 francs, which was valued all the more for being hidden and turning black. In 1689, Louis XIV, to meet the expenses of the war against the Great Alliance, ordered the conversion into coin of all the nobles' plates, and deprived himself of all his tables, *canapés*, candelabra, and massive silver furniture (made by the goldsmith Balin from the designs of Le Brun); they had cost ten millions and brought in three. The private contributions came to three millions. In 1711 fresh meltings down brought in another three millions; but much was hidden on both occasions. In Law's time (1710-20) the extravagance revived; twenty to twenty-five millions of gold and silver passed through the smiths' hands. A painter, a mad squanderer, possessed a princely table-service, besides little tables, mirrors, orange dishes, flower pots, cooking utensils, all of massive silver. Water jugs, snuffers, salt cellars, were also often made of silver. In England under Queen Anne this manufacture received a fresh impulse, aided by the new fashion of tea drinking. From 1765-1780, tea-urns, tureens, tea and coffee pots, salvers and wine coolers in silver were much used; silver plates, dish covers, and watches were used even among the lower classes, and the gilding of rooms used up much of the gold. 'Many an Amsterdam merchant in 1792 displayed more heavy metal than a prince; at the Hague gardens had massive silver gates'. Professor Gottfried Sell married a rich Dutch woman, and in his lecture-room at Göttingen had silver spittoons and candelabra. The jewellery of Count Wartenberg was taxed at his death in 1711 and valued at 100,598 thalers, his plate and furniture at 18,896.

In Russia and Poland, in the nobles' houses in the eighteenth century, in white-washed rooms, with rough woodwork and bad furniture, great masses of gold and silver might be seen. Prince Vasili Vasilyevich Golitzin (1643-1714) had 400 silver dishes, and Prince Alexander Danilovich Menshikóv (died in 1729) 72 dozen silver plates and 105 pud (1686 kilogrammes) of golden table services. Count Peter Borisovich Sheremetyev (son of Boris Petróvich, who was ennobled by Peter the Great) at his estate, Kuskovo, near Moscow, gave banquets for 2,000, sixty of whom were served on plates of gold. Charles Radziwill at Nieswiesz had 1,000 golden and silver rareties, tables of wrought silver, and statues of the twelve Apostles, each two feet high, of pure gold.

From 1800-1830 there were in England 10,000 families, each owning valuables in gold and silver up to £500, and 150,000 owning up to £100 worth; the poorest had ear-rings, spoons and small articles. In 1855, according to M. Chevalier, France spent 60,000,000 francs worth of gold and silver, besides the money in circulation, and in 1880 over 70,000,000. England consumes as much; here the use of gold for ornament and other purposes has in the last ten years almost doubled, while that of silver has remained stationary.

Our scanty information scarcely affords a just means of comparing Roman extravagance in silver with that of modern times. Before the wars of Sulla there were in Rome more than 100 dishes weighing 100 pounds each (33 kilogrammes) which cost many of their owners their heads in the proscriptions; Rotundus, a slave of Claudius, and *dispensator* in Lower Spain, had a silver dish weighing 500 pounds, and his followers some weighing 250; this may indicate a fashionable luxury of the time, as in Paris in the thirteenth century, when the rooms were sparsely furnished and lavish use was made of dishes of gold, silver, crystal, set with jewels or enamelled, 'in the manufacture of which medieval art was unrivalled'. 'Capital was invested in gold and jewels and the grandees of France hoarded masses of gold, which recalled the wealth of the East'.

Perhaps the Romans and the thirteenth century Parisians in accumulating silver were simply laying by capital in a form permanently valuable and easily negotiable. Thus the peasants of Sweden in the sixteenth century put their extra money into heavy clumsy silver spoons, weighing 3-4 *reichsthaler*;

poor peasants who had not a bed saved some up, and the rich had as many as fifty or half a ton even. Similarly, in the delta of the Vistula, in 1800 and later, rich farmers hoarded silver spittoons and chambers as well as tea and coffee pots and urns, silver carriage ornaments and harness. In 1720, when Law's bubble was bursting, in Paris gold and silver was being used in the stead of copper and tin in the commonest articles; and this was due not merely to extravagance, but to the fall in the shares. The modern Russian and Polish Jews buy jewellery and gold articles beyond their means and out of proportion to the rest of their property; Jewish walnut-hawkers buy silver candlesticks at Königsberg 'to have articles for pledge'. As in the modern East, where 'all wealth must be readily transportable in exile', at Rome jewels were mostly accumulated in the Eastern provinces; in one of Christ's parables a merchant puts all his fortune into a single pearl. There may have been reason enough to be prepared for anything: thus Galba in Nero's reign never ventured out without a carriage with a million sesterces in gold behind him. And when after Nero the coinage was depreciated, the custom of putting by a reserve fund of silver probably spread. For the *denarius* of almost pure silver was alloyed, under Nero, 5-10 per cent., under Trajan, 15 per cent., under Hadrian, nearly 20 per cent., under Marcus Aurelius 25 per cent., under Commodus 30 per cent., and under Septimius Severus 50-60 per cent. Although the coin lessened in value, its mint rate remained the same. As early as 100 A.D. payment in gold was exacted.

Hence the custom came in of engraving the exact weight on the articles for the purpose of inventories, when the amount was always stated, and the custom of giving away silver plate at feasts. At the *Saturnalia* poor or mean persons gave little silver spoons, rich or generous persons dishes and cups of silver, or even gold. Martial complains at the *diminuendo* series of a friend's *Saturnalia* gifts; ten years ago he gave silver weighing four pounds, five years ago a little plate of two-thirds of a pound, the sixth year a little dish about half a pound, and in the seventh and eighth spoons as big as a medler. Juvenal makes a glutton pay for his expensive tastes by pawning silver vessels and breaking a medallion of his mother. St. Ambrose makes a usurer tell a borrower: 'in order to find you the money, I will break up some silver heirlooms; their workmanship is

highly artistic and I shall lose considerably, since no interest can replace the embossed figures ; but, for a friend's sake I will not fear the loss, which I will make up when you repay me '.

How great in the Early Empire this lavish use of silver was, may be seen from the statement in Pliny, that Pompeius Paullinus (Seneca's father-in-law), General of the Army in Lower Germany in 58 A.D., carried 12,000 pounds of silver (4,000 kilogrammes) about with him. Much of the silver table plate belonging to the officers, merchants and officials there must have fallen into the hands of the Germans. In 1868 a hoard of ten silver dishes was found, weighing over a hundredweight. Of course, Paullinus' hoard was exceptional. Alexander Severus, who was one of the most economical emperors, had no gold plate even at banquets, and only 200 pounds (65·5 kilogrammes) of silver. But many private sideboards may have been more grandiose.

Pliny's remaining facts are of little use : they are too exaggerated, e.g., he says women will only bathe in silver baths. But they confirm the view that silver was used even in the middle and the lower classes. Soldiers had silver sword-hilts and belts, silver chains on the scabbards ; and poor women wore silver anklets, and even slaves had silver mirrors. At Pompeii, after the eruption, the inhabitants carried away all the valuables they could ; but even so, up to 1837 over 100 silver dishes have been found ; in 1894 a villa of a Pompeian near Bosco Reale was excavated and over 97 silver articles found, 90 being for the table. In the provinces, too, especially Gaul and Spain, many silver articles have been found, at Bernay in Normandy 69 articles in raised work were discovered.

VI. LUXURY IN FUNERALS

Ancient Roman expenditure on funerals was altogether far greater than modern. The love of display and the tendency to make extravagance the measure of grief, the conception of the duties of the living towards the dead, the idea of their immortality, and the desire to keep the memory of them alive, contributed to increase this expenditure enormously. Even the Twelve Tables legislate against wanton expenditure, and

decree that no gold is to be buried, except that which fastens the teeth—a proof of the antiquity of dentistry in Rome.

Every full funeral cost a considerable sum for the procession, which was preceded by flutists and blowers of horns and *tubae*, as well as choruses of dancers and dramatic mimes, who also sometimes represented the deceased. The most sumptuous obsequies were those of the nobility, a regular feature of which was a procession of the ancestors, whose parts were taken by persons as like them as possible, mostly by actors. These carried with them the century-old pictures of the ancestry from the *atria* of great houses, i.e., had masks on, made as faithful as possible, and appeared in the most dignified robes to which the ancestor was entitled; curule magistrates in the purple-hemmed *toga*, censors in the purple *toga*, and *triumphatores* in gold-embroidered purple, and they had lictors with the *fascēs* walking in advance and all the usual attributes of office. The carriages and hearses of these forbears often numbered several hundreds. In 22 B.C. at the funeral of Junia Tertulla, the sister of Marcus Brutus, and wife of Gaius Cassius, 'the images of twenty of the most illustrious families preceded her hearse, the Manlii, Quinctii, and other equally ancient families, and, above all, Brutus and Cassius were conspicuous—for their absence'. At the funeral of Drusus in 21 B.C., the son of Tiberius, there was a similar gorgeous ancestral procession. There were seen Aeneas as the founder of the Julian gens, all the Kings of Alba, Romulus and the Sabine nobles, Attus Clausus, the founder of the Claudii, and an endless succession of other distinguished Claudii. The requisites for these processions may have belonged to the families, but the cost must have been very heavy.

Next, fine scents were lavishly squandered in the procession and at the pyre or grave, and were sent as condolence gifts by friends. Incense 'which was dedicated to the gods in single grains, was offered to the dead in heaps'. For example, at Ostia twenty (Roman) pounds (6.55 kilogrammes) were consumed, at the expense of the commune, at the funeral of a youth of the rank of a *decurio*, and at that of a lady of the city aristocracy fifty pounds (16.37 kilogrammes). Pliny calculated the three commercial kinds of incense at 6, 5 and 3 *denarii* to the (Roman) pound. Other fragrances, even more costly, were only rarely used outside Rome, where the waste

of the dearest perfumes of India and Arabia was enormous. According to Juvenal, Crispinus, the favourite of Domitian, smelt of *amomum* in the morning as strongly as two funerals. At the obsequies of Sulla the Roman ladies, it is said, contributed so much spices and perfumes that two huge figures of Sulla and a lictor could be made out of 'dear incense and cinnamon'; both formed part of the ancestral procession of 210 carriages. At Poppaea's funeral in 65 A.D. her body was embalmed in Eastern fashion and laid in the Mausoleum of Augustus, and Nero, according to the experts, burnt more than a year's crop of Arabian incense. At the funeral of Annia Priscilla, the wife of Flavius Abascantus, the freedman and secretary of Domitian in 95 A.D., her body was mummified, laid in a marble sarcophagus and, according to a poetical description, the harvests of Arabia, Cilicia, the Sabaei and Indians, saffron and myrrh, and Jericho balsam filled the air with their perfumes.

The pyre, too, no doubt was a work of luxury. Certainly, we only know of those of the emperors, which in the third century consisted of several pyramidal tiers, covered everywhere with gold-braided carpets, pictures and reliefs, all abandoned to the flames. But as Pliny speaks of painted pyres, it is probable that private individuals imitated this extravagance according to their means.

So, too, the workmanship and material of the cinerary urns and sarcophagi containing the body were often costly. Urns were seldom made of gold or silver (though Trajan's, in the pedestal of his Column, was of gold), but rare and costly stones were frequently used. The ashes of Philetus, a slave of Flavius Ursus (about 90 A.D.) were extinguished in Setina wine, and his remains enclosed in an urn of oriental alabaster. In a *columbarium* of imperial freedmen and slaves of the first two centuries, there are several carved marble urns and one of oriental alabaster, that of an imperial slave, Africanus, who according to the inscription had made for himself a 'little chapel with a grating and golden ornaments'. A glass urn found at Pompeii with white figures in relief on a dark blue background representing genii gathering grapes, is one of the most beautiful specimens of the glass-work of antiquity. The sarcophagus of Nero, which was buried by his former love Acte, and his two nurses Ecloge and Alexandria, was of

Egyptian porphyry, with an altar on it of Carrara marble, and an edging of white Thasian marble. It is well known how richly and artistically sarcophagi and urns were decorated.

A third cause of extravagance was the custom of burying or burning with the body things used by the deceased in life, e.g., clothes, weapons, ornaments, tools, playthings, etc. The idea of corporeal immortality, and the desire of giving expression to intense sorrow explain the custom. Lucian makes a widower say that he has proved his love of his wife by burning all her clothes and ornaments at her funeral. Regulus the orator made an ostentatious exhibition of his grief at the death of a son about 14 or 15 years old, and had all the boy's many ponies, dogs, nightingales, parrots, and blackbirds slaughtered at the pyre. Before being committed to the flames or the grave the bodies of the dead were dressed in the most magnificent attire. Even such a stoic as Cato of Utica showed how grief overwhelmed him at the death of his beloved half-brother, Quintus Servilius Caepio, at Aenus in Thrace 'by the costly funeral and the burning of expensive robes and fragrances'. The heirs of Gaius Cestius (a contemporary of Augustus) who was buried in the well-known pyramid at Rome, were directed by his will to bury with him the gold-embroidered carpets of Attalus: the aediles intervened, they were sold and the proceeds devoted to the building of the pyramid. The sumptuary laws were as little enforced, in general, by the aediles during the Empire, as at any other time. Nero was buried in the white, gold-embroidered carpets he had used at his reception on his last New Year's Day, and Annia Priscilla in Tyrian purple.

We possess but scanty records of the expense of great or small funerals. The *Curia* (common council) of Pompeii granted at the death of an aedile the ground and 2,000 sesterces (£21 15s.) for the obsequies, 2,000 and an equestrian statue for a *duumvir* (the highest official): this then sufficed for an honourable funeral. A veteran at Lambessa left by his will only 2,000 sesterces for his funeral: the heirs added 500. For the funeral of a Surrentine who had held the highest offices and priesthoods in his native city, the city council granted the ground, two statues and 5,000 sesterces (£54 6s.). The Roman scale was naturally much higher. One Caecilius Claudius Isidorus in his will of January 27, 8 B.C., stated that, despite great losses,

he left 4,117 slaves, 3,600 yoke of oxen, 257,000 head of other cattle, and 60 millions (over £650,000) in money; for his funeral he assigned 1,100,000 sesterces (£12,000). Pliny records this sum for its exorbitance, for Nero's obsequies only cost 200,000 (£2,175). At Vespasian's funeral, the actor who represented the parsimonious monarch, asked how much the procession and obsequies cost; the procurators replied, 10 million sesterces; he rejoined they might give him 100,000, and throw him into the Tiber. However great may have been the pomp of imperial funerals, probably a fabulous sum was introduced in this instance for comic effect.

Yet the custom of inviting the whole community to banquets, shows and gladiatorial combats at the burial or later celebrations in memory of the deceased was the cause of far greater expense. Many instances are known from Republican times. They were often testamentary directions. According to Horace, one Staberius in his will directed his heirs to inscribe the amount of his estate on his tombstone, or, in default, to give a gladiatorial combat of 100 pairs and a public meal with Arrius, a well-known wastrel, as organizer. In Republican times, too, this custom obtained in the Italian towns. Thus a *duumvir* at Sinuessa, on his father's death, at the funeral distributed honey-wine and pastry, and gave gladiatorial games for the district, and a feast to the citizens and his own family. Most probably this practice was continued under the Empire. Pliny the Younger praises a friend for promising Verona gladiatorial games as an acknowledgment of his own great repute, and a debt due to the memory of his wife, a lady of Verona. It was true, he had been importuned and could not refuse, yet his generosity and lavishness was very praiseworthy and the proof of a great mind. At these games panthers were imported from Africa. Under Tiberius the mob in an Italian town stopped the funeral procession of an officer in the market-place, until the heir had promised gladiatorial games. Or, instead of banquets, largesse might be distributed. At Gabii a silk merchant, at the dedication of his daughter's memorial temple in 163 gave the *honoratiores* of the first class 5 *denarii* each, those of the second class 2 each, the shopkeepers inside the walls 1 each, and paid 100,000 sesterces into the city account, the interest on which was to be spent on every anniversary on a public

banquet to the *honoratiores* of the two first classes. Many similar records of endowments in annual memory of the dead are extant.

Finally, the splendour of the monuments, the richness of their decoration within and without was very great, even having regard to the unique luxury in art of this time, and it was heightened by other causes: sumptuary laws were practically ineffective. The desire, amounting to a passion, of immortalizing one's self and one's kin, would be, it was thought, best secured by buildings, whose ornamented and architectural piles should tower up for all eternity, to the astonishment of later generations. Thus the cult of the dead demanded suitable accommodation for the sacrifices at the grave, and the erection of monuments in the form of temples or similar buildings in two storeys. Lastly, the idea of corporeal immortality led to the erection of 'eternal habitations' in the form of dwellings, with gardens around, and furnished like houses within.

There were few general God's acres, and those who could not build graves on their own lands had to acquire pieces of ground, generally by the high roads. There numerous family graves as a rule were intended for the purchaser, his descendants and family, and also for his freed slaves and their descendants. In a gift of a burial ground to the city of Sassina in Umbria one hundred square feet was allowed for every single grave, which was quite large enough for a family; the grave of a freedman of Trajan, who was director of the Imperial Post at Rome, was only $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet square. But even in the time of the fire larger spaces were usual. The grave of Numerius Istacidius at Pompeii is 15 feet by 15. Geminus Eutyches, a nursery gardener at Rome, wanted to make his 20 by 20. Spaces 25 by 25, 25 by 30, and 26 by 35 (the two latter at Ostia) were plainly quite common. Some even covered an acre (28,000 square feet) or more. Trimalchio designs a burial ground of 20,000 square feet, on which there are to be a monument, vines, an orchard, and a caretaker's lodge. In one passage, 10,000 sesterces is said to be the price of a burial ground.

These splendid mausoleums lined the roads leading into Rome and the other Italian cities, and towered above the smaller ones; only a few are left, e.g., the monumental towers

of Caecilia Metella and of Plautius, on the Tibur road, the *torre d' Orlando* (the monument of Munatius Plancus) near Gaeta and the pyramid of Cestius. Most of them have utterly vanished, save for a few stones; Martial's prediction has come true, that his poems would be still read, when fig-trees were growing in the marble tombs of Licinus and Messalla, and these monuments were dust. In the smaller towns of Italy the extravagance was proportionately great, e.g., the remains of a once stately monument of Mamia at Pompeii, in the form of a temple with pillars, on a raised foundation. In 169 the silk merchant of Gabii erected his daughter's tomb; according to the inscription, a temple with a bronze statue of her as Venus and four other statues in niches, with bronze doors, a bronze altar and so forth.

In the provinces also there were great monuments. The mausoleum of a rich man at Langres (of the Early Empire) contained (according to his will) two statues of him, both sitting, of the best Greek marble and best bronze of the second kind. In front of the building there stood an altar 'of best Carraran marble and the best workmanship', to contain his ashes. On the grounds adjoining were a pond and an orchard, to be kept by a gardener with three assistants. Arrangements were, as usual, made for keeping the whole in good repair.

Some Roman monuments in the Provinces have survived. At Igel near Trèves there is a monument of the Secundinii, 73 feet high, of hard grey sandstone, richly carved and decorated, formerly in colour; it is one of a style much fancied in the district of the Meuse and the Moselle. There are fragments of other similar monuments, from Luxemburg and from Arlon, and many from the excavations of Neumagen since 1877-8. They were obelisks, at least 9 feet high, carved with portraits of the deceased and pictures in relief of their past lives, in colour and very realistic. The *Aiguille de Vienne*, the so-called grave of Pilate, is a 'lofty pyramid based on a Janus arch, of huge stones, quite undecorated'. The tall Roman mausoleum of the Julii at St. Rémy near Tarascon is 17.90 metres high altogether, and was built about the end of the Republic by three sons for their parents. A quadrangular sub-structure, mounting by steps, with painted reliefs of the deeds and prowess of the father, supports a quadrangular Corinthian arcade, open on all sides, on which there was built an open round

temple of ten Corinthian columns with a conical cupola, containing the statues of the parents. The so-called towers of the Scipios near Tarragona, a large isolated monument, date from about the reign of Augustus. Near the East Jordan there are still a large number of the square towers, so much used in Roman monuments, which also served as dove-cots. The monument of Titus Flavius Maximus, the praefect of the third legion, which was stationed at Lambessa, is a square stone building, standing on a socle and crowned with a pyramid, and was 19-22 feet high; in 1849 it was thrown down by an earthquake, but restored by the French garrison. The ashes were in a leaden urn, which crumbled on being touched; they were wrapped in zinc and reinterred, and a whole battalion fired a salvo to pay the last respects to the *manes* of the Roman officer. In 1894 the mausoleum of Apuleius Maximus of El Amruni was discovered far south of the Salt Lakes; it is decorated with a picture of the parting of Orpheus and Eurydice. In 1850, Heinrich Barth, travelling inland from Tripoli towards Mursuk, lighted upon numerous Roman remains, some of them still very grand, which in former centuries had been worshipped by the Berbers. At the Northernmost edge of the Hammada (31° - 30° N. Lat.) he found two monuments, 48 and 25 feet high, which 'rose like lonesome light-houses of power and civilization from the lofty sea-like plain', and both were in an excellent state of preservation. The style of both was the same: a foundation with steps, containing the grave, and on it two square storeys, with Corinthian columns at the corners, and richly decorated and carved with portraits of the deceased, and, on the top, a pyramid. The Southernmost of these monuments (a square, one-storeyed building on Corinthian pillars with a moulding at the top, and three steps) at Old Djerma (Garama 26° $22'$ N. Lat.) proves that the Romans held long sway over the Tripoli deserts.

The cost of the monuments, which were often directed by will (and the heirs often contributed in addition) is given exactly in several inscriptions. The amounts vary from 200-100,000 sesterces (£21 15s.-£1,037 10s.). The monument of a Decurio of Roman Augsburg, who died and was buried at Epfach, cost 6,000 (£65 10s); and Flavius Maximus' monument at Lambessa twice that sum. But the prices we know of are almost all those for soldiers and subordinate officers

(legionary tribunes at the highest) in Algeria, and for *honoratiores* of the Italian and provincial cities. The great men of Rome paid on a far larger scale: the monument of Thasian marble Cato of Utica had built for his half-brother at Aenus in Thrace cost about £1,900, and under the Empire this amount must have seemed ordinary. A monument erected by his comrades to a Praetorian out of his own money (at the earliest under Septimius Severus) cost 200,000 (£2,175).

The most gorgeous mausoleum in all Roman history was that of Hadrian; it may have surpassed all others, as did his villa, but still serves to illustrate the magnificence of these buildings. Hadrian began it six years before his death; it was completed by Antoninus Pius in 139. It is comparable with the Pyramids, from which perhaps certain details were borrowed. The substructure, now destroyed, of Parian marble blocks uncemented was loftier than the city wall; according to Procopius each side was 104 metres long. The cylindrical centre erection, 73 metres in diameter and in height (the Castel Sant' Angelo), only gives an idea of the colossal dimensions of the whole; of the architectural features, and upper decorations, little is known. A colossal statue of Hadrian, perhaps in a chariot with four horses, surmounted the Mausoleum, in which all the emperors and members of the imperial house, from Hadrian to Commodus (excepting Didius Julianus) were buried. The splendid carvings of 'men and horses' (probably all colossal) were either on the platform of the substructure, or, according to recent conjecture, above the top moulding of the cylindrical erection. By 537 the Mausoleum had been stripped of its carved decorations. The Romans hurled the statues down on to the heads of the Goths who were besieging Rome under Witichis. One is yet extant, though mutilated: the so-called Sleeping Faun of the Barberinis, which was discovered when the ground round the Castel Sant' Angelo was excavated, and is now in the Munich Glyptothek. Down to 1379, when the Romans destroyed it, the monument remained in good preservation.

VII. LUXURY IN SLAVES

The conquests of Carthage and Corinth, which brought great wealth and crowds of prisoners to Rome, mark the

beginning of the great and extravagant trade in slaves. The great increase in the number of slaves necessarily led to extravagance ; and the sale of the remainders of the slave families, who multiplied the more, the more numerous they became, and the profits from the work of industrial slaves, who cost little to buy or to feed, afforded ample means for satisfying such luxury. Slave-labour was far more profitable than in modern times, since slaves carried on all kinds of business and trades in their master's service, or on his account, or were let out to others for similar work ; thus most of what is in modern Europe done by free agents was slave-labour in ancient Rome. Only slavery could have rendered possible the extravagance in art, which to us is inconceivable.

Extravagance in slaves took two main directions : the maintenance of useless slaves for mere luxury—for the cheapest goods are most squandered—and the waste of their labour in an absurdly minute subdivision of labour. In this respect great Roman households resembled those of any country in which labour is almost valueless, e.g., early Russia. About 1800, some palaces in Moscow employed over a thousand servants, some of whom had only to carry the drinking water at midday, or at evening. In Bucharest in 1866, out of 100,000 inhabitants, 30,000 were domestic servants, and every house teemed with them. Every servant had his own narrow sphere ; every *boyar* family its contingents of washerwomen, bleachers, ironers, bathwomen, hair-curlers, chambermaids and nurses, lackeys, cooks, scullions, messengers, coachmen, grooms, huntsmen, etc. In the inscriptions of the common burial places of the slaves and freedmen of great Roman emperors we find torch-bearers, lantern-bearers, chief sedan-chair carriers, street attendants, keepers of the outdoor garments ; this sample of one department implies the scale of the whole. Further, much labour was also wasted through the lack of machinery. Thus slaves had to serve as clocks and announce the hours. As an indication of the slaves kept by the rich, the vocalist Tigellius may be taken, who, under Augustus, oscillated from wealth to poverty, having sometimes 200 slaves, sometimes twenty. In 61 A.D. the city praefect Pedanius Secundus, the principal man in Rome, had 400 in his palace.

Further, slaves were used to save every personal exertion,

mental or physical. 'Use your slaves like the limbs of your body, each for its own end', said Democritus; but 'the Roman house was a machine, in which even the mental powers of the slaves and freedmen yielded their produce to the master; a master who knew how to govern these, had countless minds in one'. There were secretaries and shorthand writers to take down from dictation, slaves to read aloud, 'study slaves' who read up, carried out researches and prepared their master's work. There is evidence of this only for the emperors, but the great value laid on a literary training justifies the assumption that this department was usual in great houses. This is the only explanation of Pliny the Elder's literary activity, considering how many public offices he held; the multitudinous facts for his *Natural History* must, at least, have been worked up by slaves and freedmen. Quintilian says that Seneca was mostly misinformed by those who undertook research work for him, who must have been slaves or freedmen.

The desire of doing as little as possible oneself, of not even thinking for oneself, was sometimes exaggerated. The names of clients and dependants were left to the *nomenclatores* ('we remember by means of others', says Pliny), and some had slaves to remind them when to go to bed, or to table. 'They are', says Seneca, 'too weary to be able to know if they are hungry'. One of these weaklings, after he had been lifted out of his bath, and deposited in an armchair, asked, 'Am I sitting down?' A century later Lucian, with disgust and astonishment, says that fashionable Romans had slaves to inform them in the streets of any obstacles or unevenness, ascent or descent: 'They have to be reminded that they are walking, and behave like the blind'. Any who approached had to be content with a silent look, and being greeted by an attendant. Thus even culture was acquired through the slaves. Seneca tells of a rich man, Calvisius Sabinus, whom he still knew, who wanted to appear learned, though uneducated and without any memory. He made one slave learn all Homer by heart, and another all Hesiod, and others the nine lyric poets; these slaves stood behind him at banquets and prompted his *à propos* quotations. Each slave cost him 100,000 sesterces: 'as many cases of books', said one of his parasites, 'would have cost less'. The same jester summoned him

to wrestle, although he was extremely weak. 'How can I? I am hardly alive!' 'What! Don't forget you have many gigantic slaves!'

Slaves who were really luxuries were exhibited mostly at banquets; they did not serve, but stood there to delight the eye and afford entertainment. They were marshalled by colour, race and age; none might be unlike by reason of more down on the chin, curlier hair or finer locks. Pretty boys, 'the flower of Asia Minor', might cost 100,000 or 200,000 sesterces, and served as cupbearers. The guests liked drying their hands in their hair. Alexandrian boys were imported for their ready and biting humour; they were trained in spiteful repartee, and were allowed to direct their precociously obscene gibes against their master and his guests. Ladies let little children play round about them naked, and enjoyed their innocent chatter. But also, as at the Courts of previous centuries, dwarfs, giants, giantesses, 'real' *crétins*, hermaphrodites, and other freaks were kept and exhibited; there was even a 'market of natural freaks' at Rome, at which 'men without shanks, with short arms, three eyes, pointed heads', might be bought; dwarfs were artificially produced, and many grotesque bronzes are extant with the most various mutilations and crippings, and attesting the extent of this horrid affectation.

VIII. CONCLUSION

The revolting feature of Roman luxury in slaves is not so much the extravagance, as the contemptuous disregard of human dignity; an aspect not of Roman luxury, but a result of slavery. Excepting this form of luxury, which the modern world fortunately cannot parallel to any extent, our comparisons show that the modern scale of expenditure is generally higher than the ancient; this is natural, considering that the requisite conditions were then by far less common.

It must not be forgotten how small, and how much poorer, the ancient world was compared with ours; and that the earth gave man much more meagre returns. The Roman Empire comprised not quite two-thirds of Europe, and little of the rest of the globe was accessible. The East and the barbarian countries yielded the Empire but little of their valuable pro-

ducts. In many provinces civilization was only beginning ; and even those most highly developed stood far behind those of modern days in productive power. The exploitation of Nature and her artificial culture was, despite considerable progress, comparatively slight. Many inventions and sources of enjoyment remained undiscovered. International traffic—despite the wonderful and admirable efforts of the Romans—was nothing like that of modern times ; commerce and industry were in some respects in their infancy. Excepting such products as Nature herself lavished, the making of the same commodities required far greater effort than now.

This relative smallness and poverty of the Roman world made the standard of comparison for many things much smaller than ours ; what was huge to them is not huge to us. Rome even, the giant city and world capital, was never as large as modern Paris, and always far smaller than modern London and, at her greatest, never had a third of the population of the latter. But the luxury of Rome appeared to contemporaries greater than it would to us, because of this different standard and the greater naturalness of Roman life, and also because the highest grade of luxury was apparently far more confined to Rome, than it is now to our greatest and richest cities. The more unique Rome then was, the more vast and portentous she seemed. Höck is right in saying that ‘ ancient luxury was far more limited than modern both with regard to its social *milieu* and its articles of consumption, and cannot be compared with that of our days, when the poorest hut has a store of foreign foods and clothes, which are regarded as necessities ’.

This chapter will have shown that Roman luxury was not as extravagant as it might seem from the words of the ancients themselves, and that Roscher’s statement, that imperial Rome was the greatest example of the senseless and immoral luxury of a decadent nation, must be modified. This view is the less tenable, since many of the features which Roscher deems typical of healthy luxury in flourishing nations existed at Rome. Such are the return to Nature, luxury found in conjunction with economy, a high degree of cleanliness, and the love of free Nature. The absorption of the whole life and all classes by luxury of this kind is shown in the fact that certain more refined, but by no means indispensable, articles were in general use among the people. Such luxury is only

possible, where social conditions are not too strikingly unequal. In the periods of highest civilization, state luxury is manifested in objects, which can be enjoyed by all.

Our scanty authorities for the Early Empire leave some doubts as to what extent these objects of civilization were then existent. Clothing was more natural, and much more alike in all ranks—a great difference from modern times, despite our advance upon previous centuries. But in ancient Rome there was no need to return to Nature, for even in the time of decadence ancient life was far more natural than modern, and the Empire only inherited Republican traditions which continued to exercise a certain influence during its first centuries. It was a question of maintaining a condition of things, which modernity has only reached in a roundabout way. The same garb, within the reach of poor and rich alike, the *toga*, was the ceremonial dress of the emperor or the poorest plebeian. This persistent idea of equality may have rendered futile the attempt of Alexander Severus to devise robes of dignity for the various officials. A carriage aristocracy may have arisen after the third century; up to then there was no riding, much less driving, allowed in ancient cities. An ordinance of Caesar's obliged all Roman towns to provide pavements; the obligation was carried out: 'in this respect, as in all matters of roads, modernity follows in the footsteps of the Romans'. Roscher also regards the supersession of French gardens by English as a sign of a return to Nature; but the Augustan fashion of trimmed hedges and architectural garden arrangements is a proof, not of luxury but of the feeling for Nature characteristic of the Southerner.

How far Roman luxury was combined with economy can only be partially determined. In Rome, there was much 'gilded poverty' and specious splendour, and probably a large industry in cheap substitutes for valuables; thus the fashion of costly tables in the Early Empire soon led to the invention of veneer. Most of all were cheap substitutes used in the decorations of private houses and public buildings, as is shown in the case of a middle-sized town like Pompeii; here we find stucco, clay, terra-cotta, gypsum, and glass for marble and ivory, bronze for gold and silver, paint for coloured stones, copies for originals, and an appearance of bright splendour at small outlay. This noble side of luxury, this craving for art

was universal in a sense we do not realize now, and will be more fully dealt with in a special section.

The most developed luxury of all was that of cleanliness. The many and often imposing remains of aqueducts in the cities of the Empire are a standing reproach to the tardy recognition of this great need by the modern world. The universality and excellence of them can be only indicated here by special instances. 'Pompeii abounded in water; in all but the smallest houses it was supplied, even in excess; there were sixteen jets in the House of the Vettii, and the public baths absorbed large quantities'. In many other cities of Italy great rows of arches, or inscriptions (specifying emperors, patrons, magistrates, individuals and communes as the builders), and pipes with city stamps attest the presence of a water-service, e.g., at Trieste, Bevagna, Circello, Pozzuoli, Canosa di Puglia, etc., and the water not wanted for civic purposes was sold to profit the city purse. These city revenues 'were augmented by rich householders, who had a service installed, and land-owners who watered their fields, as far as they might, from the Aqueduct, and by the artisans, especially the fullers, who needed water in their work; some also laid out baths for their own use, or for that of the poor'.

In the provinces, too, the provision of a good and cheap water supply was one of the chief duties of the communes. Libanius exalts his native city Antioch as excelling all others in this respect; the eighteen divisions of the city vied in supplying the best water for the baths. 'There are as many running streams as houses; several often in one house, and also in most of the workshops. . . . Our public fountains are mere ornaments, as every one has his own water supply at home. The water is so clear, that the full jug looks empty, and so pleasant to look at, that it invites drinking'. Libanius indirectly admits that other cities provided as much water; we know that in Smyrna every single house had at least one supply. In the cities of Pamphylia and Pisidia, *nymphaea* were in special favour, a kind of 'water castles', whence from the many mouths of gorgeous façades the water welled into large basins; the best preserved is the *Nymphaeum* of Side (very much like the Septizonium of Severus at Rome); the water gushes from three niches in a magnificent columned marble wall in nine streams into a basin 4,000-5,000 square

metres in size. In Caesar's time the Nile water at Alexandria was purified for use in private houses, but the mass of the people used it in its dirty condition, in which it was unhealthy ; later on, the whole population was supplied with filtered water.

In the African provinces, too, where water was doubly a blessing, even small places never lacked good water, as far as we can as yet say ; Verecunda received its water supply through Antoninus Pius ; and at Lambaesis Diocletian and Maximian restored the aqueducts. An aqueduct 25 *millia* long was made in 276 A.D. there by the third legion. In 152 A.D. one of its engineers was sent to Saldae (Bougie) to bore a tunnel for an aqueduct which had been commenced 147-149 ; the task had baffled native skill. The city of Thysdrus had been supplied with sufficient water by a water commissioner, appointed by the emperor ; it ran through the streets into basins, and was allowed to private houses on certain conditions. In Great Leptis the good and palatable water of the stream on which the town lies might easily have been brought in by covered channels, but it was thought preferable to conduct clear mountain-water high above ground into the city, besides the water of the Cinyps ; considerable traces of both aqueducts are left. Mauretania has been insufficiently explored, but the site of the southernmost Roman city of Sala (Rehat Saleh 34° N. lat. on the Atlantic) is evidenced by the ruins of an aqueduct. Arches of aqueducts, some very large, are still standing near Caesarea (Zershel), Constantine and elsewhere. In the *Nymphaeum* of Bulla Regia the water of the spring in the middle of the city fell over several terraces into a basin, to be conducted further still. The ruins of the huge aqueduct of Carthage are continuous for eight geographical miles direct, and double as long in their sinuous course. Cisterns and reservoirs are still in some places in use.

So too in the Western and Northern provinces. The Aqueduct at Segovia is as 'new as it issued forth from the hand of the designer, rises slim and light, nobly proportioned, and stands firm above the dirty town, and, after two thousand years, still supplies refreshing water' (J. G. Rist, 1804). Ausonius cannot find words enough to celebrate Divona the well at Burdigala, covered in with marble and nobly clear, 'breaking forth stormily through her twelve mouths in streams inexhaustible, despite the many uses to which it was put by

the people'. In 1855 there was not one stately fountain at Bordeaux. The Pont du Gard, consisting of three tiers of arcades bridging the Gardon in a wild, lonely ravine, is a remnant of the aqueduct, which conducted the splendid water of the springs Airan and Eure nine leagues further on to Nîmes. In 1854 a Lyons *savant*, who published the inscriptions on the ancient pipes there found, bitterly remarked: 'Our age, which boasts of its mechanics, and has so many new powers, unknown to the ancients, e.g., steam, is still unable to do for large cities what the Romans, despite enormous difficulties, did for their smallest. Ancient Lyons lay on a hill and was richly and amply supplied with clear good spring water; modern Lyons is in the plain between two rivers, which overflow it and yet supply no drinking-water, and has to be content with stinking water, dirty pipes and unhealthy air'. The Roman aqueduct started from the waters of Mont Pilat, and took up those of Gien, Jaunon and Furand, crossed the valleys (sometimes abysses of 200-300 feet on huge bridges of fourteen tiers) and was 15 *lieues* long. The aqueducts of Trèves, Metz, Mainz, Cologne and other cities brought it hard water, which the Romans recognized by its blue-green colour (like that of the Alpine lakes); it soon cured of itself cuts and slight injuries by its deposits of lime. The Cologne derives its excellent supply from the Eifel 52 kilometres away, and brings it in by underground channels, 70 or 88 kilometres long. Not long ago at Remagen two water-courses were used for a supply; and no one imagined that the Romans had already done the same at the same spot; the genius and simplicity and technical excellence were all the more admired. At Rome and elsewhere (e.g., Avenches and Cologne), the legend has attached to the remains of the aqueducts, that they were intended to carry down wine, illustrative at once of the grandeur ascribed to these ancient monuments of civilization, and of the manner in which their real purpose has been forgotten.

The aqueducts supplied the baths, public and private, which were common in Italy from early times and were rarely lacking anywhere later. In Italy there were mere villages possessing more than one set of baths, which could be used for a fee; in inscriptions of Italian and provincial cities, in endowments and legacies, no public purpose is more frequently mentioned

than the erection, maintenance and equipment of free public baths, hot and cold, for men and women, and even for slaves. In the provinces, too, the smallest communes recognized the duty of supplying good, cheap baths. In the communal decree of a mining village in South Portugal, the lessee of the public bath is to keep it open from daybreak to 2 p.m. for men, and from 2 p.m. to the second hour of the night for women; men paid $1\frac{3}{4}d.$, and women, $\frac{3}{4}d.$ (double the prices of Rome); fresh running water must be given in the cold and warm basins before and after noon and reach a certain temperature; the boilers must be cleaned every month and rubbed with fresh fat. According to Galen, the custom of a daily bath was common even for rustics; he rightly regards this as to some extent a sign of effeminacy, since people found it hard to do without it; Seneca, too, true to his point of view, regards the passion for cleanliness as a decay of morals; in the good old days, only the arms and legs were washed every day, and a bath taken only once a week. Sea-bathing was general all along the Mediterranean coasts of Italy, Greece and Egypt, as we know; in Germany, it came in after a long struggle, the oldest German sea-bath at Doberan was not opened till 1793.

The enjoyment of Nature—so far as the Romans felt it—was never more widely spread; as early as the last century of the Republic, 'the upper classes regularly spent the fine season in the country'. Even then the rich and great could generally select, from a variety of climate or scenery, what was best adapted for each season of the year; and inside the city the garden was the most valued part of a palace and doubled its value. The windows of the dining-rooms ought to look out on to the green. Even on flat roofs and balconies there were bushes and flowers; this form of luxury may have been sometimes carried too far, but the descriptions of the two Senecas must certainly not be taken literally. Even smaller houses displayed flowers and green in their windows, and Rome had many great gardens and parks, those 'lungs of great cities', some of which were public. At Signia (Segni) two communal officers presented the city with gardens; and such a provision cannot have been an isolated case.

As to the spread of luxury amongst the middle and lower classes, we have little knowledge, and then only of Italy. The

Mediterranean countries, thanks to their climate, have always had the finest corn as food, whilst the North has had to acclimatize slowly and laboriously. In Italy, even in Cato's time, slaves lived on wine, oil and wheaten flour; and, as has been said, Rome introduced wine into the beer-drinking countries. Inequality of wealth was indeed great, but not as pronounced as now. But then in the South poverty is not misery, and the after-effect of Republican manners tended largely to obliterate the difference between wealth and poverty.

The rich and great were still always expected to employ their excess both to support the poor—an object served by the huge system of *clientela*—and to allow them to participate largely in their pleasures, and to afford them advantages and amusements, in which the modern world gives them no share. The people, says Plutarch, hate the mean rich more than the open thief; the latter can plead necessity, the former show a haughty contempt of the people. And, according to Lucian, the poor often tyrannized over the rich, who had to build them baths, provide prize-fights and shows, distribute largesse, and yet live in dread of the displeasure of their fellow-citizens. How splendidly the prosperous in the Roman Empire provided for the comfort and needs of the communes will be dealt with later; these services, such as the baths, benefited the poor especially. 'To build and to give' was then the rich man's duty. In public buildings, institutions, and feeding the poor, private generosity went hand in hand with communal authorities. Endowments, gifts, and legacies for purchases of oil and meal for free distribution or cheap sale were frequent; and endowments to put poor parents in the position to educate their children up to the wage-earning age, not unusual; there is one instance known in the time of Augustus. Further, there were endowments for destitute aged. Burial-places for the poor were laid out by the communes and by individuals. Finally, the communes in their educational work were helped by the public spirit of the rich. About 100 A.D. in Como there was no teacher of oratory, the highest stage of learning, and aspirants had to go as far as Milan. Pliny the Younger, though childless, gave a third of the cost of the chair; he also presented a valuable library, and capital for its maintenance and enlargement; we may conclude that the generosity of municipals often aided education.

But far more was spent on public festivals and amusements, by the communes and by the rich, who thereby sought public favour. Custom obliged them to invite a large portion of the commune to their private feasts; on their birthdays, when their sons assumed the *toga virilis*, at a daughter's marriage, or on the assumption of a municipal office, a public building would be dedicated and many of the citizens and the council invited, often over a thousand, or a sum of money was distributed instead. Public festivities were mainly banquets to the whole community, and established annually by endowment or legacy, or they were of the nature of shows, amongst which *venationes* or gladiatorial combats were the most popular. The rich were, no doubt, often coerced by public opinion and its unmistakable expressions. In the city on the Gulf of Naples, the scene of part of the Petronian romance, one of the *honoratiores* is expected to provide a feast and largesse, and another three days' gladiatorial games; he had inherited 30 million sesterces from his father, and could well afford to win eternal fame for 400,000 (£4,350).

Of the very numerous provincial inscriptions, specifying the benefactions of citizens to their cities, three may be cited to show what sums even in second-rate towns the rich had to pay for the pleasure and convenience of the communes. In Philadelphia (Lydia), of two citizens who had held the highest offices and priesthoods, one (besides an unnamed contribution to the public purse) on becoming aedile, gave 10,000 *denarii*; for a 'fifteen days' cooking' (probably for the people), 5,000; for the fore hall to the basilica, 50,000; altogether 65,000 *denarii* (over £2,800); the other, several donations for himself and his sons, a *venatio*, 610,000 *denarii* altogether to purchase corn, 10,000 to roof the theatre, for one statue each to the seven guilds, 7,000; in all 627,000 *denarii* (£27,300). At Sillyon or Aspendos in Pamphylia one family (besides distributions of money and corn to eight sets of citizens) gave 300,000 *denarii* (£12,550) for the education of children. And hundreds of municipal inscriptions testify that in all cities of the Empire the whole population received much of the wealth of the rich, who gave up much more than could have been extracted by the heaviest income-tax.

State luxury was also largely directed to 'things enjoyable by all'. The magnificent imperial public buildings in Rome,

especially the *thermae*, the Games of the emperors and officials, the *congiaria* and *frumentationes*—however morally and economically unsound—yet benefited the whole people; whilst the luxurious houses and court-feasts of our days are only enjoyed by a minority of favoured individuals. And the public luxury of the communes throughout the Empire had the same democratic character.

Luxury and the civilization of the Early Empire no doubt had its seamy side, but was neither as mad or immoral as the one-sided rigorists, the writers of that time, have represented it, nor as fabulous as in Meursius' uncritical compilation. Despite all its faults and defects, that civilization was very high, 'and sowed many seeds which are still bearing fruit'. In refining the pleasures of life and spreading prosperity and the material conditions of a healthy luxury, this epoch surpassed all other ancient times; its luxury brought forth much that often, in a stunted form, has produced happy effects in later centuries and has made existence in our hemisphere more humane. The people of that time possessed many advantages, the attainment of which in our century is greatly valued, or as yet only attempted. Mommsen is right in his remark that 'the Roman Imperial Epoch is more abused than known'.

CHAPTER III

THE ARTS

I. ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE AND PAINTING

§ 1. AIMS AND APPLICATION OF ARCHITECTURE

WERE all other knowledge of Rome lost, there would be evidence enough of the great and mighty civilization that has passed away in the many ruins so widely scattered, and the immense remains of works of art found beneath heaps of débris and ashes. Most of the Roman buildings extant, and the largest, date from the Empire. They are found in desolate regions, landmarks of a civilization, that once extended over vast districts, mere deserts now, after centuries of barbarian rule: such are the huge ruins of Baalbek or Tadmor; or the hundreds of stone cities and villages abandoned but still habitable, in East Syria, with their characteristic arches, cupolas, pyramidal graves, or the many remains of Roman cities in marvellous preservation in Asia Minor and North Africa. Many disappeared only recently, e.g., the bridge of Almaraz was destroyed in 1806 in the Peninsular War, and the vast conduit over the great ravine of the Rummel, the only means of access to Constantine, collapsed in 1857. Often these ancient buildings in their magnificence, permanence and present utility put to shame their modern congeners, e.g., the bridges at Rimini, Alcántara and Mérida, Pont du Gard, the aqueduct of Segovia and others in the Mediterranean countries. 'A second Nature for civic purposes is their principle'. This vast confusing mass of ruins of all the arts gives a picture of the richness of the artistic decoration in the extremely numerous cities of importance in the Roman Empire, and makes modern attempts at beautifying and ennobling private and public life by art seem mean in comparison.

Such splendid and far-spread architecture and art implies

a degree of general civilization and prosperity unrealized in earlier ages. The Empire gave the world, weary unto exhaustion, almost two centuries of practically continuous peace, and to the provinces which had been plundered to the utmost, a more equal distribution of burdens and, at least, a tolerable rule. Order and security were restored ; traffic ' in the largest free trade realm that has ever existed ' grew apace ; and wealth and prosperity flourished as never before.

The continuous embellishment of cities in all the provinces is the most evident proof of this. The number of cities increased with new foundations, colonies, grants of civic rights and combinations of several small towns into a single commune, especially in Gaul and Spain, which were formerly administered by cantons (*pagi*). Under Augustus in Tarraconese Spain out of 293 communes only 179 were combined as cities ; according to Ptolemy under Antoninus Pius there were 248 cities. And ' in the Eastern provinces, in Galatia, Cappadocia and Hellenized Syria, slowly but gradually new communes arose, and even on the Danube, in Numidia and Mauretania the Roman garrisons caused many new cities to spring up '.

Only the growth of cities out of camps can be noticed here. In Africa Lambaesis (Lambessa) and Verecunda arose from the settlement of the third Legion there in 146 A.D., out of the barracks and huts of the hucksters, women, girls, contractors, workmen, etc., who were only allowed to settle about a mile off the camps ; Antoninus Pius made the places communes ; Lambaesis gained civic rights in 207, and Verecunda later, under Valerian and Gallienus. Lambaesis was connected with the camp by a good, square paved road, which entered the city through a triumphal arch with three gates, and continued through another arch on to Verecunda. The city abounded in stately buildings, temples, *thermae*, an amphitheatre, a *septizonium* in which several water-courses met ; in front of the principal temple was a kind of forum with statues of legionary legates ; in 208 the city got its capitol. When the legion went away, the town rapidly decayed. When the Byzantines were fortifying the towns of Africa, they raised a citadel there out of architraves, friezes, altars, tombstones and pedestals, and, as they left it, the French found it when they occupied Algeria.

Similarly in the Northern provinces there arose near the camps settlements of Romans in *cannabae*, generally close by native villages, which gradually amalgamated with the Roman town. Under Claudius the camp of the fifteenth Legion was removed to Carnuntum (apparently a large Celtic centre of commerce), now St. Petronell near Vienna; and Hadrian, when he stayed there, gave it municipal rights. Near the camp at Xanten (*castra vetera*) the long peace caused the erection of buildings 'after the manner of a town', which were pulled down in 69 so as not to give the rebel barbarians shelter in attacking the camp. The numerous small places near the great camp at Mainz became a Roman town first under Diocletian, and flourished in the fourth century; the architectural remains extant must have been part of a stately town. Strassburg, Alt-Ofen, Vienna, Iglitza, Karlsburg originated in the same way.

The panegyric of Aristides on Rome (152 A.D.), however fulsome, discloses the effect of great impressions, which were felt most of all in the East. 'When were there so many cities inland and on the coast, and when were they ever so bedecked? What ancient ruler could ever have in every day's journey reached a new city in his domain, or even have passed through two or three in the same day, as through streets? It might be said, all former monarchs were only kings of a desert with fortified posts, and only Rome mistress of cities. Amongst you all the Greek cities are now rising, and all their monuments do you honour; inland and on the coast are numerous cities, founded or extended by your efforts. Ionia in grace and beauty ranks first and outdoes its own past, as much as it outdid erstwhile all other countries. The proud city of Alexandria is a gem in your diadem, a necklace beside many other jewels. The whole earth has donned a garb of rejoicing, has doffed her old dress of iron, and turned to pleasure and magnificence. All cities are possessed by one ambition, to appear the loveliest. Everywhere are wrestling-grounds, aqueducts, *propylaea*, temples, workshops, schools; the earth, once sick, has been restored to health. Incessant gifts come from your hand; in your impartial grace no city is favourite. They gleam in splendour and beauty; the earth is become as a garden'.

The rhetor's admiration of the many beautiful cities is justi-

fied by ruins and by other facts. Aelian says Italy 'once' had 1,197 cities; but gives no date or authority; probably Italy, despite some local desolation, flourished most and had most great cities from the time of Augustus to Marcus Aurelius. In 44 B.C. the triumvirs assigned the eighteen principal cities of Italy 'in wealth, architecture and beauty' to the soldiers, and of these Appian says the most important were Capua (which even under Domitian ranked not far behind Rome, and was reckoned by Ausonius among the fourteen great cities of the Empire), Rhegium, Beneventum, Venusia, Nuceria, Ariminum, and Hipponium (Vibo). In Central Italy ruins like those of Oriculum and Asisium show the size of even the smaller ones. Centumcellae (Cività Vecchia), which is seldom mentioned, was a great and flourishing city in the time of Procopius. In Lower Italy the remains of Pompeii and Herculaneum have proved that places seldom mentioned had numerous stately public buildings decorated in good style. Under Domitian Naples was a splendid and artistic town with many temples, and colonnaded squares. Of the sixty-three cities of Sicily towards the end of the Republic the greatest and most prosperous was Centuripae with 10,000 citizens (some 100,000 inhabitants). Syracuse and Catina (Catania) Ausonius mentions in his fourteen. Corsica possessed thirty-two cities.

Cisalpine Gaul in Strabo's time surpassed other countries in the wealth and greatness of her cities and Verona and Ariminum (Rimini) are now the richest in Roman remains. Cremona, down to its destruction in 69, was rich and populous. Ravenna was built in the water on piles, an ancient Venice, with communications by bridges and boats. Mediolanium (Milan) in the Late Empire became the 'first city in Italy after Rome for population, size and wealth' according to Procopius; but his estimate of 300,000 adults slain when Milan was destroyed by Witichis must be exaggerated. In Venetia, in Augustus' time, the most important town was Patavium (Padua), with 500 families possessing at least the equestrian census. Aquileia, the great emporium of northern trade, 'in more than one sense the mother of Venice,' was the fourth city of Italy in the matter of population (after Rome, Capua and Mediolanium). Outside the double wall there were extensive suburbs. The city was razed to the ground, but the foundations abound with industrial products. At several places in

Istria noble ruins are still standing, e.g., at Tergeste (Trieste), Tarsatica (Fiume), Parentium (Parenzo). But Pola has preserved the most important Roman remains, one temple wholly, another nearly destroyed ; a triumphal arch with rich decorations ; the famous amphitheatre that could contain 20,000–25,000 spectators ; the remnants of a theatre destroyed in the seventeenth century were excavated some thirty years ago ; in the nineteenth century the city walls were pulled down in part, but two gateways remain.

Josephus, quoting an official list, gives about 1,200 as the number of cities in Gaul ; though some, or most, under the Empire, may have been large villages, many, at least in Narbonese Gaul were much larger than their modern substitutes. Of the nine specified by Pomponius Mela about 50 A.D. as the most considerable, Vasio (Vaison) and Baeterrae (Béziers) have scarcely any Roman traces left, but Avenio (Avignon), amongst a considerable number of ruins, can show a triumphal arch of the Early Empire ; the remains at Arausio (Orange) are grand, the triumphal arch and the theatre being very well preserved. In Mela's time, the most important town was Narbo, the residence of the Proconsul and the principal harbour of Gaul, a town belauded by Apollinaris Sidonius about 450 A.D. ; traces of its former glory may still be seen. The finest and best preserved Roman buildings in Europe outside Italy are at Nemausus (Nîmes), which reached its apogee under Hadrian and the Antonines, and Arelate 'the twofold town' (after Constantine's reign it spread over both banks of the Rhône), the 'Gallic Rome', as Ausonius calls it ; it flourished most after Lugdunum declined, and was still a thriving commercial city in the fifth century. The amphitheatre of Nemausus had seats for 20,000 spectators, and that of Arelate for 25,000. Tolosa, with Narbo, became a city of the first rank towards the end of the fourth century, and consisted of five towns, four of which had grown out of the first, all surrounded with huge brick walls. Vienne, formerly an open village, became a city under Augustus, and was surrounded by him with a wall $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, and abounded in fine buildings ; it contains the ruins of a Temple (perhaps of Augustus and his wife Julia), an amphitheatre, a theatre, *thermae* and a *porticus*.

Vienne was the second capital of Gaul. The first was Lugdunum (Lyons), the residence of the proconsul of Gallia

Lugdunensis, the administrative centre, situate at the confluence of two broad streams and the intersecting point of the main roads ; it soon became a very prosperous city, and, even under Nero, was full of splendid buildings, any one of which would have been an ornament by itself. But the 'great rich city' was destroyed in 197 by the soldiers of Septimius Severus, and never wholly recovered. The 'little town of the Parisii' (as Julian calls Lutetia) had also spread from the island in the Seine to the left bank ; the remains of the so-called *palais des thermes* are well known ; an amphitheatre of the third century was discovered near the Panthéon. Augustodunum, formerly Bibracte, the capital of the Aedui, had, like Vienne, walls about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles round, with 220 turrets and two three-arched gateways ; in the seventeenth century there were remains of a theatre and amphitheatre, the largest known (157 metres by 131).

In Aquitania, about the middle of the first century, the principal town was Eliumverum (Auch). Burdigala (Bordeaux), though of course the most important commercial city on the Atlantic, is not mentioned as a large town before the end of the fourth century, and the ruins are in late Roman style. The walls were square with lofty turrets, and gateways exactly opposite, the streets broad and regular, and the pride of the town was its spring Divona, which lavishly supplied it with water.

In Belgica, even under Augustus the city of the Remi (Durocortorum, Rheims), the residence of the governor, was a populous town, and of consequence even in the fourth century. The capital of the Treviri (Trèves, Trier) was settled under Claudius as a military colony, and is mentioned by Mela as an important town ; its walls were 6,418 metres round, enclosing a space of 285 hectares on the right bank of the Moselle ; it thus was nearly twice as large as the medieval, and, up to recent times, as the modern town ; the wall with the Porta Nigra was built about 250 A.D. It was most flourishing in the fourth century, when the emperors often resided there ; and to this period must be assigned the splendid buildings, remains of which can still be seen ; the amphitheatre is earlier. The city of the Ubii was under Claudius a frontier fortress, and in 50 A.D. as a military colony, received its new name of Colonia Agrippinensis (Cologne) ; in 71 even its prosperity made it

an object of the envy of the Germans on the right bank. Its circular wall (of the same period as that of Trèves) encloses some 97 hectares, holding a population of some 30,000 souls. Cologne and Deutz yield a good crop of architectural fragments, sculptures, mosaics, metal-work, and glass and clay vessels. In West Switzerland, as the ruins show, Vindonissa (Windisch, the station of a legion until the frontier was removed), Salodurum, Turicum, Lousanna, became flourishing towns ; Baden, near Zürich, was at the beginning of the second century a lively spot 'built like a city'. Aventicum (Avenches), the principal city of this part, was 'little inferior in splendour and public buildings, and the luxury of the richer homes to any provincial town of the West'. The walls were protected with, perhaps, low turrets ; there was a magnificent water supply, a theatre, and an amphitheatre for 17,000 spectators.

Tarraconese Spain (i.e., the North and the East) had under Augustus 179 independent communes, and 248 under the Antonines ; the capital, Tarraco, had numerous temples and public buildings and statuary, and houses, villas, and sepulchral monuments testified to its prosperity. Baetica (Seville, Cordova, Granada and parts of the adjoining provinces), under Augustus had 175 cities, amongst them Gades, the second city in population after Rome, with 500 citizens, possessed of at least 400,000 sesterces, one of the richest and greatest cities in the monarchy. 'The ruins of Emerita Augusta, the capital of Lusitania, one of the fourteen cities mentioned by Ausonius, aroused the admiration of the Arabic writers ; they were then in better preservation, and although used as quarries for centuries, even now the circus, amphitheatre, city walls, aqueduct, a bridge over the valley of the Anas with eighty-one arches are almost perfect, and there are numerous remains of temples, statues, more or less in ruins'.

In Africa, too, the cities increased in number and prosperity up to the end of the third century. Ptolemy already estimates 324, with only a very few hamlets amongst them. In a lateral valley of the Medjerda (Bagradas) in a zone of 55,000 hectares there are six cities only a few kilometres apart ; and further South on the plateau, sloping down to Shotts (Salt Lakes) and the sea, the cities lie all a day's journey apart. The military colonies, of which we know 33 in the two Mauretanas, 50 in Numidia and Africa (there were only 6 in Pliny's

time), caused cities to magnify and increase in number, since villages in which veterans settled soon grew up into cities. In many of the 'towers' and castles, used as the places of refuge by the agricultural population, when invaded from beyond the frontiers, the permanent inhabitants increased to such an extent that they were able to claim, and obtained, civic rights. How Lambaesis and Verecunda arose has been explained. Rural communes, which were attached to independent city communes, also became independent, e.g., Chullu, Mileu, and Rusicade (Philippeville) at first united with Cirta, about the end of the third century. Rusicade was rich in public buildings and statuary. Similarly the rural communes of Thignica, Thibursicum Bure, Thugga, Agbia, all became cities under Gallienus, and their magnificent ruins give some idea of their prosperity.

The Roman cities in Africa prospered most from the reign of Hadrian to that of Severus, as their ruins testify. Some lay too near Arabian towns and were exhausted as quarries, e.g., Carthage, which has now almost entirely vanished, but in the third century vied with Alexandria as the second largest town after Rome, or Utica, or Hadrumetum (Susa); of others, which are never mentioned in ancient literature, e.g., Uthina, Seressita (now Um-el-Abwab, Mother of Gates, so called from the four gates still standing), Cillium, Sufetula, considerable ruins remain. In the valley of the Medjerda, an African Campagna, now sparsely inhabited, and a fever-haunt in the spring, every step brings one on to ruins of Roman temples, baths and aqueducts, with heaps of ruins to indicate former towns, or here and there magnificent buildings inscribed and carved, towering over the miserable Arabian *duwars* (circles for penning cattle). In Great Leptis, whence whole ladings of columns have been transported to France and England, in the western part of the town, now buried deep, many remains of buildings can still be seen, remarkable alike for costly material and many huge columns. The ruins of Thamugadi (Timgad, an African Pompeii buried under the sand), and of Thagaste, the native city of St. Augustine, and Madauri, that of Apuleius, are very extensive. Theveste (Tebessa) is 'an ancient city with ancient houses, in part still inhabited, though a far larger number is buried deep in ashes': a temple, like the *maison carrée* at Nîmes, *thermae* like those of

Caracalla, the forum, a basilica and other buildings are well preserved. There are plentiful remains too of Sitifi and Caesarea, the capitals of Eastern Mauretania; Caesarea was one geographical mile round, eight times as large as the modern Zershel. The ruins of Volubilis (a triumphal arch, a temple and the wall) though long quarried out for the neighbouring town Miknes, still cover one hill. The population increased under the Empire, for the cities prospered and, according to Herodian, in the third century there was a considerable agricultural population. Procopius states that through the Vandals 5,000,000 men lost their lives in Africa.

The population of Egypt was 7,000,000 under the Ptolemies, and in the first century 8,500,000, about 800 to the square mile. In ancient times there were 20,000 towns, under the Ptolemies 30,000. It still abounded in cities, certainly most of them small, but Pliny gives forty of importance, including Alexandria, with a population of about 1,000,000, almost equal to Rome in splendour and size. Arsinoe had at least 100,000 inhabitants. Even in the fourth century, Egypt, Libya and the Pentapolis had a hundred episcopates.

Antioch, the capital of Syria, was the rival of Alexandria in size, splendour and wealth, consisting of four cities each with its own walls, besides the surrounding wall of the whole; like Alexandria, it had two main colonnaded streets, crossing at right angles, the longer of which was 36 stadia long. According to Libanius its aqueducts were the best of any capital, and in Antioch alone (as far as we know) in the fourth century, the streets were lighted at night. Apamea on the Orontes also had two main streets, about a mile and half a mile long, also crossing at right angles, and 117,000 free inhabitants in 5-4 B.C.; the acropolis, on which there is now an Arabian village of 100 houses, had room enough for at least 400-500 houses. From Apamea to where the Orontes turns seawards, on its right bank there are now 'for 90-115 miles ruins of about 100 places, with roads still recognizable, the buildings of massive stone (except the roofs), the houses with colonnades around, and galleries and balconies, the windows and gateways tastefully decorated with stone arabesques, gardens and baths, guest-rooms on the ground floor, stables, vats and oil-presses hewn into the rocks, and sepulchral chambers, with pillared entrances, hewn into the rocks and filled with *sarcophagi*'.

These were the country homes of the merchants of Apamea and Antioch, settlements dating from about 300-550 A.D. ; and, no doubt, preceded by villas less durable ; up to a certain point the prosperity of the Syrian merchants, of which we have a picture here, can be assumed for the Earlier Empire as well. 'Damascus, the great and holy' is called by Julian, who extols the beauty of its temples and the splendour of its numerous aqueducts, the eye of the East. Samosata on the Euphrates was a great populous city with a large temple of Zeus. Palmyra, which belonged to the Empire in the first century, owed its importance to the caravan trade with the towns on the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf ; and 'the temples still standing and the great colonnades of the city markets and the massive decorated tombs', bear witness to its prosperity ; 'thanks to the underground water-supply and huge reservoirs of square blocks of stone, traces of which yet remain in the neighbourhood, the now barren ground must then have been very fertile'. After the destruction of the city by Aurelian (273 A.D.) 'commerce sought other roads ; on the meteoric glory of Palmyra followed the desolation and stillness of its ruins'.

In Phœnicia, the largest cities were Sidon and Tyre, with their six-storeyed houses ; and Zabulon, according to Josephus, had fine houses, like Sidon, Tyre and Berytus. Ptolemais too, was a large town, and Arados very populous, with many-storeyed houses. In Palestine, after Jerusalem (with 600,000 inhabitants in 70 A.D.) came Gaza, and Caesarea, the splendid harbour-town founded by Herod, where the Tetrapylon, a triumphal arch with four gates, probably at the meeting of the two main streets, was worth visiting even in the fourth century.

In Eastern Syria and the Nabataean country the constitution of the province of Arabia and the establishment of a legion in Bostra as the capital (106 A.D.) brought the only epoch of peace and good government these regions, now a desert, uninhabited save for roaming Bedouins, have ever enjoyed ; to the time of Roman dominion (Trajan to Justinian) almost all the architectural remains belong. The Ledyâ, a lava plateau, some forty miles long and twenty-five miles across, is now unpeopled, but was then highly cultivated ; the road connecting Bostra and Damascus passed through it, and there are ruins

of twelve large and thirty-nine smaller places. The very first Roman governor had aqueducts built, bringing the water of the Hauran to Kanatha (Kerak) and Arrha (Rahâ). Bostra was connected by road with the Persian Gulf, and became a great trade centre, sharing with Palmyra and Petra the Eastern commerce with the Mediterranean; the long rows of stone huts testify how great it was, and still might be. For want of wood, the buildings on the Hauran were all of stone and give a vivid idea of the peculiar civilization of the 500 years between Trajan and Mahomet. M. de Vogüé says that the Roman dominion created an architectural impulse which did not die out; in a few years, houses, palaces, baths, temples, theatres, aqueducts, triumphal arches and cities arose from the ground with all the symmetrical regularity of mushroom cities, a uniform style for this part of Syria under the Empire. The Eastern slopes of the Hauran contain about 300 such deserted cities and villages, in contrast with the five towns of the present day; some of them having 800 one or two-storeyed houses, still habitable, all of basalt with well-fitted square blocks without cement, ornamented or inscribed doors, and flat roofs of stone beams supported by stone arches and made rain-proof with cement. The style is the ordinary imperial Greek with some indications of the older oriental. The stone arch and the cupola invest these buildings with a technical and architectural originality. The city wall generally only consists of the backs of the houses, and is protected by numerous turrets. In front of the gates are the cisterns, underground or roofed over with stone; the Bedouins still keep some of them in repair.

Gerasa, one of the Roman towns in that district, has a wall of square blocks $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles long and 7-8 feet thick; the principal temple has 250 columns, and there are two smaller temples, two amphitheatres (possibly), several large baths, aqueducts and other ruins; the main street, paved with blocks still in fair preservation, was enclosed by colonnades on both sides. A necropolis full of graves showing the large population, surrounds the city on all sides. Philippopolis was first made a city by Philip the Arab, and seems from its ruins to have been an important town, surrounded by a right-angled wall, with two main streets intersecting at right angles, a theatre, aqueduct, baths, temples and numerous public

buildings. The splendid buildings of Petra, the old residence of the Nabataean kings, mostly hewn in the living rock and of the Roman period, exhibit all the fantastic extravagances of the decadent architecture and sculpture of the second and third centuries. 'The tombs, hewn out of the cliffs east and west of Petra and in the clefts are unartistically, but massively decorated with superposed rows of Doric or Corinthian columns, and *propylaea* like those of Egyptian Thebes. Only great prosperity and vigorous life could thus have provided for the dead'.

Of the 500 cities in Asia (including the coast and islands of Ionia, Aeolis or Doris, Phrygia, Mysia, Caria and Lydia) repeated mention is made; this number is official. Cyzicus was one of the most opulent and magnificent cities of the province of Asia, and of all Asia Minor: its greatness is witnessed to by the ruins of its theatre and amphitheatre, and, inland, the principal city was Apamea (Κίβωρος). Eleven cities in 26 A.D. competed for the honour of erecting a temple to Tiberius: five, amongst them Laodicea, were at once rejected, as too unimportant, yet Strabo says of Laodicea that wool and agriculture had made her rich, and the munificence of her citizens had made her great. One Hiero bequeathed to her an inheritance of over 2,000 talents (£500,000) and had, besides, embellished the city with buildings and monuments; his example was followed by Zeno the rhetor and Polemo, whom Antony and Augustus made king. This affords an estimate of the wealth and splendour of the cities allowed to compete (Halicarnassus, Pergamus with its 120,000 inhabitants, Ephesus, Miletus, Sardes and Smyrna). Pergamus and Ephesus were accounted the jewels of Asia; Ephesus was the residence of the Governor and was considered one of the best built and most populous cities in the world, but Smyrna's claim to be the most beautiful was undisputed. Aphrodisias, despite the use of the older buildings for erecting a wall in the fourth century and of its ruins as a quarry for centuries, still has large Roman remains, and the same may be said of Stratonicea. How prosperous Aphrodisias was is shown by the numerous stone inscriptions recording the outlay on spectacles down to the time of the Gordians. The capital of Rhodes (probably incorporated with Asia under Vespasian) was the richest and most flourishing Greek city down to its destruc-

tion by an earthquake about 150 A.D., and one of the most splendid and well built cities in the world.

In the rest of Asia Minor, the waterless interior of Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappadocia was only suited for pasturage, and even then thinly populated; the coast-land, however, did not stand behind that of Asia. In Bithynia, Nicaea and Nicomedia vied for the first place. Nicomedia, according to Ammianus, had been so greatly extended and embellished by the later emperors, especially Diocletian, that it seemed to Julian like a part of Rome for its masses of public and private buildings: except by Rome, it was then only surpassed by Antioch, Alexandria and Constantinople in size, and by none in beauty. In Pontus, where Amasea the old capital of King Mithridates still flourished, Trapezus (Trebizond) first became a town of consequence under the Empire. The population of Caesarea, the capital of Cappadocia, was reckoned at 400,000 in the third century. Melitene, a fortress on the Armenian frontier, made a city by Trajan, grew to be large and populous, spreading below the fortress. The plain was covered with temples, official residences, streets, and the market, shops, warehouses, columned halls, baths, theatres, and all that pertained to a great city; Justinian surrounded it with a wall.

But the massive and well preserved ruins in Pamphylia and Pisidia, now 'a forgotten corner of the world', afford the best idea of the number, splendour and greatness of the cities of Asia Minor at this time. A triangle, whose base is the coast-line from Adalia to Side (75 kilometres, with two sides of 30 and 45 kilometres) much smaller than the triangle of Berlin, Küstrin, and Frankfort on the Oder, encloses the five cities of Pamphylia (Attaleia, Perga, Sillyon, Aspendus and Side). Termessus, situated 3,000 feet high in a hollow in the hills and overlooking the sea, is a 'magnificent and perfect picture of an ancient city with all its main parts, temples, a theatre, gymnasium, public buildings all about the beautiful and regular market, and acres of tombs on the slopes'. Perga looks like a place inhabited or only just abandoned. On the acropolis, for a length of 900 metres and a breadth of nearly 600, the embattled walls stand perfect with turrets 70 paces square, in many cases as high as when first built. The roads cross at right angles: from the southern gate a street flanked with columned halls leads up to the centre of the citadel;

the theatre and stadium could seat about 11,000 spectators. The ruins of Aspendus include a magnificent aqueduct, which brought the water over the hills, the ruins of the stadium and a theatre for 7,000-8,000 spectators. Side stands on a narrow peninsula and is walled off towards the mainland : a second strong wall on the mainland encloses the theatre, which could seat about 13,000 spectators, and rises like a mountain out of the low-lying heaps of the city ruins. The excellence of its water supply system has already been mentioned. The main street, lined with bazaars, is 700 metres long and 9 metres broad, with colonnades on the level and on the first floor, behind which were the shops. The ruins of Selge are in two parts : the strong fortified upper city with two acropoleis with the ridge in between, which was the best part of the town and contained the public and sacred buildings ; and the lower, in which there still stand five pillars of a colonnade which once surrounded the whole market place ; and, above it, the theatre (for about 8,000 or 9,000) and the stadium. In the *Kremna*, which is 1,000 metres high, Augustus planted a Roman colony, and most of the buildings belong to the middle and late Empire. Sagalassus stands on rising and undulating ground : 'every one of the eminences was crowned with fine buildings, connected by colonnades and steps and terraces ; the ruins afford an excellent idea of the eminently picturesque effect'. They include a Corinthian temple (possibly of the time of Trajan), a theatre, and, above the theatre, a very large temple. Even a little city like Sillyon had a theatre, an Odeum, and a stadium. 'Towards the end of the second century, shortly before the approaching decline, these cities must have conveyed the impression of great works of art in one style throughout, of ideal pictures, with their picturesque circular walls leading to well kept roads with tombs on each side, and the straight streets, public places, temples, baths, gymnasia, or markets in every quarter, and the citadel with proud columned buildings, the home of the patron gods of the city'. The remains on the Cilician coast are as well preserved as on the Pamphylian, and 'the comparative poverty of material and style is all the more striking'. Antioch on the Cragus with its two streets of bazaars and the magnificent marble temple is an exception. Remains of streets of bazaars are also to be found at Pompeiopolis, Seleucia on

the Calycadnus, and Hierapolis-Kastaba. A large city fortification, a theatre and a large aqueduct testify to the former importance of Mopsuestia. The inside of Anazarba, an abandoned city, is buried deep, and overgrown with vegetation, out of which some few columns of former bazaar streets project; there are also remains of two great aqueducts, a theatre, a stadium, and an amphitheatre.

Here and everywhere, 'where a forgotten corner of the world is investigated after the desolation of 1,500 years, the first and strongest feeling is disgust and shame at the miserable present in contrast with the glorious past under Rome'. When, under Claudius, Lycia was made a province, the old hill-city of Cragos was brought into the plain, and, on the market place of the new city of Sidyma, there are still remains of the temple to Claudius with its four columns, and of a stately bazaar with columns, which a native and wealthy physician built for his city. Statues of the emperors and retired citizens decorated the market place: there was a temple of Artemis and Apollo, the patron deities, baths and gymnasia for the young and the older citizens; from the gates right down to the harbour of Calabatia there were rows of stone tombs, more stately and costly than those at Pompeii, and many still standing. Cragos-Sidyma was not a city of the first rank in the little province of Lycia; there was no theatre, no honorific title; it was a little provincial town, created by the Empire. But in the whole vilayet of Aidin there is not a single inland town to compare in civilization with this little mountain city.

Byzantium, the largest and most prosperous city in Thrace, was taken in 196, after a three years' siege, by Septimius Severus and almost entirely destroyed, and deprived of theatres, baths, ornaments and even of its city rights; the huge walls of square blocks ($4\frac{1}{2}$ miles long) with lofty defences and numerous artistic turrets, aroused admiration even in ruins. Inland, in the days of independence, there had been nothing but villages and castles, except for Philippopolis (which had a population of 100,000 in 251, when taken by the Goths), but under Roman rule large places arose or became cities, especially under Trajan and Hadrian (Hadrianopolis). Thessalonica, the capital of Macedonia, is celebrated by Lucian in a speech he delivered there for its beauty, population, wealth and splendour, and called a city containing everything desir-

able. Salonaë, the capital of Dalmatia, was, with Aquileia, the principal commercial centre in these waters, and must have been one of the most populous and wealthy cities of the West: it had a wall with eighty-eight towers and three gates. In the seventeenth century the remains were considerable, but have now been used in new buildings; there are still fragments of a theatre and amphitheatre. The huge palace built by Diocletian about two miles from the sea was laid out like a camp, and, from outside, looked like a rectangle (175 by 215 metres) with a wall round it, and four towers at the corners. The modern capital, Spalato, is largely contained inside its walls, and the old temples serve as a cathedral and baptistery. In Jader, too (Zara), there are columns and blocks of architraves, remains of ancient pomp, and two lofty arches near Kistagen mark the site of the ancient Burnum.

Greece (without Thessaly and Epirus), though impoverished and desolate, under the Antonines had on the mainland over 100 places with a real civic life, 60 of which were in the Peloponnese, and a number of villages besides: most of them had decayed, with some exceptions; Tithorea, according to Plutarch, had grown. Of the new splendour of Athens through the buildings of Hadrian and Herodes Atticus mention will be made later. Corinth, the capital and residence of the governor, was also a Roman colony, rich, brilliant and populous. Nicopolis, founded by Augustus as a memorial of the battle of Actium on the southernmost point of Epirus (4½ miles north of Prevesa) was 'as the extensive ruins and finds of coins show, comparatively populous'.

In the North, too, cities grew up at a surprising rate. Even in Britain, a gradual conquest and the scene of constant revolts, with few traces of city life, the Roman towns were not poor in architecture. Camulodunum (Colchester), the capital, was easily captured by the insurgents in 61 A.D. (18 years after the conquest) because it had been designed rather for pleasure than strength. There was a *curia*, a theatre and a temple of Claudius, which the Roman soldiers could hold for two days. Londinium was a great commercial centre: there and at Verulamium (St. Albans) in 61 A.D. 70,000 citizens and provincials were slain. 'The considerable finds in the soil of London of Roman relics of fine buildings' confirm this. Viroconium, too (Wroxeter), was excavated in 1861 and almost proved a

British Pompeii. In Bath, where there is no trace of civic life, there are considerable ruins of *thermae*, and of one temple, and slighter traces of other temples ; at various places in the island temples occur mentioned in inscriptions. Agricola utilized his first winter (78) in Britain in accustoming the rough and scattered warriors to the enjoyment of peace and quiet, by encouraging the building of temples, *fora*, and houses ; baths and colonnades soon followed. So soon did this farthest province bedeck itself architecturally, where one generation earlier Caractacus had wondered, after the sight of Rome, that the owners of such pomp could desire barbarian huts.

The plain on the right bank of the Rhine and the Neckar district up to the 'rauhe Alp' (in Suabia), including the Black Forest, was only held by Rome from the end of the first century to about 250 A.D. ; yet in Württemberg alone at 160 spots there are traces of Roman settlements, and city life flourished as much inside this new confine as on the left bank ; 'Sumelocenna (Rottenburg am Neckar), Aquae (civitas Aurelia Aquensis, Baden-Baden), Lopodunum (Ladenburg) were, except as compared with Cologne and Trèves, the equals of any city in Belgica : and the Roman settlement near Wiesbaden (Aquae Mattiacae) was also important. Vindelicorum (Augsburg) was founded under Augustus and named after him ; the Perlach there is a reminiscence of the Roman amphitheatre, and many inscriptions and sculptures testify to its ancient prosperity. But it was the only centre of Roman civilization in Raetia ; Noricum, the adjoining province, was so thoroughly Romanized as to become 'an outpost or even a part of Italy'. The little standing camps in Noricum, and even the stationing of a legion at Lauriacum near Enns by Marcus Aurelius had little importance ; for the larger towns Celeia (Cilli), Aguontum (Lienz), Teurnia (near Spital), Virunum (Zollfeld near Klagenfurt), the centre of the province, of which there are very considerable ruins, and Juvavum in the North (Salzburg) were made up entirely of civil elements.

But the civilization of Pannonia was entirely due to the presence of three (later, apparently, only two) legions : under Vespasian, the capital was Carnuntum (Petronell, East of Vienna) and Vindobona (Vienna) ; there are extensive ruins

of the city that grew up beside the former. It was only after this time that the government began organizing into cities the province, which up to then had only had towns in the western half, Emona (Laibach), Savaria (Stein am Anger). In the Western portion, which originally belonged to Noricum, Scarbantia (Ödenburg on the Neusiedler Lake), Siscia (Sziget), between the Save and the Drave, and Sirmium (Mitrovicza) received city rights under the Flavian emperors; Poetovio (Pettau) under Trajan; Mursa (Eszeg) became a colony under Hadrian. The principal places were Sirmium and Savaria, which retained its Roman name up to the Magyar conquest in the tenth century, and abounds in Roman remains.

In Moesia the development of cities was less even than in Pannonia. Here too Italian civilization spread from the camps, of which the oldest were those at Singidunum (Belgrade), and Viminacium (Kostolatz): the importance of the latter is shown by a large field of ruins, and the multitude of the artistic remains smuggled through Servia. In Lower Moesia (between the Balkan and the Danube), Roman civilization began with the establishment of a legion at Novae (near Svishtova), Durostorum (Silistria) and Troesmis (Iglitza near Galatz).

Even in Dacia, the latest province and abandoned after 170 years (comprising Transylvania, the Banate, Moldavia and Wallachia), 1,500 years have not fully destroyed the Roman work. The country was re peopled with settlers from various provinces (especially Dalmatia and Asia Minor) and the Roman city system spread more thoroughly than in the other lands on the Danube. A large number of most various remains attest the existence of over 100 more or less prosperous Roman towns, mostly in Transylvania. Sarmizegetusa, the capital converted by Trajan into a Roman colony, remained the central town and governor's residence; twelve Wallachian villages occupy its area; the rock of the capitol, and the arena of the amphitheatre may still be seen. How important the military centre, Apulum, was, is shown by the extensive ruins round about the modern Karlsburg. A series of village communes grew in Dacia into cities, and the military and road stations, the network of which covered the country, gradually became more or less cities.

These facts, which might easily be amplified, prove the

literal accuracy of Pliny's statement in a letter to Trajan, that no province lacked skilful and inventive architects. Many were in the service of the State, as engineers and building experts in the armies, but the private architects must have been far more numerous.

Municipal patriotism, one of the best aspects of ancient city life, so highly developed and promoted by the relative independence of the towns, incited the communes and private citizens to provide necessary and useful buildings and institutions at enormous cost and sacrifice. In ancient times the fervent desire of each man to present a worthy and splendid appearance actuated also the corporations, and drove them to efforts often beyond their power. This was accentuated on Greek soil by the 'ancient Hellenic disease', the fierce jealousy of the cities amongst themselves.

The Roman colonies were to be 'microcosms of the capital', as their adaptation of Roman names showed: two cities colonized under Augustus, which had seven districts each, Ariminum and Antioch in Pisidia, named them after Roman regions, e.g. Cermalus, Aventine, Velabrum, Vicus Tuscus; this must have been a common usage. Thus Falerii had a Via Sacra, Ostia a Campus Martius, Herculaneum a Palatine region, Beneventum an Esquiline, Lugdunum and Mattiacum, the capital of the Chatti, a Vatican, Aquileia, a region called Serapis and Isis. The right of having a capitol, which, as at Rome, had its temples of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, or of setting up a statue of Marsyas on the forum, as at Rome, up to Caracalla's time was limited to colonies. At some places, e.g., Cologne, Trèves, Florence, Cagliari, the tradition has been preserved in such church names as Sta. Maria in Capitele.

Public building was intrusted either to special commissioners (*curatores operum*) or to annual officials, who generally accepted the lowest tender and took them over after completion. 'When cities are letting out a contract for temples or *colossi*', says Plutarch, 'they listen to the competing artists, who submit their designs, and then select the cheapest and promptest offer.'

The extent, import and object of city buildings is shown by the correspondence between Pliny, when governor of Bithynia, and Trajan (c. 111-113 A.D.). Imperial leave was necessary for all new erections. Pliny obtained such a licence

for a new bath at Prusa on Olympus, 'as the glory of the reign and the dignity of the city demanded'; the bath was built on the ruins of a house, and one of the ugliest places in the town was made beautiful. At Nicomedia an aqueduct, which had cost the city 30,329,000 sesterces (£330,000) was begun and abandoned, as also a second one on which 200,000 sesterces had already been spent. Trajan then sanctioned a third aqueduct, which was to bring water into the upper city as well on arches, partly of square blocks, and partly of bricks; Pliny assured him that in utility and beauty it would be worthy of Trajan's reign. Shortly before the city had commenced building a new forum. At Nicaea a new theatre had already absorbed over 10,000,000 sesterces (£108,750); private individuals had guaranteed the decoration of it with a colonnade above the auditorium and basilicas around. But before the main building was finished, great fissures rendered repairs almost useless. At the same time, in place of the old gymnasium, which had been burnt down, a much larger one was laid out; but the architect who undertook to complete the work declared the walls too weak for the contemplated load, despite their immense thickness (22 Roman feet). At Claudio-polis huge city baths were in progress. For an aqueduct to bring water 16 *millia* to Sinope Trajan gave his licence, should the expense not be too much for the city, as it would contribute to health and amenity. Amastris, a fine and splendid city, possessed a long stately street, along the whole length of which a malodorous water course flowed: Trajan sanctioned its being filled up at the expense of the city.

This prosperity of the cities and the outlay on civic architecture in Bithynia may be presumed for the rest of the Empire. Buildings to benefit a whole district were undertaken by several cities in common, e.g., the bridge at Alcántara finished in 105-6 at the cost of eleven *municipia* of Lusitania.

Part of the regular city revenue was the entrance-money paid by men and women elected to posts of honour and priest-hoods, or to the decurionate, or the second rank, the *Augustalitas* and the *seviratus* which controlled it. These fees varied according to the importance of the place and the office. For the duumvirate 2,000, 3,000, 4,000 or 10,000 sesterces were paid (10,000 at Pompeii); for the aedileship 4,000, even 20,000, for the decurionate 1,000, 2,000 or 20,000; and for priest-

hoods, by the pontifex 10,000, or even 55,000, for the flaminiate 2,000, and at Verecunda and Diana in Numidia 10,000, at Lambaesis 12,000, and 2,000 for the sevirate. The sum of 400,000, which a woman elected *flaminica* for life at Calama in Numidia promised for building a theatre, was quite exceptional. But the invariable custom was to exceed the minimum, or render additional services, e.g., give spectacles, feasts, or buildings. Thus, one Titus Flavius Justinus at Porto Torres in Sardinia paid for his election to the highest post (the *quinquennialitas*) 35,000, besides himself providing a tank, and the water to fill it. At Aeclanum the *quattuorviri*, by the decree of the city council, paid for their election, by making and paving a road through the cattle-market. At Lanuvium (Città Lavigna) the accumulated capital of the priests' entrance fees and other revenue, was by permission of Severus and Caracalla used to build *thermae*.

This municipal patriotism which made the cities exert themselves and vie, even beyond their means, in building, generally animated the prosperous citizens, who were also incited by the love of perpetual fame, of their name being handed down by inscriptions on great buildings, guaranteed imperishable by the law. But the ambition which is sated by civic office, panegyrics, wreaths, statues, seats of honour, was incentive enough to much generosity, and even to ruinous extravagance; and public opinion, which, in all the ancient Republics, expected and demanded of the rich great public services, drove many against their will to great sacrifices. In fact, in every city large or small throughout the Empire astonishingly great sums were always being given in voluntary contributions for communal purposes, and the buildings erected by private munificence often excelled the municipal ones in size and importance, and enabled the cities to retrench. The erection of public buildings by individual private munificence did not need imperial sanction, 'unless undertaken out of rivalry with another town, or unless they caused public disturbance, or were erected near a theatre or amphitheatre'. In literature and in provincial monuments, there are very numerous evidences of such buildings for general use on a princely or small scale, put up by wealthy individuals, such as temples, porticoes, theatres, amphitheatres, or bridges; or less opulent efforts, the paving of streets, the levelling of the public playgrounds,

the erection of sun-dials or booths in the market, or stone tables for goods, provision for proper weights and measures, etc. After Nerva's reign cities might receive legacies, and bequests for public buildings became common, or the heir might be obliged to build a bath, theatre, or *stadium*.

Some examples will show how frequently, and with what magnificent results, private individuals took part in the embellishment of their cities. After the destruction of Cremona in 69 A.D. the *fora* and temples were restored by private local munificence. At Como, the grandfather of Pliny the Younger's third wife built in his own name and that of his son a splendid colonnade, and gave the town a capital with which to adorn the gates. At Oretum in Tarraconensis a citizen 'at the request of the council and the burghers, and in honour of the Divine House (the Emperor's)' built a bridge costing 80,000 sesterces (£870) and gave circus games at the dedication. At Thagaste in Numidia, a Roman knight built a portico costing 300,000 sesterces (£3,267 10s.). Crinas the physician had walls built in his native city (Marseilles) and elsewhere for nearly 10,000,000 (£108,250); the two brothers Stertinius, physicians to Claudius, ruined themselves on buildings in Naples. The inscription on the pedestal of a statue of a citizen of Citium in Cyprus states that he built a new theatre and fitted it out entirely at his own expense. Dio of Prusa's grandfather exhausted his property in communal efforts, and Dio himself built a colonnade near the *thermae* in his native city with shops and workshops; the site alone cost him over 50,000 *drachmae* (over £1,850). Gaius Antius Aulus Julius Quadratus in 106 was proconsul of Asia, and, according to Aristides, was a divine agent sent to rejuvenate Pergamus to her present condition: 'if other families were born from the city, the city was born of him, as she acknowledged in council, in assembly, in the theatre, in fact, everywhere, since he had beautified everything'. Most of the inscriptions extant on public buildings in the cities of Pamphylia and Pisidia speak of private benefactors.

In the Greek provinces, the sophists, above all, who often earned immense wealth, used to devote a part of it to the architectural decoration of their native place or residence. Nicetes laid out great streets at Smyrna, and extended the city to the gate on the Ephesus road. Alexander of Cotyaeum, in the exaggerated expression of Aristides, made a new city of

Cotyaëum. Damianus of Ephesus, a pupil of Aristides and Hadrian, joined the temple of Diana at Ephesus with the city by a covered way one stadium long, to permit the devout to reach the temple rain-proof, and in the sanctuary he built a vast hall for sacrificial banquets, ornamented gorgeously with pavonazzetto. His descendants, too, were honoured there for 'their contempt of money'.

But Herodes Atticus (born at Marathon in 101, died in 177), one of the richest and noblest men of his time, and consul in 143, the principal sophist of his day, outdid all others in his unexampled and more than princely munificence. It was his ambition to acquire fame amongst his contemporaries by his oratory, and among posterity by his vast and splendid buildings for the common benefit; we possess considerable fragments of the latter, which are often alluded to; of the former nothing remains. In 125 Herodes was præfect of the free cities of Asia, when his father, Tiberius Claudius Atticus, enabled him to bestow a magnificent gift upon the city of Troas (Alexandria), by supplementing Hadrian's grant of three million drachmae for an aqueduct by the four million (over £150,000) still required. Later, Herodes' munificence extended to Italy; he gave an aqueduct to Canusium (Canosa di Puglia): but his principal care was Greece, Attica, and Athens above all, near which he passed his latter days, at Cephisia, which is still a summer resort. He subsidized cities in Euboea, the Peloponnese, and Boeotia, revived Oricum in Epirus, built a covered theatre in Corinth, and at Olympia an aqueduct with a *Nymphaeum*, a building with niches that overtopped the whole Altis; at Thermopylae he built sulphur baths, and decorated the stadium at Delphi with Pentelican marble. He even contemplated a canal through the isthmus of Corinth. In Attica he restored a temple of Athene in the deme of Myrrhinus: in Athens in four years he covered the panathenaic stadium of Lycurgus with Pentelican marble, built along one of the hills a temple of the Goddess of Fortune with an ivory image, and, at the foot of the Acropolis, in honour of his wife Regilla, an Odeum for 6,000 persons in cedar wood, which, according to Pausanias, beggared anything similar for size and splendour. It is now being excavated.

Thus the most generous of the rich did not restrict themselves to their native cities, though no one may have been

able to say like Herodes, when accused of the murder of Regilla (his prosecutor was boasting of munificence to an Italian city) : 'I could also say many things of the same kind about myself, if the whole world were my tribunal'.

It was the rule for municipals, on becoming senators, when their native citizenship lapsed, or on rising to high positions at Rome, or for Roman grandees, who were patrons of or otherwise connected with another city, to testify their benevolence or attachment to it by buildings or other gifts. Pliny the Younger by his will left Comum, his native city, a large legacy for the building and maintenance of *thermae*, and acknowledged the honour paid him by Tifernum Tiberinum, which elected him its patron in his youth, by building a temple, and giving a banquet at the dedication. Ummidia Quadratilla, a lady of high position, who owned a palace in Rome in the twelfth region, and died in 107 at the age of 80, came from Casinum; an inscription of four lines found there states that she built at her expense an amphitheatre and a temple for the inhabitants. Dasumius (probably the author of the *Senatus Consultum Dasumianum*, 101) had begun decorating Corduba, his native city, with public buildings, and by his will (made in 109) left the completion of the task to a commission of jurists and experts. One Dasumius Tullus (consul under Marcus Aurelius) completed at Tarquinii some *thermae*, for which his father, Publius Tullius Varro (consul under Trajan) had bequeathed the city 3,300,000 sesterces (£35,892 10s.), augmenting the capital and extending the building; the reason of this munificence must have been similar to the foregoing.

Imperial freedmen also often adorned their native homes with buildings. Cleander, the powerful freedman of Commodus, spent part of his immense fortune on houses, baths and other 'institutions of use both to individuals and cities'. Lastly, dependent or allied princes often showed their generosity and love of pomp by buildings even outside their dominions. Herod the Great filled Judaea with many splendid buildings, principally in honour of Augustus (the great port of Caesarea was the most magnificent), as also cities in Phoenicia, Syria, Asia Minor and Greece. Athens, Sparta, Nicopolis and Pergamus, according to Josephus, were full of his gifts; at Antioch he paved a dirty street 20 stadia long (2½ miles) with marble flags, and covered

it with a colonnade to keep off the rain. The later Herodeans also were great builders, especially Herodes Antipas, the founder of the new capital Tiberias.

One of the motives of this munificence in princes and Roman nobles was the example, or even command of the Emperors (such as was contained in Nerva's 'glorious speech'), who often purposely set the example by continually erecting fine public buildings, not only in Rome, but in Italy and the provinces, and contributing to new erections on the frequent occasions of inundations, conflagrations and earthquakes.

Probably, though seldom mentioned except in Rome, great fires did tremendous damage. In Nicomedia shortly before Pliny's arrival, a fire had raged: the municipality of this important city had no appliances for extinguishing fires. Pliny proposed the formation of a guild of 150 carpenters to act as a fire brigade, but Trajan would not sanction it, and only enjoined the procuring of the necessary implements, and called upon householders to act with the people in case of need. But even in cities where there were guilds of carpenters and mat-makers (the mats being soaked and used as extinguishers, like the sails of ships in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Holland and Bremen), little was done; the fire brigade of 7,000 men at Rome was the best organized and largest, but of little avail against the incessant fires. And great fires were common outside Rome. In 57-58 Lyons was so completely destroyed by fire, that (in the exaggerated language of Seneca) it was useless to look for it; one night had annihilated this great city and its many splendid buildings, of which one alone would have been an ornament to any other city. It was only gradually rebuilt: in 65 Nero granted 4 million sesterces, the sum which Lyons had formerly offered on the occasion of the great fire at Rome. In 53 A.D. 10 million sesterces were granted for what must have been a great fire at Bologna.

Augustus, at the end of his own history of his reign, says that he has given countless gifts to cities in Italy and the provinces, destroyed by fire or earthquake. Other records confirm such grants of his in Naples, Paphos in Cyprus, Chios, and several cities in Asia Minor—Laodicea on the Lycus, Thyatira, and Tralles. Vespasian too 'restored many cities after fire or earthquake, so that they were more beautiful than before'. The remark of Tacitus that Laodicea, after

an earthquake in 60, repaired the damage without assistance from the State, shows that it was an exceptional case. At Puteoli there still exists a monument put up to Tiberius by fourteen cities of Asia Minor, more or less destroyed by earthquake (twelve in 17 A.D., and the two others in 23 and 29); he had generously contributed to the rebuilding. The *Chronicle of the World* by Eusebius records eleven earthquakes from the reign of Augustus to that of Commodus, ten of them in Greece and the East, but even for these countries the list is incomplete. The great earthquake is not mentioned, which, between 138 and 142, devastated Sicyon on the mainland of Greece, the islands Rhodes and Cos, and Lycia and Caria in Asia. Antoninus Pius had the cities restored on a magnificent scale; Stratonicea alone received 1,000,000 sesterces. Lesbos and the nearer islands and the coast opposite were especially liable to earthquakes: in 151-52 Mytilene was devastated and Asia Minor violently shaken. Of the earthquakes chronicled by Eusebius the most important were that of 115 (which completely overwhelmed Antioch for the third time), that of 122, which severely damaged Nicomedia and Nicaea, and that of 178, which shook all Ionia, and overwhelmed Smyrna. The imperial grants for restoration after 122 and 178 are expressly mentioned. In the West Campania 'was never secure from this curse'; in 63 (February 5) Pompeii was very severely damaged, Herculaneum somewhat less, and Naples and Nuceria to some extent.

But such restorations after earthquakes were but a small part of the building operations undertaken by all the emperors (except Tiberius) on a large scale in and outside Rome, with a view to the good of the cities, and also to the remunerative employment of large numbers of free labourers. But the Julian and Flavian emperors paid most regard to Italy, outside Rome; thus Claudius built a channel from the Lacus Fucinus, and the new harbour near Ostia (Portus), with huge moles and a lofty lighthouse; and Nero the harbour of Antium, and the lighthouses of Puteoli and Ravenna. Vespasian, apart from his large buildings in Rome, generally seems to have confined himself to restorations in Italy and the provinces, without, however (in Rome at least), having time to finish everything; and as in Titus' short reign another great fire devastated part of Rome, Domitian had space enough

there to satisfy his infatuation for building: he also had some roads made in Italy.

Trajan immediately after his accession commenced his great building projects in Rome, which almost surpassed all previous undertakings; in his later years they were so extensive that there were hardly artisans enough in Rome and the neighbourhood; he also provided for all Italy on the largest scale, laid out roads, harbours, waterworks, and also carried out important works in the provinces, not reckoning the establishment of new colonies and cities; the greatest of these, according to Dio, was the bridge over the Danube (on 20 pillars and 1,017 metres long). After the removal of the bridge the pillars still standing seemed to him to show that there was nothing impossible to man.

Hadrian's first act of administration was a remission of taxes amounting to 900 million sesterces (over £9,750,000), and his buildings give an idea of the inexhaustible resources of the Roman Empire and of the indefatigability of the man. He decorated Rome with splendid buildings, restored from 125-130 the Pantheon which was burnt down in 110, created for himself a fairy residence of architectural splendour in his villa at Tibur, and, on his journeys through the whole of the Empire (121-134) was accompanied by a regular army of architects, masons, artists and artisans, divided in military fashion into cohorts to carry out his inexhaustible schemes with the aid of native workmen. Thus he founded new cities like Pons Aelius on the Pictish Wall, Hadrianotherae in Moesia, Hadrianopolis in Thrace, Aelia Capitolina on the ruins of Jerusalem and Antinoöpolis in Egypt.

Of the buildings, with which Hadrian is said by his biographer to have decorated all the cities he visited, only a few are known of in the Northern and Western provinces, e.g., a temple of Augustus at Tarraco, a basilica in honour of Plotina at Nemausus, an aqueduct at Sarmizegetusa, one of the 'countless' ones that bore his name. A few examples may be given out of the long list of his buildings, yet traceable, in the East and Greece, where nearly every town could point to his boons, and many rightly hailed him their Deliverer and Founder, or, like Palmyra and Petra in Arabia, named themselves after him.

On the Isthmus there is a dangerous mountain path on the

Scirionian cliffs ; Hadrian at enormous effort cut the rocks and underpinned strongly, and made a long and convenient road for heavy carts, some 6,000 feet long, a feat now almost unimaginable at this spot ; from the high valley of Stymphalus he constructed a mighty aqueduct to convey an abundant supply of cool mountain water to Corinth, which he decorated with splendid *thermae*. But, above all, he rejuvenated Athens, created a new Hadrianopolis in the south-east of the city, centreing round the colossal temple of Olympian Zeus, which had remained unfinished for 600 years ; in it were 104 Corinthian columns 60 feet high, in three rows in front and two rows on the sides, of which fifteen are yet standing. In the other part of Athens he built a library with 120 columns and walls of Phrygian marble (*pavonazzetto*), in which the rooms glittered with alabaster, gilded soffits, pictures and statues, and a gymnasium with 100 columns of Libyan marble (*giallo antico*). He commenced an aqueduct from Cephisia for the new part of Athens, completed in 140 by Antoninus Pius, who also embellished the health-resort at Epidaurus and restored important buildings in Rome and Italy, e.g., the lighthouse at Portus and the harbours at Terracina and Puteoli, and built new ones—the harbour at Caieta, a bath at Ostia, an aqueduct at Antium, and temples at Lanuvium. He also subsidized several cities, enabling them to restore and build anew, and, after the earthquake of 138–142 rebuilt the districts ; he also built in Syria and Carthage. Septimius Severus crected many splendid buildings in several cities. Of the later emperors, according to hostile Christian evidence, Diocletian was possessed of an infatuation for building, which sorely taxed the provinces. ‘ Here basilicas arose and there a circus, here a mint and there an armoury, here a palace for his consort and there one for his daughter. Often quarters of a town and their inhabitants had to be cleared out, as though it had been occupied by an enemy, to make room for new buildings. And when these buildings were finished, to the ruin of entire provinces, he disapproved, and ordered them to be started afresh on a new plan ’. But, as a fact, this passion was strictly for State purposes. Everywhere, at his behest, monumental buildings arose at Alexandria, Antioch, Palmyra, Milan, and Carthage. His *thermae* at Rome surpassed those of Caracalla. Justinian was a legitimate descendant of the

Roman emperors in his love of building, and Procopius dedicates three books to this subject.

The above account will give an idea how magnificently the emperors provided for architecture in the Italian towns, and, after Trajan, in the provinces as well. But owing to the scanty and accidental notices and remains, it is difficult to estimate, even approximately, the extent of the imperial buildings outside Rome. For example, Aristides, in a letter requesting Marcus Aurelius and Commodus to restore Smyrna after the earthquake of 178, incidentally touches on the care shown by them for the Italian cities, which they had rescued from decay; and, in the biography of Marcus Aurelius, it is said 'he afforded help to tottering cities'. The gorgeous public buildings lavished on Rome by the emperors, need no specific mention here.

During the first two centuries architecture, though used for public buildings to a vast extent, must also have been called into requisition for private purposes yet more, and to a greater degree than at any other epoch, for private prosperity was greater and more widely spread, and this particular art was more in vogue and accordance with the tendencies of the age than any other. Of the splendour of the palaces and villas in Italy mention has been made. But the greatness of luxury in provincial private residences is shown by some literary notices, and by the well preserved remains of villas on the Orontes, as well as by those of Damianus near Ephesus. One of the many villas of Herodes Atticus at Cephisia (north-east of Athens) had tasteful, richly furnished and well-lighted baths, and long pleasant walks, and in the greatest heat the house and the park afforded shade, and brooks and birds could everywhere be heard. The interior decoration was lavish, for Herodes, after the death of his consort Regilla, had his rooms painted black and decorated with black curtains, black carpets, and black marble. The suburban villa of the Laberii at Uthina (near Tunis) contained 67 mosaic floorings with figures on them. A mosaic found near Constantine represents a castle, of large extent and several floors, and flanking towers, and the owner hunting on horseback, and on another is his stable with the names of the horses. A mosaic found near Hadrametum (Suza) represents the lady of the house fanning herself under a palm; a servant is holding up a sun-

shade, and she has a dog in leash. In the magnificent villas and gardens of Carthage the Vandals luxuriated as much as the former owners. For the fifth and sixth centuries we have pictures of life on the pleasant country estates, on the Garonne with its numerous amusements, such as falconry and trips on gondolas with lofty balustrades, pillows and awnings, and games with dice artistically worked in mosaics. Ausonius was reminded on these banks of the similar banks of the Moselle clad with vines and lined with villas; and numerous finds here and on the Saar prove that the entire region, including parts of the Eiffel, even now deserted, abounded in Roman residences of great size, and richly furnished with mosaic floors and sculpture (e.g., the villas at Nennig near Trèves and Kreuznach, and at Welschbillig), with columned halls affording an open view. In the *Zehntland* (*agri decumates*) the villas, as is shown by the remains, had baths and aqueducts, with marble ornaments, sculptures, mosaics and bronzes. From the excavations in the Rhineland and Switzerland, even on the frontiers, it seems the rich always had mosaics and wall-paintings. Even in Eastern Switzerland, which was never fully Romanized, where Roman settlements are scattered, both are found, though somewhat insipid. Britain too, had in time, as the remains (mosaics especially) show, in the centre and the south as many richly decorated villas as any other province of the empire. Even temporary residences were decorated to suit the decadent taste. Hadrian had to restore discipline in the German armies and ordered all banqueting-halls, colonnades, crypts and gardens to be cleared away from the camps.

§ 2. AIMS AND APPLICATION OF THE PLASTIC ARTS AND PAINTING.

(a) *Decorative Art*

The vast scope afforded to architecture employed all the plastic arts in interior and external decoration. Nowhere, least of all at Rome, was an important public building erected, without the chiseller, the stucco-worker, the carver, the founder, the painter and mosaic maker being called in. Statues, single or in groups, filled gables, roofs, niches, interstices of columns, staircases in the temples, theatres, amphitheatres, basilicas, *thermae*, bridges, arches, portals and viaducts: the

temple of Scaurus contained 3,000 bronze statues. Triumphal arches generally had at their summits equestrian figures, trophies, chariots of four or six horses, driven by figures of Victory. Reliefs and medallions bedecked the frieze, and reliefs or paintings the walls; ceilings were gay with stucco or coloured work, and the floors with glittering mosaics. All the architectural framework, supports, thresholds, lintels, mouldings, windows, and even gutters were overloaded with decorative figures.

It is difficult to imagine the almost magically rapid growth of public buildings at Rome during the first centuries. These incessant undertakings in themselves sufficed to give continuous employment to hosts of artists and artisans, besides the architects and workmen. Agrippa, in his aedileship (33 B.C.) laid out magnificent waterworks for Rome; in one year, according to Pliny, 700 basins, 500 fountains, and 130 *castella* (reservoirs), many of them highly ornate, and used for decorative purposes, 400 marble columns and 300 statues of bronze and marble. Later outlay was not less lavish: Claudius conducted the water of his aqueducts 'through many decorated basins'. The basin of Orpheus in the fifth region, and of Ganymede in the seventh, were doubtless named after statues. Domitian was ridiculed for the number of large arcades and triumphal arches with chariots and triumphal insignia that he set up throughout Rome. The triumphal gate described by Martial illustrates the scale of these buildings: this gate was erected in January, 93, after Domitian's return from the Sarmatian War. Medallions decorated the spaces above the arches, bas-reliefs or round sculptures the entablature and the upper parts: two *quadrigae* of elephants, both driven by colossal statues of the Emperor, crowned the building. Representations on coins indicate the splendour of the Forum of Trajan, which outdid all the rest; its several parts (the Basilica Ulpia, the Triumphal Arch, and the Temple put up to him by Hadrian), were richly decorated and carved, and considerable remains were excavated by Napoleon I.

Public places in Rome and other cities were equally well provided with plastic ornaments, chiefly statues. The vast number of these in the cities of Greece and Asia was only partly affected by the systematic plundering of two centuries: the Romans had almost emptied the *ἀγοραί* of small places like Andros and Myconus, to fill the temples and *fora* of Rome.

One most extensive pillage took place under Nero : his agent, the freedman Acratus, ' traversed the whole world, not passing by a single village '. Apparently Acratus, like other art-pillagers, spared Rhodes alone ; for, according to official lists under Vespasian, there were 3,000 statues there, though those at Athens, Olympia and Delphi were equally numerous : hence to compute 10,000-20,000 for Greece and the islands at this time would be too low an estimate. But even two and a half centuries later, when Constantinople was being embellished, these ancient remains were not exhausted. The officials of the chancery of Constantius found ' in the ancient cities ' enough to pilfer, and ' marvels of art which had defied time were transported by sea to make fullers' houses more gorgeous than palaces of old '. Yet it has been left for our age to estimate the wealth of the Hellenic countries in works of art, which survived the plunder of antiquity and the Middle Ages, by the discovery of the sculptures of Phidias, the Venus of Milo, the Hermes of Praxiteles, and the ruins of the altar of Zeus at Pergamus.

Much of ancient sculpture decorated the public buildings, or stood as votive offerings in the Temples : but enough was left to fill the streets and squares with ancient or modern figures in bronze or marble of gods, heroes, public servants, and famous men and women : how, during the first century, any gaps in the list were repaired, and the stock increased, will be shown later.

In the beginning of the Empire the statuary of Italy (outside Rome) and the Western provinces, though considerable, could not compare with the collections in the Greek provinces, since the Alexandrian epoch. But, even in the later Republic, these cities were not deficient in such decoration. Vitruvius says that the excellence of the stone quarried near Tarquinii (on the Lake of Bolsena) was attested by the statues at Ferentinum (in Etruria), where there were large statues, well carved, small figures (probably reliefs) and delicate ornamentations in flowers and acanthus work, made of this stone, and preserving an appearance of newness. Many of the newer statues in many Italian cities were no doubt those of the victorious kings and generals of Rome, probably the same as those selected by Augustus in 2 B.C. for the colonnades of the Temple of Mars in his forum. At Arezzo seven pedestals have been found of

statues of Marcus Valerius Maximus, Appius Claudius Cæcus, Quintus Fabius Maximus, Lucius Aemilius Paullus, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, Gaius Marius and Lucius Licinius Lucullus ; at Pompeii two (Aeneas and Romulus) ; at Lavinium one of Aeneas Silvius, the son of Aeneas and Lavinia ; possibly the Marius found at Otricoli and seen by Plutarch at Ravenna, was part of the same series.

Generally every city aimed at a decoration of the public places with statues, and the *fora* in all the larger towns were colonnaded and thus decked, e.g., the forum at Arles as late as the fifth century. At Cirta (Constantine) traffic in the forum was obstructed by the number of statues, erected by ambition or the civic spirit, which could not afford public buildings. Statues were also accepted as the entrance-money of priests and officials, and testamentary provision was made for their restoration. A provincial priest in Bætica had held the highest priesthoods and city offices at Corduba, and, in recognition of the honour, had statues worth 400,000 sesterces put up (£4,350), probably to the number of 40-130. Statues intended for public places would be mostly of gods and emperors. Representations of the *lares* or of the *genius* of the city will generally have been included, especially as in the Roman forum there stood the *Genius* of the Roman people (a statue in gold, or gilded bronze after Aurelian's reign). In the West, too, the increasing expenditure on personal statues contributed to the number in the public places of the cities.

But plastic art was employed for the adornment of private houses even more than for public buildings, and was indispensable in palaces, villas, parks and gardens. Even in Sulla's time, pictures and statues were as much part of the furniture of a rich house as carpets and silver plate, and so too in the large country houses. Only exceptionally were there none : e.g., in Seius' house at Ostia, and in Augustus' villas, where antiques and natural curiosities replaced them. Cicero bought works of art through Atticus for his so-called Academy at his Tusculan villa. He offered 20,400 sesterces (about £180) for some Megarian statues ; Atticus also bought for him *hermeracles* of Pentelic marble with bronze heads and a *hermathena* ; and Cicero asked him to get him as many suitable objects of art as he could, especially reliefs which he might fit into the stucco of his little *atrium*, and two embossed and

decorated well covers. All he bought of Atticus was for his Tusculan villa ; his villa at Caieta he intended to furnish, as soon as he could afford it. But with some four or five statues (including Bacchantes and a Silenus), which Fadius Gallus had bought for him, he was displeased, as too dear, and not in style with his academy. He had had new couches put in a colonnade and wanted them ornamented with paintings ; for, above all, he loved paintings. In this Cicero, with his poor taste and little love of art, strikingly illustrates the fashion of decorating houses and country-seats artistically.

Under the Empire the fashion spread. If a rich man's house were burnt down, the friends who contributed to the rebuilding gave 'nude marble statues', famous bronzes, old ornaments from temples in Asia Minor, and busts of Minerva for the library. The baths of freedmen abounded in statues. Villas and gardens were filled with them and people spoke of 'marble gardens'. Round one spring in the garden of Arruntius Stella stood a troop of marble figures of boys, in a grotto close by these was a Hercules : and the rest was on the same scale. Domitius Tullus, a rich man, had such a stock of neglected masterpieces that he could fill a large park, on the very day of purchase, with numerous ancient statues. Silius Italicus owned several villas, each with a multitude of pictures and statues. In the gardens of Regulus in Trastevere, one huge space was filled with colonnades, and the bank lined with statues of himself. We may take the decorations of houses and gardens at Pompeii as typical of Italian cities. In 1894-5 the house of the Vettii was excavated, and 192 pictures were found on the walls : the many statues in the garden, now restored, are almost all perfect ; of twelve statuettes, which spouted water into a marble basin, nine are preserved, and other sculpture in the garden as well.

If excavations in previous centuries had been more accurately recorded, we might have had as exact a picture of many Roman villas, as the old sketches of the so-called villa of the Epicurean philosopher at Herculaneum. It contained a large courtyard with a long road with semi-circular ends, and a garden round it ; the whole space was covered with columns, which carried beams up to the garden wall, creating an arbour all round. In the arbour there were special places for washing and bathing, semi-circular and square alternately ; in every

corner there stood a marble *terminus* with a bronze bust, and in between the columns *hermae* (heads of Romans and busts of gods, Greek poets and philosophers, portraits real or fictitious) and bronzes of females in alternation. In front of each herm was a little basin, with a little column, with a sort of shell decoration rising out of a shell-like vessel at the bottom, and spouting up water. Round another small pond was a group of boys, satyrs and *sileni*, as powers of water, and in the centre Silenus riding on a leather bottle. A long walk led out of the garden to a raised, round *loggia*, probably set in the sea, with a round floor of mosaics in *africano* and *giallo*. The ten beautiful statues of Apollo and the Muses, which were afterwards completed and placed in the museum at Sans-souci as Achilles with the daughters of Lycomedes, were found in 1729 in the ruins of the so-called villa of Marius at Frascati. The present collection of Azara at Madrid, of at least thirty busts, comes almost entirely from the so-called villa of the Pisos excavated by Azara at Tivoli in 1779.

All such places were excelled by Hadrian's villa at Tivoli in abundance and extent: it was an art-world in itself. Its inexhaustible ruins have enriched the Vatican, the Farnesina, the villas of the d'Este family, the Capitoline Museum and the Villa Albani. As early as Alexander VI, excavations on the site had begun. But the excavations of Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, under the superintendence of Pirro Ligorio (1530-1586), the architect of the Villa d'Este at Tivoli, yielded but little of the spoil. In the eighteenth century excavations proceeded on a larger scale and under men with an eye to trade in antiques, and great finds were made: Benedict XIV incorporated many of them, especially the Neo-Egyptian statues of the shrine of Canopus or Serapis, in the Capitoline Museum.

Ancient painting and sculpture were also largely used in decoration, e.g., in the park of Domitius Tullus and Vespasian's Temple of Peace. But this was not always possible, and even the most boundless plunder from Greek countries could not satisfy the enormous demand, augmented as it was by the constant huge fires in Rome, and, even in the first century, fresh gaps involved fresh production in man. Hence the greater part of the demand for art must have been supplied by new work, all the more as in many cases work referring to the present was required.

Ancient decorative art was then not only employed on a far larger scale than at any later time, but also far more generally in all branches, subserving all needs and tastes, the highest and lowest, the greatest extravagance and modesty, the Sultan's moods of the lords of the world, or beautifying the poor slave's cell. Modern art has always been more or less aristocratic, serving a small privileged set, the church, the plutocracy, and the mighty, sometimes in particular circumstances bringing beauty into middle class, but never into lower class, life. Art has dwelt in great centres of national life, the capital and the palace, and embellishing these, has left whole provinces and lands bare. Correspondingly, appreciation of art has become restricted to smaller circles, and has implied an education and power of abstraction non-existent in the masses. But the art of the Roman Empire was pregnant for all grades of culture and society and spread taste for most of her productions in far wider circles. It created furniture finely conceived and expertly made for connoisseurs to enjoy, and filled temples and public places with comprehensible figures, high walls and floors with gay pictures, which fascinated even the man in the street. Art made the capital of the world a city of marvel and conferred on the *municipia* and colonies of Italy decorations, differing according to local taste and prosperity, but far above modern ornament, and by no means confined to public buildings. The excavation of Pompeii and Herculaneum has revealed to wondering modernity the quality and quantity of private ornamentation, plastic and pictorial, even in the smaller cities of the empire, and its estimation as a prime necessity even in modest households.

Costly materials, bronze and marble figures, could only be used by the rich for their houses and gardens, but were luxuries common not merely in Rome. At Pompeii and Herculaneum spring-water ran out of holes and bottles held by marble or bronze satyrs, *sileni* and nymphs. But the large demand for artistic work in the middle and lower classes produced a large production in cheaper material, clay and stucco. Stucco relief and decorations, painted or unpainted, on mouldings and ceilings were common in houses, as Pliny says and excavations have shown. Plastic busts adorned the rooms, the studies and libraries of such as could not afford marble; in Martial's and Juvenal's time all the mock-stoics and philosophizers had

plaster busts of Democritus, Zeno, Plato and others, with scrubby beards. Architectural decorations in clay, on columns, windows, mouldings, and gullets and friezes for inside and outside walls, have been numerous preserved; they are often painted in one colour, or the natural colours of the object represented; and these trifling articles of manufacture reproduce the greatest discoveries and noblest forms of the great period of Greek art.

Besides plastic art in soft materials, frequently in combination with it, painting was still more common for interior decoration, when incrustation in marble would be too costly: and colours always went with stucco. At Pompeii the better class house glittered with bright decorations lightly chiselled here and there, but often very beautiful; numerous references and ruins show that such interior wall-decoration was as widely spread as Roman civilization through the Empire. The discoveries at Pompeii and Herculaneum utterly transformed our notions of ancient painting, and yet are but an inconsiderable fraction of the pictorial art of the Empire, and only illustrate part of the subjects and material of ancient decoration. Mythology supplied most of the subjects at all times: the fight by the ships before Troy is mentioned as a common theme. But historical scenes were also depicted, e.g. the Esquiline pictures of scenes from the legendary foundation of Rome, the description by Apollinaris Sidonius of the villa of Pontius Leontius, Burgus, which contained scenes from Jewish history, and events in the third Mithridatic Wars, e.g., Mithridates sacrificing horses to the sea-god, the siege of Cyzicus, and Lucullus relieving the town (with a soldier swimming through the sea and holding up a letter). In Greece, a man who had never seen a battle was said not even to have seen one on a wall-painting; but battle scenes must have been common elsewhere as well. Phaedrus says that comic pictures of animal life were also usual: in his time (the reign of Tiberius) the *tabernae* used to have pictures of the War of the Mice and the Weasels.

With the other decorative arts, wall-paintings were common down to the last days of the Empire. In Diocletian's tariff of 301 A.D., in which the maximum wage for all ordinary work is fixed, the following are the house-decorators mentioned: marble-workers (for incrustations and ornaments), mosaic-

workers, whitewashers, wall-painters, picture-painters ; prices for bronze-foundries in reliefs and statues, and for modellings in stucco and clay are fixed. In a rescript of Constantine (337 A.D.) to the administrator of the Western Provinces on the immunity of artists and craftsmen from communal burdens, the same workmen are specified, and must therefore still have been settled in those towns. Valentinian gave painters yet larger privileges, if free-born, by a rescript to the legate of Africa in 374 A.D. They were to have workshops in the city free of rent, were allowed to settle in every city, and were not to be compelled by officials to execute 'sacred' portraits (of the emperors) or paint public buildings gratuitously. Stone sculpture for decorative purposes lasted on to the end of the Empire, for the early report of the Martyrdom of the Five Masons under Diocletian was written by a man personally acquainted with the quarries of Pannonia, the scene of the story. The Emperor used to order porphyry pillars with foliate capitals, basins shaped like *conchae*, and bowls (*lacus*) decked with fruits, or acanthus, or embossed figures, *victoriae*, Cupids, lions that spouted water, eagles, stags, and other animals, all as ornaments for marble well-covers and basins : a proof of the extensive use of stone in architectural ornament.

In plastic art and in wall-paintings, down to the last, even if the scene was contemporary, ancient models were followed. In the Imperial Palace of Milan there was a picture of the Caesars seated on their thrones, with Scythian chiefs kneeling : in 452 Attila had it altered, so as to give the Caesars the suppliant posture. In the banqueting-hall of the Imperial Palace at Aquileia was a picture of Constantine and Fausta as children ; Fausta is handing her brother a helmet decorated with gold and jewels, and a waving plume. Ausonius, who wrote an epigram on a picture representing Gratian laying low a lion with a single shot from a bow, says that mythological scenes were even then common : he describes a wall-painting in Aeolus' house at Trèves ; heroines, whom love has ruined, torturing and binding Cupid. Libanius speaks of pictures of the divine amours, and describes two landscapes in the Pompeian manner : one with country buildings, men, animals, a two-wheeled laden ox-cart, and a temple with trees ; the other with a wreathed festive company under an awning amongst the trees, and a city with walls and turrets in the background. Apollinaris

Sidonius (Bishop of Clermont *c.* 450 A.D.) hates heathen art for its themes and its nudity, and had the walls of his bathroom on his country estate simply whitewashed: 'here no pictures are to be seen of bodies ugly in their naked beauty, such as, under the pretence of honouring art, dishonour the artist; no comedians with ridiculous grimaces and harlequin garb, no wrestlers in close grip'. Luxorius wrote under Thrasamund the king of the Vandals (496-523) in Africa, and describes pictures no doubt common, e.g., Fridamal killing a boar, Romulus killing Remus on the wall of Rome, Diogenes with his beard twitched by a girl. And Christian art, too, had to adopt some of the traditional themes and forms. Painting was early recognized as of importance to the Church. Paulinus of Nola (403) says that the pictures of the Old and New Testaments and the Martyrs in a colonnade near the Basilica of St. Peter at Nola entertained the many pilgrims who could not read, and kept their thoughts from the flesh. Gregory the Great declared pictures to be books for the unlearned.

Mosaics were more durable, and many more remains of them have come down to us in all the provinces (e.g., Spain, France, England, Switzerland, the Rhine-lands, Bavaria, Salzburg, Transylvania, North Africa, where hundreds have been found) than of the wall-paintings; this style of decoration survived the Empire, and must have been very common indeed.

Household furniture manifests the same generality of taste as the homes. At Pompeii alone, whence the refugees must have carried away a great deal, or subsequently dug up much out of the loose ash, the tables, benches, armchairs, sofas, candelabra, vessels, lamps, tripods, toilette utensils and other ornaments, have given modern craft an inexhaustible set of tasteful models. It was not only marble and bronze candelabra that were decked with fantastic plant-like designs, or only vessels of silver and gold that had chased work and graceful handles, or glass vases with figures in various colours in relief; the poor man's earthenware, his paste seal rings, the clay lamps for midnight work, and their covers especially have handed down their wealth of design and figure. Juvenal describes the home of a destitute scholar or poet: a short bed and an old chest with divine Greek poems, which barbarous mice gnawed, a marble table-top, with six little jugs, a tankard (*cantharus*, with vertical handles), and the figure of a

centaur recumbent as support. *Sigilla* (little statues) as ornaments were always welcome presents, and regularly exchanged at the *Saturnalia*; at Rome they were bought in a special market on the slope of the street named after them, *sigillaria*. Amongst the *Saturnalia* gifts for which Martial has written inscriptions are: clay-figures (Brutus' favourite boy, Hercules, a hunchback); marble figures (a hermaphrodite, Leander); Corinthian bronzes (Hercules, Apollo the lizard-slayer); silver (Minerva); gold (Victoria); and two pictures (Hyacinthus and Danaë). Works of art were usual gifts; Horace apologizes for not being able to give a Scopas or Parrhasius; Seneca commends durable gifts, silver rather than gold, statues rather than clothes and carpets; in Martial's time one busy lawyer looked to receiving on his birthday from his clients works of Phidias.

But the tombstones show most clearly to what an extent art was at the service of the poorest. Sarcophagi with splendid reliefs, were purchasable only by the rich, though much cheaper than nowadays; but, at any rate in the first century, cremation was the rule (in the Streets of the Tombs at Pompeii there is not a single sarcophagus) and burial only came into fashion again about 100 A.D., and gradually became more and more common. Those little marble urns, often strikingly beautiful, with life-like figures 'in which the ashes in their narrow domain still seem to live', mostly came from small workshops, and were purchasable by those of small means. Painting, too, always decorated the interior of tombs, as is shown by the retention of the custom in Christian vaults, and often too the outer walls; even the 'whitewashed' graves of the Evangelist were partly painted. Even the *Columbaria* (large vaults with long rows of niches for cinerary urns), the resting-places of the poor, of slaves and the hapless, sometimes have walls as bright as those of ordinary rooms, the decorations (often poor) covering the unused spaces on the pillars and walls. When a new urn was inserted in the niche that had been bought for it, the mourners looked with satisfaction at the little ornaments, bought out of their savings for the dead. The subjects might be mythological, pictures of daily life, scenery, animals, fruit, flowers; such as Hercules shooting the vulture from Prometheus' liver, Ulysses gazing down on his dying dog Argos, grotesque pygmies fleeing before

a crocodile, jugglers dancing a castagnette dance, a giraffe with a bell round its neck, led by its keeper, as in the amphitheatre, and so on.

(b) *Monumental Art*

Sculpture and painting thus found boundless scope in decoration, and, besides this, also in monumental works, intended to immortalize persons and events, on a scale unparalleled during the first two centuries, and enormous even in the third and fourth.

As always, art was the means and not the end with the Romans. Art as applied to make home and city more beautiful, splendid and comfortable, they only learned after the conquest of Greece; but, as a means of recording events and the figures of great personages for contemporaries and posterity, the use of art was congenial to the national temper, as is shown by the ancient custom of noble families, who kept painted wax masks of their ancestors. Public statues go back as far as the Decemvirs (304 B.C.); the oldest one of any certainty is that of the Greek interpreter on the Forum; this, as all that we know of during the two next centuries, was in bronze (first used for sacred images after 269 B.C.); the first statue in gilded bronze was that of Acilius Glabrio, the conqueror of Antiochus, erected by his son in the Temple of Pietas (181 B.C.). About 300 B.C., statues were erected of the kings and famous men of the Early Republic. After the second Punic War the Capitol and Forum were full of statues. In 179 B.C. some of these were removed; in 158 B.C. the censors had all statues of officials cleared away, which were not erected by a decree of the people or the Senate. Cato preferred that it should be asked why he had no statue, rather than why he had one; he complained that statues were erected to women in the provinces, a custom which soon spread to Rome. The statue of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, put up at this time, was seen by Pliny in the *porticus* of Octavia; its base, injured in a fire, and afterwards used for a statue of Tisicrates, has recently been discovered.

The custom of informing the people of great events by pictures is also early. Manius Valerius Maximus Messalla painted his sea victory over the Carthaginians and Hiero in Sicily (264 B.C.) on a wall in the Curia Hostilia. Such pictures on wood and linen used to be carried along in triumphal pro-

cessions, e.g., in that of Marcus Marcellus (212 B.C.) a picture of the capture of Syracuse. Aemilius Paullus in 168 sent for a painter from Athens to illustrate his triumph. Lucius Hostilius Mancinus took an outwork of Carthage in 148 and had pictures of the city, its siege and storming, placed in the forum, which he himself explained to the people; this made him popular, and gained him the consulate in 141. Tiberius Gracchus had a banquet painted in the Temple of Freedom, which the Beneventines had given his army in 214 after a victory near by. The slaves enrolled and manumitted for bravery could be seen with the token of liberty. A picture of a gladiatorial combat was first exhibited in the sixth or seventh century by Lucius Terentius Lucanus in the Temple of Diana at Aricia.

Under the Empire the use of art in celebration of persons and events, temporarily and permanently, extended greatly. In the fact 'of the prominence of the principle of description', 'in the broadly illustrative tone', painting then was much more like the ancient Egyptian and later Old Assyrian, more like the paintings in the Theban palaces, the alabaster tablets of Nineveh or the Babylonian tapestries. By such means the Roman emperors addressed their people; pictures replaced manifestoes and proclamations; we may compare the historical and allegorical pictures in medieval Florence and Rome, such as Cola di Rienzi's, with which the people were stirred to passion. Every triumph employed a host of artists, who visualized the conquered country and the campaign for the spectators; often, or perhaps generally, artists' sketches were given to the army for this purpose. At the Judæan triumph of Vespasian and Titus scaffoldings three or four storeys high were hung with gold-embroidered tapestries, and ornaments of gold and ivory; on these pictures and on others the whole course of the war was depicted. 'A rich country was seen being devastated, whole hosts of the foe fleeing, falling or surrendering, huge walls collapsing under the blows of battering engines; strong fortresses being stormed, the round walls of populous towns being mounted, the army pouring in and spreading murder, and the defenceless begging for mercy, temples being fired, houses collapsing over their inmates' heads, and, after much misery, streams of water, not feeding the fields or assuaging thirst, pouring through the burning streets'. Thus too Don Juan of Austria, at his entry into

Brussels (May 1, 1571), sent banners in advance, depicting the Battle of Lepanto and other great scenes of his life. In antiquity the plastic arts were also used in triumphs; figures of mountains, rivers, countries and cities personified after the ancient fashion. To this day on one relief of the Arch of Titus one can see the recumbent statue of the Jordan carried at the Judæan triumph; so too colossal figures of the Rhine probably formed part of German triumphs. In Octavian's triumph after Actium a picture of Cleopatra with the asp in her arms formed part of the procession.

The artistic pyres, erected, after Asiatic models, at the consecration of deceased emperors on the Campus Martius, consisted of pyramids tapering upwards in storeys, and at the top the bier; they were covered all over with gold-embroidered cloths, ivory reliefs and pictures, no doubt of scenes in the deified ruler's life. As soon as this mass of splendour was lit up in barbaric fashion and burst into flames, an eagle soared aloft from the gable of the tabernacle at the topmost story.

But the clearest evidence of the use of painting to visualize the events of the moment is afforded by the law-courts. Even in the later Republic accusations were supported, at any rate in the popular assemblies, by pictures of alleged or actual crimes. Aulus Gabinius the Tribune in 67 B.C. produced and descanted on a picture of the Tusculan villa of Lucullus, to convince the people of the consular's luxury. When Galba in 68 at Cartagena was inciting his troops to march against Rome, he exhibited in front of his tribunal as many portraits as possible of Nero's victims, as dumb witnesses to his tyranny. A defendant, who was depicted by his opponent on the *sciparium* (screen over the judges' seats) in various attitudes, as a hopeless actor, stripped to his shirt, in prison for debt, or being ransomed by his friends, said to the judges: 'And yet I have won several times'. Quintilian had sometimes seen judges prejudiced against defendants by horrible pictures on wood or canvas. He disapproved the device, as the accuser vitiated his own case and made a dumb picture seem more eloquent than himself.

So too there were pictorial begging-letters. Shipwrecked men, genuine or impostors, used regularly to carry pictures of themselves swimming to land from a wreck on a deep blue sea; such pictures were offered up as votive tablets in the temples,

especially in those of Isis, the patroness of shipping ; ' every one knows ', says Juvenal, ' that painters live on Isis '. We may mention, in passing, these countless ex-votos in pictures or reliefs, representing the danger escaped as accurately as might be ; mostly, like the last-mentioned, executed by second-rate artists, but, no doubt, occasionally by skilful artists for richer men. Tacitus mentions that Domitian was in great peril when the Capitol was stormed in the night of December 18, 69, and erected on the site of a Temple servant's house, in which he had concealed himself, a chapel to Jupiter the Saviour, with an altar with his adventure engraved in marble.

This representation of personal events in pictures and sculpture must have been common. Pasitales portrayed in a silver relief how the nurse of the great actor Roscius once found her charge sleeping with a snake coiled round him. In Apuleius' romance, the bride who, by the aid of an ass, has escaped the robbers, wishes to set up a commemorative picture in her family *atrium*. In Trimalchio's house, walls in the colonnade are painted with scenes from the Iliad and the Odyssey, a gladiatorial show, and the master's career in a style partly allegorical, as a boy in the slave-market, as Mercury's darling with the *caduceus* in his hand, brought to Rome by Minerva, pictures in which he is being taught to reckon up, becomes a steward, etc., all with letterpress ; in the last scene he is being lifted by Mercury on to a lofty tribune, with a Fortuna bearing the *cornu copiae* (horn of plenty) and the three *Parcae* twisting golden threads. This novel describes the social customs in certain circles, and such bad taste may have been instanced in life. Trimalchio orders his own tomb ; it is to contain in minutest detail the history of his life ; a feast he gave to the whole commune, with himself sitting on a raised tribune, in a toga with purple fringe, with five golden rings on his fingers, flinging gold coins amongst the rabble, and tables all around at which the good folk of the commune are gorging. An actual tomb with similar portrayals has been preserved, that of a *sevir* of the *Augustales* at Brescia. The lofty obelisk-like tombs near the Meuse and the Moselle (e.g., that of the Secundinii at Igel) have carvings of the family life of the deceased all round ; the master returning home on horseback from the chase, the wife in the dressing-room, tended by her slaves ; merchants in the office at the counter, in the warehouse

at the scales ; coopers in the cellar ; a sale of fruit ; landlords receiving from their farmers sheep, fish, game and eggs ; a boat loaded with casks, etc. ' In this beautiful country 1,500 years ago peaceful activity, pleasure and genial life flourished apace '.

But not only real events, even dreams of significance were eternized in art. Herodian had seen in the Roman forum a picture of one of the most important dreams, which promised the Empire to Severus, executed on a large scale in bronze. Severus had dreamed he saw Pertinax riding in the Via Sacra on a royally caparisoned horse ; but, as soon as he reached the entry of the *forum*, the horse threw Pertinax off and lifted up Severus, and stood with him on his back in the middle of the Forum. Cassius Dio saw at Mallos (in Cilicia) a picture of a dream-oracle, communicated by the hero Archilochus at Mallos to Sextus Quintilius Condianus ; a boy strangling two snakes, and a lion hunting a young stag. The reference to the downfall of the two brothers Quintilius was only recognized after the event in 183.³ At Lebena in Crete an inscription records one Diodorus who consecrates to Asklepios two ' dream-pictures ' (i.e., pictorial representations) for the restoration of his eyes.

The most memorable events were to be recorded in sculpture and painting, not only on particular occasions, but for eternal reminiscence. Sculpture, painting and mosaic were employed on a large and small scale, after the third century chiefly the two last (as the technique of sculpture became less adaptable and large coloured pictures were best suited to create the illusion which the popular taste required), to immortalize the memory of the imperial battles and sieges, conclusions of peace, triumphs, speeches, acts of beneficence, sacrifices, hunts, games, gladiatorial fights and *venationes*. But the reliefs on Severus' triumphal arch even show a sad falling off ; one may surmise that the comprehensive representation of his deeds was executed in a mosaic or painting in a columned hall erected by his son. If after a hated tyrant's death his monument were thrown down, such pictures would not have been spared. Thus the Senate had a large picture in front of the Curia, on which Maximin had had painted his victory over the Germans, burnt after his fall ; but much would escape destruction, especially inside the imperial palaces.

As late as Diocletian, in a colonnade in the Gardens of Commodus a mosaic was to be seen, representing him and his friends (amongst them Pescennius Niger) sacrificing to Isis.

Portraits were made mainly for interiors and private purposes ; but honorary pictures (besides statues) were common in temples or public buildings, especially in the Greek cities. Nero had himself painted on linen as a figure 120 feet high ($35\frac{1}{2}$ metres). Herodian had seen a picture with a body that had two heads, of Alexander the Great and Caracalla. Elagabalus sent as a herald to Rome, a huge picture of his own painting, representing him in native costume sacrificing to his god, and directed it to be set up in the Curia above the statue of Victory. At Rome he painted himself as a dealer in delicacies and salves, a cook, a host, a pandar. A pentaptych in the Palace of the Quintilii represents the emperor Tacitus in five guises. The simplicity of Claudius Gothicus' dress was seen, as late as Julian, in his pictures. When Constantine had the statues of Maximian pulled down, his pictures vanished from the walls. Portraits of emperors were commonly seen in private houses. Tacitus (the Emperor) directed that every senator should possess a picture of Aurelian ; the full-length pictures of Alexander Severus in a white garb, which lasted as late as Constantine, must have been in part single portraits. A picture of Trajan fell down at the birth of Alexander Severus in a temple on to his mother's bed and foretold his accession. The likeness of Theodosius the Great to Trajan was confirmed by the pictures of the latter. The 'Royal custom' of having portraits of princesses sent to select brides from (of which Honorius speaks in Claudian) may have originated in the East, and thence spread West. The Jewish princess Alexandra, on Dellius' advice, sent Mark Antony portraits of her two children, the sixteen year old Aristobulus, and Mariamne the wife of Herod, in order that their beauty might induce him to accede to her request (the bestowal of the priesthood on Aristobulus).

In private life portraits were largely painted of persons famous, loved and honoured. A portrait of Flora, a courtesan, famed for her relations with Pompey as a young man, was placed by Metellus Dalmaticus in the Temple of Castor in the Forum, which he restored and decorated with paintings and statues. Atticus' friends at Athens had likenesses of Epicurus in pictures, on goblets and stones in rings. Sopolis

and Dionysius were then the most sought-out portrait painters at Rome, and their pictures, even in Pliny's time, filled the galleries; but Iaia of Cyzicus was considered better for portraits of women. She also painted herself in the mirror. Pliny states that portrait painting gave way to bronze and silver medallions; he refers to the *atria* of the great; the medallions were too expensive to be in general use.

In the later Republic the love of portraits created collections of those sold by the booksellers. Atticus published a collection of portraits of famous Romans with short biographical notes. Varro wrote a long book with 700 portraits of Greeks and Romans (statesmen, generals, poets, authors, learned men, artists, etc.), and, as Pliny says, gave them an omnipresence by his large exports of them to all countries.

Authors' portraits usually accompanied their writings. Seneca speaks of copies of the likenesses, as well as of the works, of famous literary men. Martial's first collection of epigrams was decorated with his portrait, and a small parchment edition of Virgil in a similar manner; philosophical books were distinguished by scrubby heads of hair and beards. According to Galen, painters' eyes suffered from working on white parchment, probably an allusion to these and similar illustrations. Honein, a Nestorian Christian (born *c.* 809) states that all the Greek philosophical works translated by him into Syriac and Arabic contained a portrait of the philosopher at a high desk, with pupils standing in front of him. Libraries were adorned not merely with busts and *hermae*, but with painted portraits of authors. A friend of the Younger Pliny, residing in Upper Italy (in Insubrian territory), was commissioned by him to procure the portraits of Cornelius Nepos and Titus Catius (natives of the district) for another friend's library; Pliny requests that the work may be intrusted to a thoroughly competent artist.

In the larger towns at least only experienced artists received commissions. Martial had his portrait painted for Caecilius Secundus, commander of the forces on the Danube, and for the library of Stertinius Avitus. He also mentions portraits of the tragic poet Memor; of Caesonius Maximus; of Camonius Rufus, who died at the age of twenty; of Marcus Antonius Primus, crowned by him with violets and roses. All these appear to have been half-length. Although Statius did

not know the mother of Claudius Etruscus, he could see from her portrait that her beauty was not exaggerated. Statues of the deceased members of a family were as common as paintings; Pausanias 'never saw Antinous in life, but had seen statues and paintings of him', the latter, chiefly representing him as Dionysus, being especially numerous in his temple at Mantinea. Commodus had his favourite Marcia painted as an Amazon. Judging from her portraits, the mother of the sophist Alexander Peloplaton was extremely beautiful, worthy to be compared with the Helen of Eumelus. In the temple of Artemis at Perga there was a painting of the sophist Varus. Plotinus refused to sit for a painter or sculptor, but Carterius, the most famous painter of his time, attended his lectures and afterwards painted him from memory. The vogue of portrait-painting is shown by Lucian's ridicule of the folly of those (mostly women) who charged the artist 'to take a bit off the nose, or to make the eyes blacker'; and by Plutarch's remark, that painters sacrificed everything to the reproduction of the features as the index of character. A stock subject of the Greek rhetorical schools was the speech of a painter, enamoured of his own portrait of a girl.

The numerous portraits on wood found in the Fayum near Lake Moeris, inserted over the face of mummies, give an excellent idea of the art as practised by Egyptian Greeks. 'Belonging chiefly to the Roman period, these portraits (in encaustic, distemper, or combined) are lifelike and characteristic representations, equal to those of modern times'.

Likenesses set up in public places were of course nearly all plastic. Many such figures, and a far larger number of inscribed pedestals, have been preserved. These remains, supplemented by the statements of contemporaries, enable us to form a conception of the incredible number and variety of such monuments, and to explain their origin. Indeed, an approximate idea of the enormous artistic output of the first two centuries of our era will be best obtained by a consideration of the chief classes of these public or private effigies. In the case of portrait-painting, our information is too scanty.

First and foremost come the busts, medallions and statues of the emperors and of the members of the imperial families. A likeness of the ruling prince, as an object of general cult, was to be seen in every camp and city. The Senate decreed

that there should be a statue of Caesar 'in the cities and in all the temples of Rome'. Augustus limited the worship of his person to the provinces; Tiberius only permitted his statues to be used to decorate the temples, and forbade their being placed amongst the images of the gods. At the beginning of his reign, Caligula issued a similar prohibition, but soon cancelled it; as Josephus says, all the cities of the subject peoples set up his statue by the side of those of the other gods. After the middle of the third century (perhaps even at the beginning of the empire), it was the custom to send laurel-wreathed and (probably) painted likenesses of a new emperor into the provincial cities. Their arrival was announced by sound of trumpet, a long line of soldiers preceded the richly dressed bearer of the effigy, and the people went out to meet him with lights and censers. These imperial effigies, which afforded an asylum for the persecuted (especially slaves), were honoured like the images of the gods, with sacrifices and libations of wine and incense. In the time of Domitian the road that led to the Capitol was overcrowded with the herds of victims intended to honour the hideous effigies of the tyrant with as much blood as he himself had shed. Those who refused to 'adore' were punished for *lèse-majesté*; this was one of the chief causes of the persecutions of the Christians. The heathen worship of the imperial statues lasted far into Christian times, and Theodosius II (in 425) issued a special decree that 'an honour too great for man should be reserved for God'. Any profanation or insult was punished most severely of all, especially in the case of soldiers. As early as 15 A.D. Granius Marcellus, praetor of Bithynia, who had removed the head of Augustus from a statue and replaced it by one of Tiberius, was accused of *majestas* and barely escaped condemnation; soon afterwards, it was considered a capital offence to beat a slave, or change clothes near the statue of Augustus. The jurists of the third century expressly state that no one who melts down dilapidated statues of the emperors is guilty of *majestas*; nor one who repairs a statue, or accidentally hits it with a stone; Severus and Caracalla declared the sale of statues not yet consecrated not a punishable act. Of course, in the case of a consecrated statue, the act was all the more criminal.

The compulsory adoration of the statues of unpopular emperors was followed by their demolition in an outburst of

popular rage at the end of the reign. A striking instance occurred after the death of Domitian. His splendid and colossal monuments were especially numerous on the ascent from the Sacer Clivus to the Palatium, and his statues in silver and gold and of fixed weight, filled not only the Capitol, but (in the words of Dio) nearly the entire empire. At the news of his death, the Senate gave vent to its joy in loud abuse, and further resolved that ladders should be fetched at once, his medallions and statues thrown down, the inscriptions erased, and his memory blotted out. The Younger Pliny, writing four years later, calls the destruction of so many valuable statues an offering to the universal joy. Men delighted in dashing the proud face against the ground, and hacking it with iron and steel, as if their blows could wound and pain. It seemed an act of revenge to gloat over the mutilated trunk and limbs, the sinister and repellent face, as they melted in the flames. This or a similar passage is the origin of the story in Procopius, that Domitian was hewn in pieces, which were collected and put together by his wife as a model for a bronze statue. It was set up on the right of the ascent to the Capitol from the Forum, and, according to Procopius, was the only existing statue of Domitian and bore a striking resemblance to Justinian. The statues of Commodus, Maximin (whose features were painted black) and others were similarly treated; revolts, civil wars, and palace revolutions made such occurrences common to the last days of antiquity. In such cases, as a rule statues were altered instead of being destroyed; according to Jerome, when a tyrant is put to death, his statues and images are thrown down, his head is removed and replaced by that of his victorious rival, to be again removed in turn, while the body remains untouched.

During the first two centuries, however, Domitian seems to have been the only Emperor whose images, except in very few instances, were utterly destroyed. Those of Commodus must have been in part restored. On January 1, 193, the senate with loud acclamations decreed the demolition of the statues 'of the enemy of his country, the murderer, the gladiator', and the erection of a statue of the goddess of Liberty opposite the Curia in place of one representing Commodus as Hercules with bent bow. In 197, the same senate was compelled by Severus to recognize the divinity of Commodus. Na-

turally, consecration gave the statues a longer lease of life, and even led to the erection of new ones. The senate decreed the apotheosis of Caracalla by command of his murderer Macrinus, who ordered the erection of two statues of Severus in triumphal dress, and six of Caracalla (two equestrian, two in military, and two in civilian attire). During the first two centuries Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Domitian were all refused consecration; Nero's veto of the apotheosis of Claudius was removed by Vespasian. But the relatively numerous memorials of them still in existence show clearly that consecration was by no means an indispensable condition of their preservation, although no doubt it most effectually secured it. One of the chief members of the diet of Tarraco, capital of Hither Spain and the centre of the imperial cult, was chosen expressly 'to keep the statues of the deified Hadrian in repair'. A number of statues of the early emperors on certain properties acquired by the younger Pliny were carefully preserved by him. During Nerva's reign he had intended to build a temple for them at Como, but the plan was not carried out; in 101 he again received permission from Trajan to remove them to Como, and to add that prince's statue to the number. The ever increasing list of deified emperors and empresses (to the consecration of Caracalla twenty emperors and six empresses, to the time of Constantine or Julian perhaps thirty-six or thirty-seven divine personages), revised for monumental or religious purposes, tended also to increase the number of such memorials. Thus, at Rome, Domitian built a colonnade, the Emperor Tacitus a temple, of the deified emperors, and Alexander Severus placed their colossal statues in the Forum of Nerva. Sometimes a general feeling of reverence, unconnected with the official cult, led to the preservation and renewal of imperial images. With pious devotion the Roman world offered prayers to the glorified image of Marcus Aurelius, and for more than a century after his death his statue was to be seen amongst the household gods. At the beginning of a new reign, the imperial images were set up without delay in every city and camp; this created a demand throughout Italy and the provinces for sculptors and painters, who perhaps formed part of the regular suite of governors, generals, and highly placed officials. Galba did not start from Spain till he heard of Nero's death (January 8, 68), yet

at the time of his murder (January 15, 69) his images were to be seen 'in all the municipal towns'; Vitellius did not arrive in Upper Italy till the end of May (69), but before the battle of Cremona (end of the year) we read of his images being thrown down in the naval camp at Ravenna. Even on his march from Cologne by way of Lyons to Italy, before he reached Vienne, equestrian statues were erected in his honour in several places, the collapse of which was regarded as an evil portent. The erection of a statue to the younger Faustina at Olympia cannot have been decided upon until her father had been adopted by Hadrian as his co-regent and successor (i.e. after February 25, 138); the inscription on the pedestal (still extant) must have been added before the news of the death of Hadrian at Baiae (July 10, in the same year) reached Greece. The two Gordians reigned at most thirty-six days; immediately after the proclamation of the elder the cities of Africa were full of his statues and images. Pupienus and Balbinus reigned three months (April to July, 238). When Maximin was murdered before Aquileia at the beginning of May, his images and statues were thrown down, and his soldiers compelled to worship those of the 'senatorial emperors'; in a letter to Pupienus and Balbinus the consul Claudius Julianus congratulates the legions and auxiliaries, 'who adore your images throughout the empire'. Artists in the camps, whose business it was to renovate the medallions of emperors and others, often used to decorate the colours, and could be employed for other purposes; thus, numerous statues of Alexander the Great were set up by order of Caracalla.

Statues and images of the ruling prince were found throughout the empire, and were especially numerous in all the more important places. As a rule, they served for the adornment of public places and buildings (governmental, administrative, and legal). In his *Apologia* delivered before the proconsul Claudius Maximus at Sabrata (Tripoli), Apuleius expresses his disgust that, 'in the presence of the statues of the emperor Pius', a son should charge his mother with disgraceful conduct. They may have been set up by governors and government officials in such places; but rural and provincial corporations and all flourishing communities were also obliged to render homage in this manner, sometimes at enormous expense. Thus, in the first year of Caligula's reign, a special

embassy was sent to announce the honours decreed him by the provincial diet of Achaëa (the pan-hellenic synod). Among other things, it had been decided to erect a large number of statues, but Caligula would only allow four to be set up where the sacred games took place (Olympia, Delphi, Nemea, the isthmus of Corinth). Statues were doubtless most numerous and most esteemed in those provincial capitals, where the temple was the centre of the imperial cult, in which all the communities took part. In Egypt, to defray the cost of erecting imperial statues in all the temples, a kind of poll-tax, called a 'statue tax', was imposed upon the people.

Private individuals also were obliged to show their loyalty in this way, especially at Rome. During the age of the Antonines, the imperial images were to be seen everywhere, 'in the money-changers' offices, in the shops and workshops, under the eaves, in the vestibules, and at the windows'. Certainly, as a rule they were badly painted, or coarsely modelled; but those in wealthy and distinguished houses were no doubt of superior workmanship. Further, in the larger cities, it was by no means uncommon for private individuals to set up statues of the emperors in public.

Perhaps Hadrian was the emperor in whose honour most monuments were erected in the provinces, especially in Greece, the special recipient of his favours. His statues were set up by communities, cantons, and corporations in various places—Delphi, Olympia, Thebes, Syros, Coronea, and Samothrace—but especially in Athens. Each of the thirteen cuneiform sections of the theatre of Dionysus contained a statue of Hadrian, all, with the exception of one (the large one of the emperor as archon), erected by the twelve *phylae* (tribes) of Attica after the celebration of the Dionysia in the spring of 126. Pausanias mentions two more, in the Ceramicus and in the Parthenon. But the temple of Olympian Zeus, completed and dedicated by Hadrian in 129, and its immediate neighbourhood contained the greatest number. Before the façades there were probably four statues of the imperial architect, two in Thasian and two in Egyptian marble; in front of the columns of the colonnades that ran round the building were statues from beyond the seas, in bronze, others from Greek towns, and others given by private individuals. Numerous pedestals and inscriptions still survive. All, however, were surpassed

by 'a colossal statue well worth seeing', set up by the Athenians behind the temple. If it is true that the Athenians erected 360 statues of Demetrius of Phalerum, those of Hadrian at Athens which are known to us must have formed only a small proportion of the whole. He had far greater claim on their gratitude, and the expense was far less than 450 years earlier.

But, in spite of the rivalry between provinces and towns, eager to testify their loyalty and attachment, the number and magnificence of the imperial statues must have been greatest in Rome itself. Augustus, in the *Marmor Ancyranum*, states that about eighty silver statues (full length, in a chariot, and equestrian) had been erected to him in Rome by states and individuals, all of which he had melted down, to defray the expenses of the golden offerings, chiefly tripods, deposited in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine in his own name and in that of the founders. Although it may seem incredible to us, his full-length bronze and marble statues must have been reckoned during his lifetime by hundreds at Rome, by myriads throughout the Empire. During the growth of the monarchy, the spirit of servility, purposely kept in check by Augustus, had not reached its height; yet none of his successors obtained such homage as he, the saviour of the world and founder of the new régime. Certainly the length of his reign (44 years) may account for the number of his monuments being greater than those of any other emperor.

Compared with the Roman empire, the territory governed by the first Napoleon and his dependent princes was insignificant; his person was never the object of a religious cult, and the consequently limited demand for representations of it was fully met by drawings and reproductions; nevertheless, in the three years from 1809 to 1812, about 1,500 busts of him after Chaudet were turned out from Carrara.

In the first centuries of our era, imperial likenesses were only exceptionally old ones altered or renamed; since (as Dio of Prusa says) those who were to be honoured would have considered it an insult rather than an act of homage. Instances, however, were known in Greece during Republican times. Cicero (in 50 B.C.) speaks of forged inscriptions on foreign statues; two colossal statues of Eumenes and Attalus at Athens were renamed as those of Mark Antony. A statue seen by Pausanias before the temple of Hera at Mycenae and

according to the inscription intended for Augustus, was identified locally as Orestes. But this is the only other known instance of renaming a foreign statue after one of the earlier emperors. Certainly, after 15 A.D. few artists, for the sake of gain or economy, would have ventured on anything of the kind even secretly, since discovery would have laid them open to the charge of *majestas*. The Rhodians, who were very lavish in bestowing statues (as a rule simply altered or renamed), were reproached by Dio in a lengthy oration for their unworthy conduct, which was the more inexcusable, as they continually set up new statues, especially of emperors and highly placed officials. His remark that there would be no reason to reproach them, if they treated all alike 'with the exception of the emperors', shows that he considered such transformations to be entirely inadmissible in their case. Philo says that the Alexandrians desecrated all the synagogues which they could not destroy, by placing in them images of Caligula. In the largest they set up a bronze statue in a rusty, damaged four-horsed chariot from the gymnasium, formerly dedicated to some Cleopatra. 'It is evident that this substitution exposed its authors to the risk of a serious accusation, even if it had been a new chariot dedicated to a woman, or an old one dedicated to a man, since it was originally intended for some one else than the emperor. Ought not those who erected such a monument in his honour to have done all they could to prevent his hearing of it, seeing that he attached such importance to everything that concerned his person?' But the alteration of heads and inscriptions does not seem to have been common in the early empire even in the case of other monuments; it was most frequent in the Greek towns, where there was a large stock of old statues. Not merely are the known instances isolated cases, but Dio (in the oration already referred to), while rebuking the Rhodians for the bad habit which had 'for some time' been gaining ground amongst them, declares that other cities, less wealthy or even poor, such as Athens, Sparta, Byzantium, and Mytilene, were completely free from it. This would seem to show that Rhodes was the only place in Greece where such practices were common; Rhodian statues, like actors, were said to be continually changing their rôle.

The same applies in great measure to the images of the em-

presses and the heirs to the throne, and even to other members of the imperial household. During the sojourn of Tiberius at Rhodes in disgrace, after his quarrel with Gaius Caesar, the inhabitants of Nîmes threw down his statues and images, from which we may conclude that there were statues of him in all the larger towns, especially those which (like Nîmes) were connected with the imperial house. At the news of the death of Gaius and Lucius Caesar, Pisa (whose patron Lucius was) ordered the erection of an arch decorated with the spoils of the peoples he had conquered, with a statue of himself in triumphal robes, and on either side gilded equestrian statues of both. After the death of Aelius Verus, his destined successor, Hadrian ordered temples to be built in his honour in certain cities, and 'colossal statues' to be erected throughout the empire. It is well known that Antinous was represented in painting and sculpture in nearly all the provinces.

The highest functionaries were honoured in the same way, especially the declared favourites of the emperor. When Sejanus was at the height of his power, senators, knights, tribes, and the greatest men of Rome erected so many statues in his honour, that (as Cassius Dio says) no one could tell their number, especially after Tiberius, in accordance with a resolution of the senate, had ordered a full-length bronze statue of him for the theatre of Pompey. As a rule, the images and statues of the emperor and his *alter ego* were placed side by side, even in the camps (except in that of the army of Syria); and Tiberius allowed the images of his favourite to be worshipped in the generals' quarters, the *fora*, and the theatres. His sudden downfall in the year 31 was the signal for the destruction of all these monuments. His statues (says Juvenal) were torn down from their pedestals by means of ropes, and dragged in the mire. The wheels of the two-horsed chariots and the legs of the innocent horses were shattered by the axe; soon, the head but lately worshipped by the people melted and crackled in the flames; the colossal statue was consumed; the face, once the second in the empire, was made into pots, pans, basins, and chamber-pots. Plautianus, the favourite of Severus, experienced the same fate. According to Dio, his statues, set up by the senate as well as by private individuals, were larger and more numerous than those of the emperors, even in Rome. This aroused Severus' suspicion;

after Plautianus' fall, 'his statues were thrown down throughout the Empire'.

If only a few were honoured by statues throughout the empire, they were bestowed upon an incredibly large number in definite districts or single towns. It was the usual way for provincials to show respect for those who possessed or might possess the power to benefit or injure them, especially the governors, to whom, even in the last days of the republic, it was the custom to build temples. Cicero, when proconsul of Cilicia, refused 'statues, temples, four-horsed chariots (τέθριππα)'; on the other hand, Verres compelled the Sicilian communities to erect a large number of statues to himself, his father, and his son (then a mere boy); there were so many of them in Syracuse, that he seemed to have set up as many as he took away. Gilded equestrian statues of him, the expenses of which were defrayed by Roman merchants, the cultivators of public lands, and the Sicilian community, were also to be seen in Rome. The terrible rule of the provincial satraps was no doubt greatly restricted, but never entirely abolished by the monarchy; the inhabitants were still compelled, directly or indirectly, to honour their tyrants and spoilers by memorials, the refusal of which was a tacit accusation. According to Dio, the Rhodians excused the practice referred to above by the plea that they were obliged to honour so many officials, not only on their merits, but because of their power. They feared them all, and believed their liberty in danger, if they neglected to erect a bronze statue to each. 'If you really have to fawn upon each new arrival like dogs, or to risk incurring wrath and hatred, then', says Dio, 'you are in evil plight'.

Distinguished Romans who held no official position, and even ladies, were honoured by statues, especially in Greece; as is shown by numerous inscriptions of the early empire on pedestals in Athens. The more indispensable was it for cities and provinces to show their gratitude for actual benefits received, above all, for protection and patronage (the *patronatus*). In Sicily, equestrian statues of the Marcelli, as patrons of the island, were seen in all the *fora*. The hero of the Apuleian romance, who belonged to a distinguished Thessalian family, was held up to public ridicule in Hypata; the magistrates apologized, and announced that the city had chosen him for its *patronus* and had resolved to set up his image in bronze.

Subordinate official and semi-official positions entitled their holders to this honour. Flavius Sabinus, the father of Vespasian, who had been one of the farmers of the *quadragesima* (tax of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on imported goods) in Asia, was honoured by statues and laudatory inscriptions. Titus, when military tribune in Germany and Britain, had gained a reputation for energy and moderation, 'as is shown by the number of statues and images with inscriptions in both provinces'. Lucius Licinius Secundus, the attendant (*accensus*) of the powerful Lucius Licinius Sura in his three consulships (98, 102, 107), had at least thirteen statues in Barcelona, three of which were erected by Spanish town councils. When monumental honours were so lavishly bestowed, real distinction entailed enormous expense; Apuleius says, in praise of the consular Aemilianus Strabo (consul 156), that all the provinces congratulated themselves on setting up in his honour four and six-in-hands, surmounted by his statue.

Real or imaginary services of individuals to the community were generally rewarded in the same manner throughout the empire. The use of portrait statues, at first rare, was subsequently adopted, says Pliny, by the whole world under the influence of a philanthropic ambition; the *fora* of all the *municipia* were adorned with statues; thus the memory of men of merit was handed down to posterity and their honours recorded for all time on pedestals, not merely on their tombs. Thousands of pedestals with Greek and Roman inscriptions bear witness to this. There were more portrait statues of deserving citizens, patrons and protectors of the city in Pompeii than in any modern capital. In addition to five colossal statues of emperors and members of the imperial house, 70-80 places were reserved in the Forum for life-size equestrian statues, and behind each a place for a full-length statue. The entrance-hall of the *macellum* (provision market) contained twenty-five statues, the open space of the temple of the Lares eight, the entrance-hall of the building of Eumachia twenty-one. The average number of statues in second-rate towns was just as large. In a double portico (beginning of the second century) at Termessus in Pisidia forty-six bases of statues of men and women have been found, which stood in front of or between the columns (twenty-six of victors in athletic contests, fifteen of officials, priests and priestesses). It was no

uncommon thing for traffic to be hindered by the number of statues in the *fora*, as at Cirta (where one was stolen). Ambition and municipal patriotism, as already observed, combined with due regard to public opinion to stimulate wealthy and distinguished persons to render services to their communities. The latter, on their part, were proud to point to the numerous monuments as evidence that it was esteemed an honour to make sacrifices for them, and that they were in a position to reward their benefactors and decorate their city at the same time. It was almost impossible for a wealthy and distinguished family to live in an important town for any length of time without earning the honour of a statue. Dio boasts that his ancestors, his father (for a long time president of his native city), his brothers and other relatives had been honoured with many statues, public funerals, athletic games held near their graves, and other distinctions; his mother had not only a full-length statue, but also a temple.

As a rule, investiture with certain high offices only accessible to the provincial aristocracy (such as the chief priesthood), carried with it the honour of a statue. By a law which has recently become known, when the priests at Narbo retired from office, it was proposed by their successor (and probably resolved by the provincial diet) that they should be allowed to set up statues themselves. Numerous pedestals of such statues have been found at Tarraco and Lugdunum, all (at Lugdunum) or for the most part (fifty-two out of about seventy at Tarraco) set up, not by the priests themselves, but by the province, more rarely by native communities or relatives on the resolution of the diet. In Spain the honour was extended to the priestesses who shared their husband's dignity.

A statement of the services most frequently rewarded in this manner in Italy and the provinces will give an idea of the extent of the practice. They consisted chiefly in expenditure of money and personal exertions for the benefit of the city—the erection of useful and ornamental buildings; donations for various purposes (the purchase of corn in time of dearth); but above all banquets (on single occasions or yearly) to the citizens, accompanied by a distribution of money; spectacles of all kinds (especially wild beast and gladiatorial combats); lastly, voluntary missions to emperors and governors, at the expense of the envoys. Distinguished teachers also had a

right to the honour—world-famous professors of eloquence, who attracted crowds of pupils from distant lands, and even modest school-teachers (at least after death) if they had obtained a reputation for learning. On the capitol at Beneventum there was a seated statue of Orbilius Pupillus (the teacher of Horace, who died in a garret at the age of a hundred), in a Greek cloak with two book-cases by his side ; at Praeneste, one of Marcus Verrius Flaccus, surmounting his calendar graven on marble tablets in the Forum. Native and foreign literary works, at least in Greece, were similarly rewarded, sometimes too generously. According to Dio of Prusa, the Athenians erected the statue of an absolutely insignificant poet (perhaps the improviser Quintus Pompeius Capito) by the side of that of Menander. At Halicarnassus the tragic poet Gaius Julius Longianus of Aphrodisias (lived under Hadrian), who 'had delighted the older and benefited the younger citizens' by his poetical recitals, was honoured by several bronze busts, set up in the most frequented places—the sanctuary of the Muses and the gymnasium of the Ephebi—'by the side of old Herodotus' ; his writings were accorded a place in the public libraries ; and the company of Dionysiac artists had his portrait painted full length, to be set up wherever he pleased in his native place. The poet Maximus of Apamea had a statue in Cyzicus, where he had twice gained the prize in a poetical contest. Naturally, native celebrities, especially artists of all kinds, had precedence over foreign. Thus, at Ostia, an athlete or musician, who had gained prizes in all parts of the world, 'for his distinguished skill and devotion to his native town' ; at Praeneste, Marcus Aurelius Agilius Septentrio, the first pantomime of his age, 'for his remarkable devotion to his fellow-citizens and native town'. The same honour was also frequently bestowed on women. Further, statues were erected to the dead, even to little children, to console and honour their relatives, especially parents. At Brixia (Brescia) the town council decreed a gilded statue to a boy, who died at the age of six years, two months and five days, to console his father. Monuments of this kind were so common in Cicero's time that he looked upon them as a sign of the extravagance of the age. A still higher distinction was a statue on a two-horsed chariot (*biga*). The citizens of Praeneste asked that a 'patron' of the town, a member of the

equestrian order, who had provided gladiatorial shows lasting two days, might be so honoured ; but the town council would only grant an equestrian statue. The inhabitants of Panhormus (Palermo) urgently demanded a considerable number of statues on *bigae* for an imperial *curator* of the *kalendaria* (books containing the names of persons to whom public money had been lent on interest), but he was satisfied with two and (probably) three equestrian statues.

To enhance the honour, several statues were erected to the same person, e.g., by the Athenians to their wealthy fellow-citizen and epic poet Julius Nicanor (lived under Augustus), who had redeemed the island of Salamis, which they had been obliged to mortgage or sell. Inscriptions describe him as a 'second Homer' and a 'second Themistocles'. In the time of the Antonines one Publius Lucilius Gamala was honoured by two bronze statues (one gilded) for his numerous gifts to Ostia. Artemidorus, the son of Augustus' friend Theopompus, received in his native city (Cnidus) 'three marble, three golden, and three bronze busts', in addition to a golden bust in the temple of Artemis. At Aphrodisias it was decided to set up for some one unknown 'gilded portrait medallions and bronze and marble statues in the temples and such public places as he himself might select'. The town council of Calama in Numidia decreed five statues to a priestess, who had been exceedingly generous to the town. Similarly, the community of Cirta offered a number of statues of Sosia Falconilla after her death to her father Quintus Pompeius Sosius Priscus, who only accepted one. The number five in the two last instances is to be explained by the fact that two of the ten *curiae*, into which the citizens in African towns were divided, combined to defray the cost of a statue. At Hippo Regius in Numidia, however, each *curia* erected a statue at its own expense in the villa of a *flamen* of Augustus and chief magistrate, in return for a magnificent gladiatorial show and other services ; and similar instances occur in other African towns. In other provinces, each district (*vicus*) did the same, e.g., at Alexandria Troas, where there were ten of them ; as early as the time of Sulla, all the districts set up statues to the popular Marius Gratidianus, which were pulled down by order of Sulla after his terrible murder. According to an inscription of about the time of Claudius found in Aventicum (Avenches), the community of the Helvetii ordered

statues of a certain Gaius Valerius Camillus to be set up, for itself and for the individual cantons. In a similar manner all the twelve *phylae* of Attica showed their gratitude to Tiberius Claudius Atticus for a general entertainment, an honour hitherto only bestowed on the Emperor Hadrian.

Very frequently, if not as a rule, the recipients of the honour paid for the cost of the statue. The frequent occurrence in inscriptions of the formula, 'content with the honour, he has defrayed the cost', makes it certain that a promise to that effect was required in very many cases before the statues were decreed. Quite exceptionally, the recipient allowed the necessary sum to be collected, which he subsequently reimbursed. At Forum Sempronii (Fossombrone) the town council on one occasion secretly voted and presented a finished statue, that it might not be refused a second time out of modesty. In Greece, relatives often defrayed the expense.

In the second century, the foreigners most frequently distinguished were poets and wandering professors of eloquence (sophists). Thus, there were statues of Aristides in several places, one at Smyrna set up by Alexandria, Hermopolis magna, Antinoë, and the Greeks of the Delta. A statue of the author of a speech attributed to Dio of Prusa in the public library at Corinth soon afterwards disappeared. Apuleius, in thanking the town council of Carthage for a statue voted by that body, mentions that he had already received the honour in other places; and that even in second-rate towns the money for the bronze and the services of the artist had always been forthcoming. When the philosopher Demonax visited Olympia, the Eleans voted him a bronze statue; but he refused it, since it would have been a censure on their ancestors, who had not done so in the case of Socrates and Antisthenes. The emperor Aurelian saw many images of Apollonius of Tyana in the temples. The philosopher Flavius Archippus, convicted of forgery in Bithynia under Domitian, had often been honoured by a statue—a distinction frequently bestowed upon philosophers as late as the time of Severus. Heraclitus of Rhodopolis in Lycia, a physician and medical writer of the first century A.D., was honoured with a gilded bust and 'the statue for scientific culture' (such as was usually erected to authors and learned men) by his native place, and also by the communities of Alexandria, Rhodes and Athens, by the Areopagus, the

Epicurean philosophers, and the 'sacred' association of theatrical artists.

In the *municipia* this honour was usually decreed in the name of the town by the whole body of citizens or by the town council ; in Rome, up to the time of Diocletian, by the Senate. After the death of Lucilius Longus, one of the oldest and most intimate friends of Tiberius, in 23, the Senate decreed him a statue at the public expense in the Forum of Augustus ; 'for at that time', says Tacitus, 'everything was still managed by the Senate'. Caligula's edict, that no image or statue of a living person should be set up without his express permission, abolished the privilege of the Senate ; Claudius, however, reaffirmed it, since (in 45) he even made the erection of statues by private individuals dependent upon that body ; permission was only given to those who had erected a public building at their own expense, or to their kinsmen. Hitherto every one had been allowed to set up his image publicly, painted or in stone and brass. The result was that Rome was overcrowded with personal memorials, which Claudius remedied by redistribution. Yet the erection of statues in temples (e.g., of Antonius Musa, Augustus' physician, by voluntary contributions, in the temple of Aesculapius) was probably permitted to private persons as before.

As the Senate always voted this honour by agreement with, if not by direct command of, the emperors, the erection of statues was also ascribed to the latter. Cassius Dio says of Tiberius, that he honoured many after their death with statues. As a rule, the living, with the exception of the members of the imperial house, were not so honoured ; in the case of the dead, both senate and emperors were lavish. Under Nerva, Vestricius Cottius, who died very young ; under Marcus Aurelius, the most distinguished victims of the plague and the nobles who had fallen in the Marcomannic war, all received statues (the latter in the Forum of Trajan). On the accession of a new emperor his deceased relatives generally received statues. Under Caligula, Claudius narrowly escaped being deprived of the consulship (in 37), because he had been remiss in setting up the statues of the emperor's deceased brothers, Nero and Drusus (died 30). In 54 Nero solicited from the Senate a statue for his father, Gnaeus Domitius. Antoninus Pius 'accepted from the Senate the statues of

his father, mother, grandparents, and brothers, who were then all dead'. Marcus Aurelius even honoured his parents' friends after their death in this manner, and Severus his deceased relatives, his parents, his grandfather, and his first wife.

The honour was sometimes, however, bestowed upon the living, as by Trajan upon his valued friends Sosius Senecio, Cornelius Palma, and Publius Celsus. Marcus Aurelius demanded a statue for Junius Rusticus, his teacher in philosophy, after his death, and for Fronto, his instructor in eloquence, during his lifetime. On his and his co-regent Commodus' proposal the Senate voted three statues to Marcus Bassaeus Rufus, praefect of the praetorian guard: a gilded one in the Forum of Trajan, another in civilian dress in the temple of Pius, a third in a coat of mail in that of Mars Ultor. Statues were also military rewards. Thus, Ammianus Marcellinus saw the statues of the leaders of a daring sally from the town of Amida in Armenia (Diarbekir), which had been set up by order of Constantius in a busy part of Edessa.

At Rome, especially, the *fora* and their colonnades, the chief temples and their forecourts were full of statues, the old Forum and the forecourt of the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol even in republican times. Owing to want of room, a number of them were removed by Augustus to the Campus Martius. Up to the time of Trajan the triumphal statues decreed by the Senate were set up on the Forum of Augustus; afterwards, on Trajan's own Forum, which from the time of the Antonines became 'the centre of splendour and distinction', as is shown by numerous pedestals (extending to the sixth century) which have been found there. The rare honour of a statue on the Palatine was voted by the Senate to Lucius Otho (father of the Emperor Otho) for the discovery of a plot to murder Claudius. There, also, 'above the triumphal statues of the Forum', Nero in 65 had the statues of Nerva (afterwards emperor) and Tigellinus set up. By a resolution of the Senate Sejanus received a statue in the theatre of Pompey, for having checked the spread of a fire that broke out in it in the year 22. Passienus Crispus, distinguished as an advocate in centumviral processes, had a statue in the Basilica Julia.

The life-size statues of the chief Vestals stood in the peristyle of the house of the Vestals round the columned hall;

sixteen of them are preserved entire or in fragments, besides thirty pedestals with inscriptions, twenty-seven belonging to the period from the third to the eightieth year of the fourth century. These solemn and touching memorials were erected by priestly colleges and individual priests, by near relatives (brothers and sisters and their families), by subordinates, freedmen, and others who owed a debt of gratitude to the chief vestals. Old statues must from time to time have been removed to make room for new, especially as several were set up to the same person (e.g., seven to Flavia Publicia about 250 A.D.).

Although not so often mentioned, we cannot be sure that memorials of private persons, erected by colleges (guilds, religious and other associations) to their male and female patrons, and by soldiers to their commanders, were less numerous than public ones. At Palmyra in the second and third century it was customary for merchants travelling by caravan to set up a statue to the leader of the caravan (*συνοδιάρχης*), if he performed his duty satisfactorily. About 150 A.D., the large number of memorials of stage artists, musicians, athletes, and chariot drivers in circus costume, set up by their admirers and the different 'factions', and of pantomimes amongst the images of the gods astonished the stranger. Nero compelled the aged tragedian, Pammenes, to compete with him, so that he might insult his statue after he had gained the victory. Famous athletes were honoured with bronze statues in many places, chiefly presented by their associations; in Greece they often formed part of the prize; the victor at the Spartan Leonidea received 100 *drachmae* for a bust.

In private life a statue or bust was a favourite way of showing friendship, respect, or gratitude. Pupils thus honoured their teachers, patients their physicians, accused persons (on acquittal) their advocates, clients and freedmen their patrons (in their *atria*, according to the Elder Pliny), hosts their distinguished guests. The chief Vestal Campia Severina (third century) received a statue from a man who was indebted to her for admission to the equestrian order and military promotion; and from another, who had been appointed chief administrator of the funds of the imperial libraries on her recommendation. The friends of Decimus Junius Melinus, the first *eques* from Cartima in Baetica, ordered his statue to

be set up there during his lifetime ; he died before its completion, and his mother carried out the work at her own expense. Of the thirteen statues of Lucius Licinius Secundus (see p. 288) at Barcelona one was set up by the *seviri* of the *augustales*, of whom he was one ; another by a college ; two by individual *seviri* ; four by friends ; one by a freedman. Even high officials thus showed their respect to their inferiors. Apuleius is profuse in his gratitude to the consular Aemilianus Strabo, who had written to the common council at Carthage that he intended to erect a statue to Apuleius in that city.

Lastly, it was usual at all times for private persons to erect their own statues during their lifetime, at Rome (before the year 45) even in public places. After that date permission had to be given by the senate, and in other places by the common council, who also assigned the site. In a town in the south of Spain the common council, in addition to a public banquet (*cenae publicae*) gave a lifelong *Augustalis* a site for the statues of himself, his wife and children. Of course, any one could set up whatever memorials he pleased on his own property. In his garden on the further side of the Tiber Regulus had covered a large extent of ground with immense colonnades and the bank of the river with his statues ; according to his bitter enemy Pliny the Younger, he was at once avaricious and extravagant, a blackguard and a braggart. When his son died quite young in 104, he had a large number of statues and likenesses of him executed in all the workshops, in colours, encaustic, bronze, silver, gold, ivory, and marble. Claudius Etruscus (in Statius) declares his intention of immortalizing the features of his father, who died full of years, in 'bright stone', ivory, and gold, and on tablets with coloured wax.

The public and private memorials of the dead, painted or carved, far outnumbered those of the living. Herodes Atticus honoured his deceased wife Annia Regilla with numerous monuments, and his foster-sons Achilles and Polydeuces (died after 130) with marble statues 'in fields and thickets, by the side of springs and under shady plane trees', representing them hunting, making ready for or resting from the chase. Inscriptions (some of which are preserved) pronounced a curse on whosoever should mutilate or remove them. Monuments to the dead, some of them combined with burial at the public

expense, often adorned their graves. Wills often contained directions as to such monuments ; thus, a *duumvir* of Brixia ordered seven statues with pedestals to be set up to himself, his son, and five other persons. One of the inhabitants of a North African town bequeathed a sum of money to the community ; the interest was to be distributed every year on his birthday and every seventh year devoted to defraying the cost (32,000 sesterces, £348) of the erection of his statue. In a city of Southern Spain, a woman left instructions that a statue should be erected to her at a cost of 8,000 sesterces (£87) ; it was to be adorned with various trinkets ; the exact number of the (golden) links and pearls for each row was given ; her son spent 7,000 sesterces on silver bracelets set with precious stones and a jasper ring. A wealthy man in the Langres district ordered a two-storeyed mausoleum to be erected, the upper storey forming an *exedra* to contain two statues of the deceased, one (sitting) ' of the best marble from over sea (Greek)', the other of the best bronze of the second class (*aes tabulare*, used for public notices), at least five feet high. In front of the structure an altar, ' carved in the best style from the best Carrara marble', was to contain the remains of the testator. Trimalchio in Petronius orders a statue with a little dog, with wreaths and unguents on the ground ; on his right a statue of his wife, a dove in her hand, and a little dog on a lead. Domitian's secretary, the freedman Abascantus, built a palatial tomb for his wife Priscilla, in which she was represented in the likeness of different goddesses, as Ceres and Ariadne in bronze, as Maia and Venus Casta in marble. Representations according to life were, however, the rule. Many of the extant portrait statues and busts belong to sepulchral monuments. The wanderer approaching a large city was greeted on either side of the highway by long rows of bronze and marble effigies of men and women of earlier generations.

Admirers frequently erected monuments to distinguished men of earlier times. Thus Caracalla set up ' in every city ' images and statues of Alexander the Great, alone or in company with his own (especially on the Capitol in Rome and in temples elsewhere), of Sulla, and of Hannibal.

Painting and the plastic art were employed till the last days of antiquity in the production of personal memorials. At the end of the fourth century, Ammianus Marcellinus

mentions the desire of immortalizing themselves by ostentatious effigies (especially bronze statues) as characteristic of the Roman nobles. The rhetor Marius Victorinus, Claudian, and Apollinaris Sidonius were all honoured with statues in the Forum of Trajan; and Ausonius says that, if he were to have the emperor's letter, containing his nomination to the consulship, posted up everywhere, he would be honoured by as many statues as there were pages in it. Standing images were erected at Rome as late as the reign of Zeno (some of Theodoric, which Rusticiana ordered to be pulled down). The most prominent of the numerous statues of Justinian at Constantinople was the colossal equestrian statue of bronze in the Augusteum, holding a sphere and cross in the left hand, the right being extended towards the East with a gesture of command.

(c) *Religious Art*

A third and enormously productive branch of art, which satisfied a widespread need of the entire Roman world, was the religious. For purposes of worship practically plastic art alone was requisitioned; painting and mosaic were employed merely in the decoration of the holy places. The nature, strength, and universality of belief in the gods inseparably connected with the worship of images, will be discussed later. None of the more important figures of the Greco-Roman religious system had lost their sanctity, and, on the other hand, the cult of numerous foreign (especially oriental) gods had spread over the empire, thus increasing the number of divine personages. Various influences, however, increased or diminished the reputation and spread of the cult of individual divinities. The marked preference of certain emperors for certain cults, as that of Augustus for Apollo, of Domitian for Minerva, of Commodus for Isis and Hercules, of Severus for Hercules and Bacchus, was bound to have its effect; the worship of the god distinguished by the emperor became the fashion, and his images multiplied in proportion. It is quite impossible to form an idea of the enormous number of the images of the gods which must have accumulated in the temples in the larger towns. The legend that there were a hundred idols on the Capitol at Trèves is by no means astonishing or incredible.

Donations and foundations for religious purposes, but

especially gifts of images, were the favourite methods of worshipping the gods and soliciting their favour. These images were set up not only in temples, but as ornaments in public places and buildings. According to the Elder Pliny, the inhabitants of Clermont, the capital of the Arverni, erected a colossal Mercury, which took ten years to make, and for which the artist alone received 400,000 sesterces (£4,350). The accidental mention of this fact enables us to form an idea of the money spent even in the provinces on the images of the gods. Made of all sizes and materials and of varying excellence, they employed thousands of workshops throughout the empire. There were doubtless numerous artists in special lines, such as the makers of *genii*,¹ whose shops and factories were situated behind the temple of Castor at Rome.

Near all the more important temples there were probably colonies of artists and artisans, who enabled pious visitors from all parts to show their reverence for the deity by offerings and presents (images, ex-votos, votive tablets), and furnished sacred souvenirs to be taken home; the services of these artists would also be utilized for repairs and decorations. Paintings and bronze and silver statues of the new god Glycon, in the form of a snake with human face, exhibited by Alexander of Abonuteichos to his faithful followers, were to be procured in Paphlagonia and the neighbouring districts. Demetrius the silversmith of Ephesus made models of the temple of the great Artemis, and copies of the famous statue of the goddess herself must have been on sale at various prices. A dealer in ivory wares, mentioned in an inscription found near the temple of Feronia at the foot of Soracte, may have retailed such souvenirs to pilgrims. The clay idols of Aphrodite of Cnidus were supposed to work miracles on the sea; as early as the beginning of the seventh century B.C. it was said that a ship from Naucratis during a fearful storm was saved by an antique statuette of Aphrodite, belonging to one of the passengers, who had bought it in Paphos. Clay figurines of the Cyprian goddess, some sitting, others standing (sometimes with a child in her arms), partly in the strict archaic style, have been found in different places on the island, also in Athens, Syria, Bagdad, the Crimea, and other places.

¹ CIL, vi, 363.9, 177, where, however, Henzen reads *argentarii* (silver workers) for *geniarii*.

Thus, the task imposed upon the arts by Roman culture was threefold : to provide believers with images of the divinity in suitably decorated sanctuaries ; to perpetuate the memory of persons and events ; to brighten and adorn the abodes of both living and dead. Each of these needs was deeply rooted in Roman civilization as developed by the requirements of universal empire, which spread them gradually over the subject world. Art, which alone could fulfil those requirements, followed civilization to the farthest limits of the immense empire.

This has been sufficiently shown by the facts already stated. But no amount of facts would enable us to form a clear idea of this enormous productivity of the arts, which lasted for centuries without intermission, over an area of more than 100,000 square miles. Artistic needs and the activities evoked by them are only known to us moderns as comparatively rare, isolated, and closely restricted phenomena. The need of art, which filled a whole world and perished with Roman civilization itself, remains to a certain extent incomprehensible to us ; the fact that it was really completely satisfied appears fabulous, in spite of irrefutable testimony. The imagination is bewildered by the attempt to estimate the exuberance of works of art of all kinds produced every year in thousands of towns, ever accumulating in still greater numbers in spite of attempts at destruction.

The discovery of buried cities has certainly afforded us a glimpse of this vanished artistic splendour of the Roman world ; and although it has only shown us a diminutive and mutilated portion of the whole, its value is inestimable. These remains create the impression that wealth so lavishly scattered must have been practically inexhaustible. There is no reason to assume that Herculaneum and Pompeii were in any way superior to other cities of Italy in artistic adornment ; on the contrary, everything tends to show that they only represented the average. In the fifteenth century, Ostia was an inexhaustible mine of antiques ; a Florentine of the period was amazed at the number of statues, sarcophagi, mosaics and ruins. Nine years' excavations at Aricia (1787-1796) revealed the greater part of the splendid collection of sculptures made by Cardinal Despuig of Palma in Majorca. Also, works like the Jupiter of Otricoli and the Minerva of Velletri justify us in

assuming that even second-rate towns were richly adorned. In wealth and magnificence they were far surpassed by important cities, such as Capua, Bononia, and Ravenna, and places like Antium (specially distinguished in this respect), which in their turn were left far behind by Rome.

We possess some numerical details of the works of art in Rome. These are furnished partly by statistical notices at the end of a fourth century description of the city (*Curiosum*), based upon a carelessly compiled original belonging to the first century; and partly by a more complete redaction of these notices, used by Zacharias, rhetor and bishop of Melitene, in the composition of his ecclesiastical history in the year 546. We cannot ascertain how much of the information given dates from the first century (about the time of the survey of the city under Vespasian), or how much is an addition from later inventories (such as those of the *curator statuarum*, an official whose name first occurs under Constantine); but in any case it is extremely incomplete. The following is the list. Two colossal bronze statues (that of Augustus in the form of Apollo in the temple of the latter on the Palatine, and that of Nero changed by Vespasian into a sun-god), 22 colossal equestrian statues, 80 gilded and 74 (or 77) ivory images of gods (not reckoning those inside the temples), and 3,785 bronze statues 'of emperors and generals'. Thus, the list does not include the remaining portrait statues of bronze, the numerous 'profane' marble statues, the marble and ungilded bronze images of the gods, which of course were far more numerous than the more costly ones. If we include the statues in the temples, public buildings (*thermae*, porticoes, theatres), palaces and private houses, we can understand how Cassiodorus, after all the destruction (especially by fire) and ravages of earlier and later centuries, could still declare that 'there dwelt within the walls of Rome a people of statues'. 'A great number of these ornaments survived till the seventh century, when Constans II (after 641) plundered Rome so thoroughly, that hardly anything of importance can have been left'. Nevertheless, the remains of the marble works alone, excavated on the site of the city, are sufficient to fill several palaces and museums.

(d) *Artistic Industry*

We have shown how the need of art pervaded the entire

Roman world to an extent almost incredible to us moderns, and how indispensable in all its branches it was to State, to religion, and private life. Of course its extension, and the excellence and range of its productions were in proportion to the condition of the civilization in whose service it was employed. Where civilization was lasting and firmly rooted, its development was rich and magnificent. This, in all probability, was the case even at the farthest eastern limits of the empire, in the cities of the East Jordan district of Batanaea and in Palmyra; Moltke found at Samosata 'the most beautiful marble frieze he had ever seen, with foliage, birds, and oxen as excellently preserved as if they had just been completed'. Where Roman culture was only temporary and superficial, art did not advance beyond paltry beginnings, although even in the least Romanized frontier districts it was not entirely absent. This is shown partly by inscriptions relating to the erection of statues (e.g., in Moesia and Dacia), partly by remains of images, which must have been made on the spot. Near the outposts of the third legion farthest to the south of Tripolis, at the edge of the Hammara, funeral monuments of officers were adorned with sculptures. The best Mithrases of the Rhine districts, the most important of this kind of memorials, are made of Jura limestone, none of marble. All the works there, of this material and of sandstone, are the productions of provincial sculptors and stonemasons, most of whom, although to some extent they imitated Roman models, only possessed a mechanical skill. The fragment (found at Cologne) of a group representing the flight of Aeneas with Anchises from Troy, a capable piece of work, dating at latest from the time of Trajan, is also of Jura limestone. The two Minerva statues from Oehringen in Würtemberg (*Vicus Aurelii* in the *agri decumates*) are also excellent works by native artists. They are made of a yellow fine-grained sandstone, quarried in the neighbourhood, and a very favourite material for Roman memorials in Heidelberg, Ladenburg, Osterburken, and other places. The admirable Orpheus mosaic at Rottweil is made of native stone, and the name of the artist (Pervincus, which often occurs in Mainz and to the south of it) on the famous Neptune mosaic of Bilbel on the Nidda betrays his non-Roman origin. In England also inscriptions have been found which mention a brass-founder and a sculptor. Provincial produc-

tions in painting as well as in mosaic were probably not so inferior to Italian as in the case of sculpture. The better wall paintings of the Roman villas in Gallia Belgica are equal to those of Pompeii.

Leaving out of consideration the varying stages of artistic development in more or less civilized lands, the remains of art throughout the Roman empire exhibit on the whole a complete agreement, not merely in composition and treatment, but also in motives and subjects, with the possible exception of the Celtic districts, which may perhaps be said to have possessed an artistic development of their own.

As contrasted with the 'crowded painted figures' of the reliefs on the tomb of the Julii at St. Remy, the other reliefs of the imperial period almost create the impression of 'a return to the simpler art of earlier times'. But especially in the numerous and important sepulchral monuments of the Meuse and Moselle districts, where the most interesting productions of provincial artists are to be found, there appears an independent and decidedly realistic tendency, and at the same time 'a freshness and skill in moulding, such as Italian monuments cannot show after the time of Hadrian'. Mythological incidents, a favourite subject in Italy for sarcophagi, are entirely absent; the reliefs which adorn these memorials represent scenes from the daily life of the deceased, remarkably true to life, and showing extreme care in the reproduction of details. They differ so greatly from Italian works, that specialists are inclined to doubt whether they belong to the age of Roman antiquity at all. Even in construction and ornamentation they exhibit many peculiarities. The development of this unique artistic tendency in Belgic Gaul is the more remarkable, because in the Rhine countries art is entirely under Italian influence. It would seem as if a hellenizing stream of civilization and art, starting from Marseilles, had travelled along the Rhône and the Saône as far as the Moselle.

Two other provinces are distinguished by artistic peculiarities of quite a different kind: Egypt, the only land where a very old native art, radically different from the universal Greco-Roman, continued to exist, and Palestine, where the religion of the inhabitants filled them with aversion from the plastic arts.

The unexampled conservatism which distinguished Egypt

above all other ancient lands is especially shown by the fact that under the Roman empire architecture, painting and sculpture were essentially the same as during the whole period that followed the loss of national independence. However numerous the changes in art during the course of many centuries, due chiefly to foreign influences and a coarseness dating from the time of the Ptolemies, they were not perceptible to the casual observer of ancient or modern times. Even Egyptian specialists have expressed the belief that certain sculptures of the second century A.D. (as is shown by their inscriptions) might have been produced 3,000 years before Christ. The temples of the Egyptian deities in imperial times were built in accordance with ancient traditions, and the technique of all other arts remained essentially unaltered. The temple walls were still covered with the same carvings and hieroglyphics; the carved and architectural ornaments were still gilded in the same manner; the colours of the paintings were as lively and lasting as in the time when the palaces of Thebes and the Nubian grottoes were built. And yet there is no doubt that a Greco-Roman art existed by the side of the native Egyptian. A complete isolation of Egypt in relation to a neighbouring province like Cyrenaica would be almost inconceivable; now, in the latter, important remains bear witness to the flourishing condition of architecture, sculpture and painting even in the Roman period. According to an English traveller, 'every part of the city of Cyrene and its suburbs must have been full of statues', and excavation would certainly bring to light many excellent sculptures. But the employment of the art of this neighbouring country would not alone have been able to satisfy the need of Egypt, after it became a Roman province. Greek artists and artisans also must have been at hand for artistic undertakings of every kind in a province which was the residence of a Roman governor and his court and had a standing garrison of two legions, and in which there were numerous Greek and Roman inhabitants and visitors. If they worked also for Egyptians, as the portraits found in Fayum seem to show, there is all the more reason to assume that representations of the Greeks and Romans living in Egypt were the work of Greek, not of Egyptian artists. Numerous statues of Antony and Cleopatra had already been erected there; the former were demolished after the battle of Actium,¹ while

the latter were left standing. Eight or nine years later statues of Augustus were carried off from the frontier districts of Philae, Elephantine, and Syene as trophies by invading Aethiopians. Later, a general tax was imposed in Egypt for the erection of imperial statues, and its first Roman Praefect, Cornelius Gallus, ordered his own to be set up throughout the country. A stone tablet at Philae with a report by him (on the suppression of a revolt in the Thebaid, March, 29) contains a likeness of the Emperor (in the form of a horseman galloping up to an enemy fallen on his knees) in deep relief, 'which is foreign to Egyptian art'. Other plastic work mentioned by writers of the imperial period are rather to be attributed to Egyptian artists working in the national manner. Vitrasius Pollio, procurator of Egypt under Claudius, attempted to make statues of the porphyry from the great quarries on the Red Sea (*mons Claudianus*), then opened for the first time, and sent specimens of them to Rome; some remains of these sculptures undoubtedly executed on the spot are apparently still in existence. The innovation, however, met with little approval, and it was not till the third century that a liking for plastic work in porphyry came into fashion. Statues (perhaps chiefly of Egyptian deities) were also made of stone from Memphis. The portrait statue of Pescennius Niger in black marble from the Thebaid was to be seen as late as the time of Diocletian, in the palace of the latter; it had been presented to him by 'the King of the Thebans' or 'the Theban community'.

The aversion of the Jews from the plastic arts, based on their religious dogmas, is well known; 'no images', says Tacitus, 'are to be seen in their cities, to say nothing of their temples; they do not flatter kings, nor show respect to emperors in this manner'. The strictest Jews even refused to set foot in places containing heathen images. Rabbi Gamaliel the second (in the time of Hadrian) excused his visit to the bath of Aphrodite at Acco (Ptolemais) on the ground that the image of Aphrodite was there for the sake of the bath, not the bath for the sake of the image. The Essenes even refused to enter the cities, to avoid going through gates surmounted by statues, since they held it unlawful to walk beneath images. This reminds us of the fact that in Palestine (in towns where there was a heathen element, sometimes in the majority) the gates and other public buildings did not lack adornment; hence, even if the Jewish hatred

of images was able to prevent the exercise of the arts by Jews, it could not control foreigners, nor hinder the introduction of foreign works of art. Herod the Great adorned his magnificent buildings with sculptures, disregarding the reprobation of the orthodox. At the mouth of the harbour of Caesarea constructed by himself stood three colossal images, and in the temple of Augustus colossal statues of the emperor and the goddess Roma ; the gardens of his splendid palace at Jerusalem contained ponds full of brazen works of art from which the water spouted. At the outbreak of the Jewish war the palace of the tetrarch Herod Antipas in Tiberias was destroyed because of the images which offended against the law. At Caesarea Philippi several niches have been hewn in a wall of rock, which may formerly have contained images of the gods.

The plastic arts were sometimes employed in Palestine even on representations of living persons. The portraits of her children sent by the Princess Alexandra to Antony have already been mentioned. The death of King Agrippa (44) caused a brutal outburst of joy at Caesarea and Sebaste ; the soldiers dragged the statues of his three daughters (sixteen, ten, and six years old) on to the roofs of the brothels, and infamously insulted them. Publius Petronius, proconsul of Syria, when ordered by Caligula to set up his colossal statue in the temple at Jerusalem, sent for the most skilled artists from Phoenicia, and intrusted its execution to them ; the work was done at Sidon, the material being supplied by Petronius. After Agrippa had induced the emperor to abandon his intention, Caligula had a colossus of gilded bronze made in Rome, to avoid the disturbance which the transport of the statue from Sidon would have caused.

Some considerable portion of the works of art intended for the provinces may have been ordered and made in Rome, certainly for the buildings and artistic undertakings projected by the emperors, sometimes even for the use of the provincials themselves. At Trapezus (Trebizond) where Xenophon and the emperor Hadrian first saw the Euxine, Arrian found a statue of the latter erected in memory of his visit, with hand outstretched towards the sea. But as it was neither a good likeness nor well executed, Arrian begged the emperor to send another, more worthy of him, in the same attitude. In the

same place there was a beautiful temple of Mercury built of squared stones, containing a badly-executed statue of the god ; Arrian begged Hadrian to send a new one five feet high, and another of Philesius (a local hero descended from Hermes) four feet high. The statue of Victory, which in the year 61 was supposed to have turned round in the temple of Claudius at Camoludunum (Colchester), as well as the statue of the emperor himself, was no doubt sent from Rome to Britain. Sarcophagi found outside Rome, not only in Italy, but, e.g., one found in Crete (now in the Cambridge museum) are evidently of Roman workmanship. The facilities for transporting to Rome the products of gold, silver and copper mines and marble quarries by sea or on the Tiber (near whose harbour at the foot of the Aventine the marble storehouse of imperial Rome has been discovered in modern times) made it easy to execute works of art on a very large scale. We may suppose that there was a small army of artists and artisans, excellently organized with a view to co-operation, such as Hadrian took with him on his journeys, whose services were always at the emperor's disposal ; only on rare occasions, when some especially important or urgent work had to be carried out, was it necessary to employ artists from outside, as was done by Alexander Severus, when he ordered a large number of colossal statues, especially of the deified emperors. Sculptors' workshops, in which statues, heads complete and in outline, various kinds of marble, and sculptors' tools of all kinds have been found (when the foundations of the Chiesa nuova on Monte Giordano were being laid), were numerous in the ninth *regio* (between the *porticus* of Europa, the Circus agonalis, and the Via Recta) and without doubt in other places.

There are many indications that numbers of sculptors and stonemasons, who outlined and worked in the rough, or completed works of sculpture, were to be found in the marble and other quarries, which furnished material for statues. The discarded colossus of Apollo in Naxos (10·6 metres long) lies still incomplete in the marble quarries, from which it was chiselled. In Megara the highly prized and widespread 'Megarian sculptures' were made from the shell-marble quarried there. In the ancient Luna the production of works in marble of all kinds must have been far greater than in the modern Carrara, where in 1871 there were no less than 115 sculptors' workshops, and

3,000 of the 10,000 inhabitants (besides many foreigners) found employment in sculpture and marble work.

The account of the martyrdom of Claudius and his comrades under Diocletian affords interesting evidence of the making of sculptures in the quarries themselves. The author, who seems to have drawn upon oral tradition or the written memoranda of contemporaries or persons nearly contemporary, is well acquainted with Roman art as still practised on an extensive scale in the time of Diocletian, and thoroughly at home in its details and technical expressions. He was certainly acquainted with the locality of his narrative, the stone-quarries of Pan-*nonia* (probably near Mitrovitz on the spurs of the Frushka-Gora) and the works carried on there, in which perhaps he had himself taken part. His exact statements (especially of numbers) seem worthy of confidence. According to him, three kinds of stones were to be procured there, two kinds of marble for statues, resembling the Thasian (white) and Proconnesian (black and spotted with white) and so named, and a green porphyry; all three are still found there, as well as numerous ruins of Roman buildings. Six hundred and twenty-two stone-masons (*quadratarii*) worked under five heads of the technical department (*philosophi*); they were distributed in districts of mines (*officinae*), the subdivisions of which were called *loca*, and produced artistic and imposing sculptural works. By Diocletian's command a figure of the sun-god (25 feet high) with his four-in-hand was made of Thasian marble; columns and capitals, ornamented basins and slipper-baths of green porphyry, all perhaps intended for Diocletian's *thermae* at Rome. The work on a column with leafy capital, 'a wonderful piece of art', took three months, another only twenty-six days. The emperor's satisfaction with the work of the five Christian artists (Claudius and his four comrades) aroused the envy of the directors. As the Christians refused to make a statue of Aesculapius for Diocletian, the *philosophi* had one made of Proconnesian stone by other workmen in less than thirty days.

Images were, no doubt, kept in stock for sale in many places, chiefly in Greece and Asia Minor, which even in imperial times sent most artists to Rome, but probably also exported a considerable number of sculptures. The Alexandrian travellers in India, who put in at Cana in Arabia Felix, took statues as presents for the king of the country. In the romance

of Philostratus, Apollonius of Tyana meets in the Piraeus a ship sailing for Ionia, which its owner, a merchant, had freighted with valuable images of the gods, some of gold and marble, others of gold and ivory. Images and other objects [of worship were made not only to order, but also for merchants and brokers for trading purposes, as well as a considerable part of the works of art intended for decoration. The settlers in the Roman colonies of the Rhine and Danube countries could no doubt purchase in the shops ' of the dealers in bronze and clay figures ' all kinds of the little images (especially of Mercury and Hermes) so frequently found in those districts. The making of images of the gods was, and continued to be, the chief industry of plastic artists and artisans. This is shown by the fact that those who became Christians declared they could not abandon the work which was now a reproach to them, since they did not know how else they were to live. Further, they appealed to the making of the brazen serpent by Moses.

The mass of sarcophagi shows that they were made in factories, which is confirmed by the discovery of large numbers in the warehouses ready for sale, only waiting the final touches of the chisel when customers were found. The portrait medallions common in the centre frequently contain only the rough outlines of a face, to which the features of the deceased were afterwards added ; in like manner, space was left for the name below the superscription D.M. (*dis manibus*) found on all epitaphs. Lastly, many of the statues of honour, made as if in a mould, no doubt formed part of the stock of the sculptors' workshops. As in the case of the portrait medallions, the heads were not finished till the work was ordered, and the neck was hollowed out to receive special heads, as is shown by numerous examples. The heads and legs of statues in armour were frequently added by another hand.

But only part of the works of art could be made away from the place where they were to be set up or used. All the better personal memorials were made on the spot, and as a rule the finishing touch added even to the inferior. Similarly, artistic decorations (paintings, mosaics, stuccos) were mostly executed in the rooms they were intended to adorn. The rapid and enormous circulation of the imperial images cannot be adequately explained by their conveyance from a

number of different centres. Some of the artists and others who undertook great works of art, who possessed or hired workmen in all artistic departments, must have travelled from place to place. In the words of Goethe, 'whole colonies, expeditions, swarms, clouds, or whatever you please to call them, of artists and artisans were ordered where they were needed. Think of the hosts of masons and stone-masons, moving backwards and forwards through central Europe at that time, when a seriously religious mode of thought had spread over the Christian Church'. One of these wandering artists, Zeno of Aphrodisias, boasts in an inscription that he had passed through many cities relying on his art; statues in Syracuse and Rome, bearing the same name, are doubtless his work. A certain Novius Blaesus, according to the inscription on his grave, had adorned Rome and the empire with his statues; a worker in mosaic at Perinthus had exercised his art, in which he excelled all others, in all the cities of the empire. The fame of the artists spread rapidly as the result of their great achievements. Zenodorus, who had executed the colossal statue of Mercury for Clermont, was summoned by Nero to Rome, to perform the same service for him.

According to Lucian, however, in his *Dream*, the life of a sculptor, as compared with that of the wandering sophists, was a sedentary one, and no doubt in the more important towns there were settlements of artists in constant employment. This is established for the fourth century by the letter of Constantine to the governors of Spain, Gaul, and Britain in the year 337. The artists resident in the cities were ordered to be excused from undertaking work for the communities, that they might have time to learn their art thoroughly and instruct their sons in it; the artists specially named were architects, builders, painters, sculptors (as distinct from the makers of statues), and workers in mosaic (two classes). In the second-rate towns even there was no lack of sculptors' workshops, such as have been found in Thysdrus and Pompeii (not to mention Athens and Rome); in the latter tools for carving in stone, marble statues, herms, busts, tables with various legs, and an unfinished marble mortar have been discovered. In the other towns of Italy, and in the provinces (except Greece and Asia Minor) inscriptions relating to artists are not numerous.

Although art and artistic work were no doubt carried on in different parts of the empire by resident artists and their descendants (as is assumed in the rescript of Constantine), local and provincial styles and peculiarities can only exceptionally be recognized. The chief characteristic of the art of the imperial period is above all its uniformity in subject, conception, treatment, and technique, which is doubly striking when the wide extent of its operations is considered. Except in Gaul (especially Gallia Belgica) where art took a new and peculiar direction, and in Egypt, where the old national art held its ground, the artistic remains throughout the empire give the impression of homogeneousness. Any essential perceptible differences can be accounted for by the variety of the models imitated, the higher or lower state of development of art, the greater or less artistic skill of the artists. A mosaic, whether excavated in Tunis or England, in Andalusia or Salzburg, exhibits the same characteristics. An analysis of the painted stucco, of the wainscoting of Roman houses at Bignor in Sussex revealed to Sir Humphrey Davy the same colouring materials as in the painted stucco of the baths of Titus and the houses of Pompeii and Herculaneum; and the wall painting of the Roman villas in Gallia Belgica and in Pompeii not only exhibits the same decoration and technique, but the preparation of the plastering and the manner of laying on the colours are essentially similar. Everywhere stone-masons and sculptors worked according to Italian models. In the Echern valley near Hallstadt a Roman sepulchral memorial in the form of a gable has been discovered, representing a medallion portrait between a reclining female figure and a genius; there are similar monuments at Huesca in Aragon, in France, Italy and Dalmatia.

This uniformity can only be partly explained by the migrations of artists and the production of works of art for commercial purposes. Its chief cause was the finished development of Greek art at the time when it first entered into the service of Roman civilization. This development had been unprecedented. It had produced an immense wealth of form and ideas, and had brought to perfection a many-sided method of treatment and representation. Thanks to this heritage, a subsequent epoch, although it lacked creative power of its own, was able to exist for centuries without the appearance

of impoverishment. Persistent adherence to tradition, one of the chief differences between ancient and modern art, proved a double blessing to the people of that age. Instead of striving after an impossible originality and sacrificing the precious heritage of former days to fruitless experiments, recognizing its value they were shrewd enough to keep it intact for a considerable time. Art moved continuously within familiar limits and even new problems were solved in accordance with time-honoured laws. Thus, what at first sight appears inconceivable became possible. Art, even centuries after it was completely developed, maintained its eminent position ; at a time of real, though slow, decay sculpture could still produce works superior to most of the productions of modern plastic art ; and, in spite of its enormous productivity, a remnant of the nobility of the ancient forms survived even to the latest times of the empire.

Another cause of the uniformity of the art of the period was the levelling influence of Roman civilization. Rome was the model for the other cities of the empire in everything, but had the strongest claim to set the example in art. For in Rome 'works of art of every kind, of all ages and schools, carried off from Greece, Asia and Egypt, and stored in temples and public buildings, villas and palaces, provided inexhaustible material for education in art' ; in Rome the most important artists of the world foregathered, and the greatest works of art were executed ; Rome was a high school for art, the like of which had never been seen before. The provincials demanded imitations of all that was held in favour and esteem in the capital ; the Romans settled in the provinces for longer or shorter periods refused to be deprived entirely of the artistic luxury to which they were accustomed. The claims of both were satisfied by the services of a host of artists and artisans who poured into Rome from the provinces and back again ; thus, everything combined to set up a uniform fashion in art throughout the empire.

Decorative and religious art could fulfil their task for the most part by simple reproduction of what was already in existence, which also provided patterns and models for nearly all the subjects of monumental art. When simple repetition was insufficient, new ideas could be expressed by altering and developing the original motives, or the existing material

transformed into something apparently new by modifications and variations, by separating and combining. With this object, figures were detached from their natural connexion and used independently or combined with others, or originally independent figures were introduced into groups. It cannot be denied that this mode of procedure, which finds its obvious analogy in Roman poetry, produced many a work excellent in form and idea. Thus, for example, Venus looking at herself in the shield of Mars was changed into a goddess of victory recording victory on the shield ; she appears not merely as a statue, but in sarcophagus reliefs, in which very frequently figures, motives and groups are borrowed from older works and variously employed in new compositions. Also, she is grouped with Mars, embracing him in the arms with which she held the shield ; this attitude, a favourite one in imperial times, is repeated on sarcophagi and in four still existing statue groups. Similarly, a well-known and admirable group (Orestes and Electra) has been converted into an 'Orestes and Pylades', without sacrificing the composition and poetical motive. In the so-called *Thusnelda* in the Loggia de' Lanzi at Florence the credit of the highly-successful national characterization alone is due to the artist ; the magnificent design was borrowed by him from the mourning women of ancient art. Old forms were also very successfully used for images—rendered necessary by the introduction of new cults. The worship of Mithras did not spread in the West until the imperial period ; and in the reliefs of the Mithras caves we find only well-known forms, borrowed from the storehouse of Greek art. The god kneeling on the bull is nothing but a transformation of the goddess of victory sacrificing a bull ; similarly the other figures of this composition are borrowed, only the grouping and certain additional symbols being new. Josephus mentions another example of this method. In the temple of Augustus built by Herod at Caesarea the colossal statue of the emperor was an imitation of the Olympian Zeus of Phidias, 'not inferior to the original' ; that of Roma an imitation of the Hera of Polycletus at Argos. A whole series of imperial statues with the upper part of the body bare and a cloak wrapped round the thigh exhibits a more or less free imitation of the motive of the Phidian statue. In portrait statues, as already mentioned, the forms as a rule follow

older types. The so-called Pudicitia in the Vatican and the 'women of Herculaneum' belong to the large stock of female draped statues, the motives of which belong partly to the Attic art of the fourth century, and partly to the hellenistic period, and recur in a number of sepulchral statues.

But not merely was the exact reproduction of older works amply sufficient for decorative purposes ; it was also evidently the desire of the majority of art collectors to possess as faithful copies as possible of well-known and favourite figures. Lucian mentions the following statues (all, of course, copies) in the court of a private house at Athens ; the *discobolus* of Myron, the *diadumenus* of Polyclethus, the tyrannicides of Critias and Nesiotes. Naturally, the most famous works were most frequently reproduced. Thus, the still numerous reproductions of the Aphrodite, Faunus, and Apollo of Praxiteles and a number of others (e.g., the so-called Medicean Venus) are from originals for the most part unknown. Were not the inscriptions on the statues for the most part lost, we should probably know many of them. Thus, a Venus in the Chigi palace at Rome, according to the inscription, was copied by a certain Menophantus from an original in Alexandria Troas. These copies were circulated in all the provinces. At Soissons a group from the cycle of the Niobidae (the youngest son with his *paedagogus*), at Trèves a copy of the Venus of Milo and the Amazon of Mattei have been found. Juba II, King of Mauretania, who was educated at the court of Augustus and, like his wife, Cleopatra Selene (daughter of Antony and Cleopatra), took a keen interest in Greek literature and art, adorned his capital Yol (Zershel, afterwards Caesarea) with copies of work of the best period of Greek sculpture. Several of these have been found on the spot—two copies of a female statue of the time of Phidias, a child extracting a thorn from his foot, a Faun blowing a flute, a Venus as goddess of the sea. According to Josephus, King Agrippa adorned the whole city of Berytus in Phoenicia 'with statues and copies of older works', by which we must certainly understand the masterpieces of the most flourishing period of Greek art, although in Quintilian's time the fondness for the antique and even the incunabula of art, which greatly increased after Hadrian's time, gave rise to numerous imitations also of pre-Phidian plastic.

The sculptors, 'who copied old masterpieces indifferently

from any period whatever', undoubtedly in many cases directly served an artistic historical interest. Amongst the bronzes, which adorned the villa of the owner of the library at Herculaneum, only the portraits are modern, 'and even in their case only the realism of the heads, not the pose, nor the clothing. Everything else is a mere repetition of the works of earlier creative periods of art'. This complete dependence of art upon earlier ages is also manifest in other departments. Quintilian speaks of painters who confined themselves to copying foreign works as closely as possible; Lucian of free imitations and alterations of older pictures. Not merely the wall-paintings of Pompeii are in the main free imitations of artistic pictures, especially cabinets of the period of the Diadochi; but all the wall decoration of the so-called third and fourth style exhibits the after-effects of the fantastic splendour developed at the festivals of the Ptolemies. The preservation of mosaic floors in the most different provinces shows that here also the same subjects were everywhere repeated: Nereids and sea-monsters especially in baths, imitations of remains of meals in dining-rooms (so common that the name *asarotum* was used simply in the sense of 'mosaic'), busts of poets and sages in libraries and studies, and so forth.

In the adornment of utensils and objects in general use the same models were also continually reproduced, both in imitations by the hand of the artist and in the production on a large scale in factories. Zenodorus the bronze-founder copied two beakers chiselled by Calamis so perfectly, 'that there was hardly any difference as far as artistic excellence was concerned'. The representations on the silver vessels found at Hildesheim, Boscoreale and other places are reproductions of older models, chiefly Alexandrian. Gems, paste ornaments, and other productions in glass also show more or less successful copies of the same models. But the most numerous specimens are those of the potteries, so abundant throughout the empire, the product of an uncommonly rich and variously developed artistic industry (frieze tablets, frontal tiles, vessels with ornaments and figures in relief, and especially lamps) which spread the noblest and most pleasing inventions of Greek art to the farthest limits of Roman civilization. 'All this pottery is pressed in moulds, and its mechanical multiplication explains why the same forms, figures, reliefs, ornaments,

and potters' names are found repeated all over the empire—in Africa, Spain and Gaul, on the Thames, the Rhine and the Danube, and in Cilicia. But the Roman ware was only to a very small extent directly imported ; it was found more convenient to provide the potteries with moulds and stamps. This produced differences in what was to be executed on the spot, in the mixing and working of the clay, in colouring and varnish ; on the other hand, the result of mould and stamp was everywhere the same. It would not be difficult, with the aid of the clay ware found in different places, almost completely to reconstruct the stock of moulds and stamps in a well-assorted Roman pottery. But the frequently perverse combination of the single moulded pieces in provincial potteries betrays a lack of intelligence. In a number of these ornamentations the manner in which they have arisen can be easily traced. We are partly acquainted with the originals, single figures or groups, as masterpieces of art of independent importance, which were in vogue in Rome and consequently used for decorative purposes. We find them again on larger architectural members, metopes or frieze plates, on sculptured sarcophagus reliefs, and lastly on clay vessels. Thus Rome, by dictating the prevailing taste in art to the whole empire, put a certain share in the art treasures of the capital within the reach of even the poorer inhabitants of the province'.

Of the earlier ages, upon which the art of the imperial period, whose only originality consisted in the execution of portraits, was dependent, the hellenistic period exercised far greater influence than the classical (fifth and fourth centuries), an influence apparently due far more to Alexandrian than to Attic-Pergamene art. Similarly, Alexandrian poetry was the standard for Roman in its best period, and Alexandrian music exercised a decisive influence upon Roman. But artistic industry, even more than art proper, was benefited by the immensely wealthy tradition of the hellenistic epoch, which was still in a high degree creative ; its effects extended to the modest workshops of the potters, stonemasons, room painters, goldsmiths and silversmiths. Between art and the profession of art, for which there were no specially distinctive terms, there existed no hard and fast line in antiquity ; on the contrary, at a time when production was in the main reproduction, and the artist as a rule was only

required to develop or make use of foreign invention, they were closely connected at several points. Since also the artisan trained his eye and hand by first-class models, technical skill was sufficient to produce good imitations. Consequently the profession to a great extent conquered the field which in earlier times belonged to art proper, and developed on this soil to an extent only possible when a need which affected even the lowest orders had to be satisfied. The discovery of the room decorations in a second-rate town like Herculaneum was sufficient to effect a revolution in the already highly developed artistic industry of Paris. The taste for the new fashion (*à la grecque*, as it was called) increased enormously according to Galiani in the years 1763 and 1767. Goldsmiths, jewellers, carriage and door painters, upholsterers, and makers of ornaments found 'Pitture di Ercolano' indispensable.

But under the empire art was in many respects carried on not merely as a profession, but as a manufacturing industry. The erection of buildings and the execution of important artistic works were very frequently, if not as a rule, handed over to contractors, sometimes artists themselves, sometimes only employers of artists. According to Plutarch (as already mentioned) competition was invited for the erection of colossal statues, and the work was given to the candidate who promised the best work at the lowest price. An average standard of artistic ability was assumed in the case of every contractor; an unusually high standard was rare, being seldom required and little valued. Thus, the price and time required for the work were the chief factors in determining the selection of the artist.

The high and rich development of artistic handicraft, and the use of art for manufacturing purposes rendered necessary a highly specialized division of labour, of which many traces have survived. There were workmen who did nothing but put in the eyes (made of some coloured material) of statues. All the more important artistic undertakings assumed the co-operation of a considerable number of artists and artisans under individual direction. Thus, during the last days of Pompeii (after the earthquake of 63), the decorations of the walls of the houses ('where the ornamentations seemed the work of a single mind and out of the same paint pot') were

evidently for the most part, if not entirely, the work of one and the same society of painters. Painters of arabesques, flowers, animals, landscapes and figures worked at the same frescoes in succession or side by side ; since this was the only possible way of carrying out the work as promptly as was required. The fixedness of generally recognized norms and traditions, which relegated artistic individuality wholly or partially to the background, rendered the co-operation of two or more artists in the same work as common in antiquity as it is rare in modern times. In this respect there was apparently no change during the imperial period.

A great part of the workmen employed in the execution of more comprehensive artistic undertakings were slaves, and indeed slavery was essentially one of the factors on whose co-operation artistic production on a large scale depended. The artistic professions, whose productions perhaps satisfied the greatest part of the artistic need, could be learnt by any one who possessed a certain amount of cleverness and adaptability. Naturally, therefore, owners of slaves, who wanted to get as much out of them as possible, had them taught to make what was most in demand, amongst such things being works of art. Like bands of gladiators, troupes of actors, companies of singers and musicians, societies of painters and other artistic workers could be formed from large slave households, who were employed partly in decorating their masters' houses and partly in executing commissions on their account. Verres had a number of chasers and makers of metal vessels. Amongst the comforts of a modest but assured subsistence in old age, Naevolus in Juvenal hopes for ' a chaser in silver bent with stooping over his work, and another who is able rapidly to paint several faces ', i.e., slaves, who could increase his income by specially profitable work. The painter would be specially in demand for the representations of historical events which were profusely illustrated by figures, or for illustrations in books. Besides, painters most frequently belonged to the class of slaves, and were of course common in the imperial household. The jurist Julianus (under Hadrian) discussing the compensation for the death of a slave, expresses the opinion that if a ' valuable painter ' (*pretioso pictori*) gets his thumb cut off and he is killed within a year, the same value is to be put upon him as before his mutilation. In many cases

one of the conditions of the manumission of slaves trained in the same branch of art was that they should continue to work for their master in the arts they had learnt ; and amongst such arts that of painting is expressly mentioned.

The fact that works of art were in the main produced by slave labour and were generally in use made such labour cheap. But even free artisans were not too well paid. In the edict of Diocletian, the daily wage of the workmen who attended to the artistic decoration of houses is based upon the supposition that they, like the rest, received their board from the landlord. The pay of the stucco-worker is the same as that of the bricklayer, carpenter, lime-burner, carriage maker, baker and smith ; that of the mosaic worker is a sixth higher, that of the clay and stucco modeller half as much again, that of the portrait painter three times as high. The casting of statues in bronze was paid by the pound. In the case of statues, the result of their production on a large scale was a great lowering of price. In the time of Alexander the Great 3,000 drachmae (£118) seems to have been the usual price for a statue ; whereas Dio of Prusa in his Rhodian speech says that a (bronze) statue could be erected for 1,000 (£39) or even 500 (£19 10s.). Abundant evidence from inscriptions proves that this low estimate is not far from the truth. On several statues of gods and emperors from Gaul, Switzerland, Spain and Africa the prices, ranging (according to size, work and material) from 3,000 to 20,000 sesterces (£32 15s. to £217 10s.) and above, are given on the still extant pedestals. Probably in factories and shops the price of the different kinds of statues was fixed for customers and those who gave commissions. When a provincial priest from Baetica, who at the same time had filled the office of *duumvir* in his native Corduba, in recognition of the honours bestowed upon him caused statues to be erected there at a total cost of 400,000 sesterces (£4,350) they were 20 to 133 in number ; when a freedman of Assisi, an oculist, who was also *sevir* of the Augustales, gave 30,000 sesterces (£326) for setting up statues in the temple of Hercules, they could at most have numbered ten ; and the legacy left by an equestrian officer of Grenoble (50,000 sesterces, £548) 'for statues' would have sufficed at most for sixteen.

We know little of the fees, properly so called, paid to artists. Lucullus commissioned his friend the sculptor Arcesilaus

to execute a statue of the goddess Felicitas for 60,000 sesterces (£526), but the death of both prevented the completion of the work. The same artist sold Octavius, a Roman knight, the plaster model of a bowl for a talent (£235 15s.). Unfortunately, Suetonius does not mention the high fee paid by Vespasian for the restoration of the Venus of Apelles and the colossus of Nero. Zenodorus received from the capital of the Arverni (mod. Clermont) 400,000 sesterces in fees alone (*manupretium*) for his colossus of Mercury, on which he spent ten years.

These fees appear by no means small, even if the intrinsic value of money at that time is reckoned no higher than at the present day; they are as large or larger than those paid to many of the most prominent artists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The two hunting and fishing groups, ordered by Louis XV from Adam the elder for the gardens at Choisy and subsequently presented by him to Frederic the Great, cost (in 1756) 52,000 *livres* (about 160,000 *francs*); a figure of Abundantia by the same artist for the château of Choisy (in 1758) 10,000 *livres*. Bouchardon's famous 'Amor, breaking up the club of Hercules to make arrows' fetched the enormous sum of 20,000 *livres*. Pigalle, who had received 24,000 *livres* for an amor in 1750, undertook the memorial of Marshal Saxe in the church of St. Thomas at Strasburg for 85,000 *livres* (about 300,000 *francs*), which was paid in four instalments, although the work was not completed till the reign of Louis XVI.

Rietschel received a fee of 16,500 marks (£825) for the group of Goethe and Schiller at Weimar, on which he spent three years; his expenses amounted to 4,800 (£240). Consequently when at the height of his fame he did not make on the average much more than 3,900 marks (£195) a year, not half as much as Zenodorus in a provincial city, even assuming the same intrinsic value of money for the first and the nineteenth centuries. For the model of the eight feet statue of Kant at Königsberg (the brass for which cost more than 10,000 marks) Rauch received 6,000 marks, not much more than the fee of Arcesilaus for the model of the bowl.

(e) The Artists

The extent to which art as a mechanical profession occupied the field of art proper, and the humble position of the

majority of those who practised both, could not fail to influence the estimation in which art was regarded by persons of education. Both these circumstances were bound to cause those who were not intelligent enough to understand the real nature of the two, to regard art and technical skill as more or less synonymous, and the true artist as merely a superior artisan. Certainly, those philosophers who, recognizing moral elevation as the only aim worthy of their aspirations, speak with contempt of artistic activity, do not mean to depreciate the fine arts as such. When Plutarch declares that no young man, who is inspired by noble sentiments, will ever desire to become a Phidias or a Polycletus after he has seen the Olympian Zeus or the Argive Hera, he is careful to add, 'any more than he will desire to become an Anacreon, a Philetas or an Archilochus, after he has read their poems. For whatever be the enjoyment caused by a graceful work, it does not necessarily make its author estimable'. These expressions of Plutarch by no means show (as has been argued) a contempt for artists as no better than ordinary artisans, but on the contrary put them on a level with the greatest poets. On the other hand Seneca, who looked upon the creations of art as objects of luxury, and refused them a place amongst the studies which trained the mind of the young to morality (grammar, music, geometry and astronomy), saw nothing but the artisan in the artist: 'while we adore idols, we despise those who fashion them'. In particular, the exclusive and exaggerated value attached to a literary and rhetorical education was combined with contempt for the fine arts and their professors. This certainly is Plutarch's point of view, when he puts not merely Alcamenes and Nesiotes, but even Ictinus in the same class as all those common people and artisans, who know nothing of oratory; and in the same spirit Lucian, a man of really artistic tastes, in his *Dream* introduces Sculpture as an uneducated, uncouth, horny-handed and dirty woman, while Rhetoric appears as a brilliant personality, who declares that even Polycletus and Phidias themselves must have appeared common artisans to the admirers of their works. Philostratus, who numbers poets, musicians, astronomers, and the best rhetoricians amongst the sages, at least consents to include painters and sculptors, together with sailors and countrymen, amongst the semi-sages, 'provided they follow the

Horae ; for even these arts approximate to wisdom '. According to Galen, the arts and sciences to be chiefly recommended when choosing a profession are medicine, rhetoric, music, geometry, arithmetic, reckoning, astronomy, grammar and jurisprudence ; to these a man may add, if he pleases, painting and the plastic art. Speaking generally, we may assume that artists, like the arts themselves, were more highly esteemed in the Greek than in the Roman world at that period.

Of the two figurative arts (pictorial or plastic representation), it is clear that the plastic, even during the period of Roman domination, was almost entirely in the hands of Greeks by birth or education. Virgil, with genuine Roman arrogance, declared that the nation which was destined to conquer and rule the world need not trouble to dispute the superiority of others in giving life to bronze and producing living features from marble. Of all the well-known sculptors of the Roman period very few (such as Coponius) could be considered Romans by birth. At Rome, during the last days of the republic as well as under the empire, it was Greeks (especially Athenians) and Greeks from Asia Minor who produced the most admired masterpieces, were engaged in the most important artistic undertakings, and received the largest fees. The statue of Venus Genetrix in the temple [dedicated by Julius Caesar in 46 was the work of Arcesilaus ; it was the Athenian Diogenes who adorned the pantheon of Agrippa with caryatides and statues ; the artists, generally working in pairs, who, according to Pliny, ' filled the imperial palaces with the most famous statues ', were all Greeks.

The case of painting was quite different. ' Thanks to their adherence to the ancient tradition of covering the walls with stucco the Italians early attained a certain skill in mural painting '. One reason why the Romans preferred painting to the plastic art was that it lent itself much better to the faithful and vivid representation of events. In ancient times painting was considered no disgrace to men of the highest birth. Thus, in 304 B.C., one of the Fabian gens decorated the temple of Salus with pictures, highly praised by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, which were in existence until the temple was burnt during the reign of Claudius. The surname Pictor became hereditary in the family of this Fabius. After the time of Pacuvius, whose life extends to the period of the Gracchi,

painting certainly was not practised by 'respectable people' to use the expression of Pliny. It is probable that the Roman artists gradually gave place to Greek, who were more highly educated and invaded the city in ever increasing numbers; the longer and more generally painting was practised by foreigners, slaves, and freedmen, the less honourable it was considered for Romans. Valerius Maximus considered it incomprehensible that a Fabius should have devoted himself to so low an occupation without being ashamed of it.

But still, painting was always thought more highly of than the plastic art, and even in imperial times it was never entirely in the hands of the Greeks. For painting Pliny was able to use a Roman monograph by one Fabius Vestalis and biographies of painters by Cornelius Nepos; for the plastic art his only Roman authorities were antiquarian and miscellaneous works and encyclopaedias. During the reign of Augustus a boy of distinguished family (Quintus Pedius) was brought up as a painter; but he was dumb, and all the professions suitable to his rank were closed to him. Certainly, Pliny saw some fine paintings at Verona by a Roman knight named Turpilius. Fabullus, a brilliant though serious painter, who only worked a few hours a day, standing on his scaffolding, always wearing his toga with a dignified air, was chiefly employed in Nero's Golden House. Cornelius Pinus and Attius Priscus painted the interior of the temple of Honos and Virtus restored by Vespasian. Under Augustus the Roman painter Ludius (or Sextus Tadius) introduced a hellenistic style of decoration, which enjoyed great vogue; the skilful manner in which he satisfied the demands of the luxury of the period, his keen observation, his humour and thorough acquaintance with the means of representation, stamp him as a genuinely Roman artist.

To judge from the frequent occurrence of female names on ancient paintings, women also appear to have practised the art to a considerable extent. In 1847 the tomb of a female artist was discovered at Saint Médard-des-Près in La Vendée near the remains of a villa, in which fragments of delightful frescoes were found. Besides the skeleton of the deceased, the tomb contained a rich assortment of painter's requisites. According to Justin Martyr, women also practised as sculptors. At least he mentions as a proof of the licentious-

ness of the makers of idols, that they seduced the female slaves who assisted them in their work. But perhaps they may only have been models whom he had seen in the workshops, whose relations with the artists caused him such offence. Further, the technique of sculpture, as of painting, persisted in the West also till the last days of antiquity.

Architecture is the only art in which the Romans showed any creative activity. Corresponding as it were to a national taste, it was the only art which could not only effectively promote the ambitious aims of the State and its universal dominion, but also adequately expressed the consciousness of its right to the empire of the world. While dependent upon Greek influence in all other departments of art, in architecture the Romans have created those absolutely original works which, in spite of thousands of years, even at the present day, produce an effect so powerful and 'almost stupefying'—works with which Greek art has nothing to compare. When Frontinus proudly asks whether the inert masses of the Egyptian pyramids or the useless splendour of the famous Greek buildings can be compared with the Roman aqueducts, he is merely giving expression to a point of view, which although partial is not without justification.

The absolute necessity and the high importance of architecture in public as well as private life explain why it was considered the most respectable of all arts, and placed by Cicero on a level with the profession of medicine. Probably it was the most lucrative art, not only in Rome but in all the large towns of the empire, and consequently overcrowded. In the ranks of architects Roman citizens were found by the side of slaves, freedmen and foreigners in republican as well as imperial times. The work of Vitruvius on architecture was not the first Roman treatise on the subject. Of the famous imperial architects known to us, the only one of whom it can be affirmed with certainty that he was not a Roman is Apollodorus of Damascus, who superintended Trajan's buildings, and in 101 constructed the bridge over the Danube. Tacitus mentions as Nero's architects Severus and Celer (perhaps an imperial freedman), 'who possessed sufficient talent and boldness to attempt what Nature appeared to refuse'. Domitian's palace was built by Rabirius, who, according to Martial, had taken the starry heavens as a worthy model; Hadrian's

architect Decrianus was certainly a Roman. Pliny the Younger intrusted the building of a temple of Ceres to a certain Mustius, who skilfully surmounted the difficulties of the ground. The constructor of the bridge of Alcantara and an imperial temple connected with it on a rock near the Tagus is known to us from some verses hewn in stone, according to which, 'this bridge, which will stand as long as the universe shall last, was built by Lacer, famous for his divine art'. The name of the builder of the Pont du Gard, according to an inscription discovered on the spot, was Veranius; on an arch at Antipolis (Antibes) Sextus Julius (his third name is mutilated) is named as its constructor. Even in the eastern provinces buildings were constructed by Roman architects. Costunius Rufinus built the temple of Zeus Asclepius at Pergamus, while Galen (after 147) was studying there under Satyrus; the name of this architect was known even in Byzantine times, and the temple was considered one of the wonders of the world.

(f) *Artistic Feeling*

A comparatively small number of the many thousands of artists, who exercised their craft during the early centuries throughout the empire, are known to us by name, and nearly all of these only from their own inscriptions on their works. Notwithstanding the frequent allusions to artistic undertakings of all kinds the artists who carried them out are hardly ever mentioned. This is partly to be explained by the subordinate position held by artists in society, and also by the fact that artistic production was far more frequently the work of associations than of individuals, who being merely the instruments of a corporation were held in little regard. On the other hand, as already shown, the arts were not regarded as important and valuable for Roman civilization in themselves, but only so far as they were indispensable means to the attainment of ends universally and persistently kept in view. Lastly, the artistic production of that age appeared less important to contemporaries than it does to us, since they measured it by the standard of the creations of the Greek art at its best. At a time when works of the period from Phidias to Lysippus were so common, the lack of originality, the exaltation of the formal over the intellectual element, even in the most brilliant, imposing and graceful productions, could not

fail to strike all, even the least intelligent, who saw the two side by side. It is easy to understand why interest in art was by preference directed towards the past. But even then its nature and intensity were by no means identical in the Roman and Greek world; rather, this is just one of the departments in which the diversity of the two civilizations can be best appreciated even by us.

The victorious campaigns of the Romans in Greek countries after the conquest of Syracuse (212), and the spoils accumulated by generals, governors and emperors for two centuries and a half down to the time of Nero, filled Rome even to excess with an incredible number of the most perfect Greek works of art. The impression created by this incomparable collection of masterpieces, which attracted even the indifferent and hostile, was supplemented by the journeys in Greece undertaken with increasing frequency for pleasure or instruction by the Romans after the conquest of Corinth. Lastly, the Romans found their attention in many ways directed towards the fine arts by Greek literature, which more and more came to be recognized as the basis of all higher culture. Certainly, there is nothing to show that the original Greek works on the subject, which Pliny has utilized in his description of the world, were much read by the Romans. On the other hand, the epigrammatic and rhetorical literature of the Greeks contributed to spread a knowledge and criticism of art. The Greek specialists in the theory of oratory, whose writings were continually used and consulted by the Romans as authorities and guides in this science which dominated their entire educational system, were fond of comparing the development and various styles of oratory with those of the fine arts, and borrowed many technical artistic expressions for the terminology of rhetoric, which were adopted and circulated by the Roman writers on the art of oratory. Then, epigrammatic poetry, specially cultivated in Greece after the time of Alexander the Great, showed a marked predilection for the fine arts, and attempted to reproduce, by witticisms and badinage, the impression created by important works. Many of these poets, during the last days of the republic and the early empire, visited Rome, where they found inexhaustible material and ever fresh incitement to this sort of poetry in miniature; and we can easily understand how the Romans, who had little

time and still less taste for artistic studies, gladly embraced the opportunity of obtaining, without any trouble to themselves, information about much discussed works by the aid of these brief and characteristic judgments, whether really or only apparently appropriate, which were passed on from one to another by word of mouth. The criticisms in matters of art which we find in Pliny, nearly all taken from these Greek epigrams, show that this was no uncommon occurrence ; it is possible that Pliny found a ready-made collection of them in the work of the sculptor Pasitales on the most celebrated masterpieces of art in the world.

One of Varro's chief works shows that the Romans already recognized in the fine arts a very important element of universal civilization. Certainly, in his encyclopaedia, which treated of the nine chief arts and sciences, he has only given a place to architecture ; but in his collection of 700 portraits of famous men bearing their signatures, he admitted painters and sculptors to the company of kings, generals, statesmen, poets, writers, savants, and architects. This, like all Varro's works, exercised a great influence upon education in general, in later times as well as his own. Lucretius also includes paintings and the plastic art, as well as poetry, amongst the acquisitions of an advanced civilization, which gave charm to life. The detailed consideration of the history of art and artists, given in Pliny the elder's description of the world (written more than a century later) gives us reason to assume an increased interest in such things in educated Roman circles, the more so as the author himself was quite ignorant of artistic matters.

We do not know how far Varro's demand, that young girls should be taught painting, was realized ; but amongst the female painters whose names often occur on pictures there may probably have been some amateurs. The example of Aemilius Paulus, who allowed his sons to receive instruction from Greek painters and sculptors, may well have found imitators even in imperial times in the circles where a Greek education was specially favoured. In his early years Nero assiduously handled the paint-brush and modeller's stick. Hadrian also zealously devoted himself to these two arts, and even when emperor dabbled in painting. Marcus Aurelius was instructed in the same art by the Greek Diognetus, who seems also to have been a philosopher and in other respects to have influ-

enced his education. Alexander Severus, whose education was entirely Greek, 'was an excellent painter'; Elagabalus (Heliogabalus) also practised this art, and Valentinian was an amateur painter and sculptor. Although the case of two emperors brought up in Syria proves nothing about education at Rome, yet the number of royal artists is sufficiently large to allow us to assume that the instruction of the young in the fine arts and the resulting dilettantism of their later life, was by no means uncommon among the upper classes of the capital at all times. It is equally clear that this dilettantism was by no means looked upon as objectionable in itself. If Titedius Labeo (proconsul of Narbonensis) was ridiculed, and even insulted, for boasting about his skill in small panel pictures, it was not his dilettantism, but his ostentatious parade of it, that gave offence. However, if we compare these few instances of Roman dilettantism in the fine arts with the numerous proofs of their dilettantism in music, we obtain the impression that the former was by far less common than the latter.

Naturally, the Romans, when travelling for pleasure or instruction (especially in Greece and Asia Minor) did not fail to inspect the works of art, especially those which a fairly well-read man might be expected to know at least by reputation. They were even made the object of special journeys. But there is nothing to show that this interest in art was anything more than a superficial curiosity concerned with externalities, being chiefly aroused by the celebrity of the work and the artist. These journeys were mainly undertaken from historical interest, and the majority of the travellers no doubt felt, like Atticus, that even the splendour of the incomparable masterpieces of Athens was less attractive than their historical reminiscences. The accumulation of works of art by private persons at Rome is no proof of a wide-spread artistic feeling. The mere knowledge of their expensiveness was sufficient to make even those who had no more idea of their value than the uncultured conqueror of Corinth regard them as desirable spoil; and the store of works of art in Greek countries was inexhaustible enough to satisfy the greed of the Romans to the full. In course of time, marble columns, carpets, tables of citrus wood, silver ware, magnificent vessels, statues, and paintings were considered indispensable for the decoration of the houses and villas of the rich. No special amateurism

was needed to form collections, so enormous was the supply of works of art and so great the facilities for acquiring them or obtaining them by plunder. By the time of Augustus picture galleries were so common that in Vitruvius's plan of a great house a large hall towards the north for this purpose was considered indispensable; in later times, collections of sculptures also became general.

If these collections also contained works of living artists, they are never mentioned; and even if they did not consist for the most part of old pictures and statues, these were at least regarded as the most valuable, if not the only valuable part of the collection. It is often expressly stated that amateurs and collectors, such as Julius Caesar and Damasippus, who had a mania for collecting old statues, were specially anxious to procure them. Picture galleries, says Pliny, are stuffed with old pictures. In the case of silver ware special regard was had to antiquity, almost the only criterion of value of the works of an almost vanished art; carved work, which was worn almost beyond recognition, was prized above all. Some antiquarians even preferred the incunabula of art—the 'almost coarse' pictures of an Aglaophon and a Polygnotus to those of later artists, according to Quintilian, who with justice charges them with parading their superior knowledge of art. Augustus had a preference for the affectedly antique productions of Bupalus and Athenis of Chios (sixth century), and set up statues of both on the pediment of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine and in nearly all the other temples erected by him in Rome. This taste seems to have been most general during the reign of Hadrian. Generally speaking, however, 'ancient works of art' meant those of Greek art at its best or even of the period of the Diadochi. The authors of the 'works of the ancients', which Statius saw in the villa of Manilius Vopiscus at Tibur, are not mentioned by name; among the old pictures and paintings in the villa of Pollius Felix at Sorrentum were works by Apelles, Phidias (early period), Polycletus and Myron; in the collection of 'ancient works' belonging to Novius Vindex there were bronzes by Myron and Polycletus, marble sculptures by Praxiteles, ivory carvings by Phidias, and pictures in which the touch of 'the old Apelles' could be recognized. The names, thus casually mentioned, are nearly always those of artists of the first rank,

especially Polycletus. In Juvenal, when a rich man's house is burnt down, one of his friends who have clubbed together to furnish a new one, brings 'something exquisite' by Euphranor and Polycletus. In fact, the latter was considered by many the first among artists, the master in the representation of youthful beauty, who 'never ventured beyond beardless cheeks', whose works were distinguished for perfection of form more than depth of conception. Next to him, Myron is perhaps most frequently mentioned, whose figures of men and animals were especially impressive from their truthfulness to nature; more of their work was to be seen at Rome than of that of Phidias, whose masterpieces remained in Greece. Vitruvius calls them both representatives of the plastic art, as Apelles of painting. Artists of the times subsequent to Alexander the Great or the last days of the republic, amongst whom Pasitales and Arcesilaus were prominent, are practically never included among the 'old masters'. On the one hand, the accumulation by private persons of reputed ancient works of art, such as that of Domitius Tullus which filled a huge park, and the bandying about of the most famous names; on the other, the technical excellence of the art of that period and the great activity with which it reproduced antique and classical works, make it almost certain that collectors were often deceived by artists and dealers, and purchased copies instead of originals. Martial says of some one who boasted of his original paintings and real silver-goblets, that his friends were just as genuine as his collection. For the early empire we have express testimony that such forgeries were frequent and notorious. The fabulist Phaedrus says that, if he borrows the name of Aesop, it is only to enhance the value of his wares, 'after the manner of many artists of our time, who inscribe the name of Praxiteles on their new marbles, or that of Myron on polished silver, or that of Pausias on a picture. Thus spiteful envy always exalts counterfeit antiquity above contemporary excellence'. A Greek author under Hadrian states that Phidias had allowed his favourite Agoracritus to pass himself off as the author of the Rhamnusian Nemesis by means of an inscription on the statue, and adds: 'in like manner many others have inscribed some one else's name on their works'.

Mention in the literature of the period of works by great artists, of which nothing further is known, should be received

with caution. It is certainly possible that a vase with fishes carved in relief, a cicada, a bee, and a fly by Phidias were in existence, but we cannot believe it on the mere statement of Martial (which admits of another interpretation) or of the Emperor Julian. Work in precious metals (the toreutic art and *caelatura*) was 'one of the chief fields of artistic fraud', since the furnishing of sideboards with 'old' silver ware and of collections with 'original goblets' was the favourite artistic luxury. But the flourishing period of the toreutic art was brief, the number of famous artists small. The only authentic work with which Mentor, the greatest of them, the Benvenuto Cellini of antiquity, was credited by connoisseurs, was four pairs of cups. In shops and collections, on the other hand, they seem to have been by no means uncommon. Martial describes a shop dealing in costly *objets de luxe*, where, besides statues by Polyclethus, 'cups ennobled by the hand of Mentor' were procurable; and he regularly uses this name when speaking of old original works in silver. Although connoisseurs could only be deceived by good copies (such as those of Zenodorus after Calamis), there were doubtless many amateurs and collectors of the stamp of Trimalchio in Petronius, who had a special fancy for silver work and owned cups on which was represented 'the slaying of her sons by Cassandra, the dead boys lying so naturally that you would think they were real; and the shutting up of Niobe in the Trojan horse by Daedalus' (Medea slaying her children and the cow of Pasiphaë being really intended). He concludes the catalogue of his plate with the remark that it was all very massive. The passion for bronze works, especially of Corinthian bronze (the mixing of which was a lost secret), was almost as great. Nevertheless, there were always artists ready to produce work of this material, who probably often deceived connoisseurs, although they pretended to be able to recognize the genuine article by the smell.

It is certainly no mere accident that stress is so often laid upon externalities (such as antiquity, rarity, expensive material) in accounts of the artistic collections of the period; no doubt a great part of the collectors attached supreme importance to those qualities which they could most easily appreciate. Historical interest may also have been taken into consideration in various ways. Objects which had belonged to famous persons were much sought after and commanded a

high price : the earthen lamp of Epictetus 3,000 drachmae, the staff of Peregrinus Proteus a talent. The value of the diamond, presented to the beautiful Jewish princess Berenice by her brother Agrippa II, was enhanced by her having worn it on her finger. When Caligula put up certain imperial jewels to auction, the fact that they had belonged to Germanicus or Agrippina, Antony or Augustus, was taken into consideration in fixing the price for those who were forced to purchase, whether they wanted to do so or not. At the banquets of the rich the guests had not merely to convince themselves of the weight of the silver by lifting it, but had also to listen to a detailed history of every article. Juvenal describes a shipwreck, in which some chased silver vessels were thrown overboard, which were said to have been used by Philip of Macedon. Caracalla had some weapons and drinking vessels, which had belonged to Alexander the Great, the object of his special reverence. Martial, who when it was necessary knew how to treat such relics as a plank from the ship *Argo* with respectful awe, could not endure being forced to listen at table to 'the smoke-begrimed genealogies' of the silver cups placed before the guests, which were supposed to have originally belonged to Nestor, Achilles or Dido. In the case of pictures and sculptures also, the spectators probably had to listen to their early history. The little *Hercules* by Lysippus in the collection of Novius Vindex was said to have been in the possession of Alexander the Great, Hannibal and Sulla.

Probably collectors, more than any others, laid claim to being connoisseurs, and Trimalchio declares that he would not sell his artistic judgment at any price. Yet, as at all times, pretension was commoner than real knowledge. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who knew more about art than most Romans, seems only to have credited experienced artists with the capacity for settling the authorship of anonymous works and distinguishing copies from originals ; however, according to Statius, Novius Vindex possessed the first to a remarkable degree. Damasippus, as Horace makes him say, had devoted himself to testing the genuineness of Corinthian bronze, to judging defects in sculpture or roughness in casting, to putting prices on statues ; the latter quality stamps him as a connoisseur, for then as now connoisseurs were fond of parading their expert knowledge by valuing works of art. Of course, they

were always talking about 'mixing of bronze', 'contours', 'shading', 'proportions' and the like, of which laymen confessed themselves ignorant; for it was generally recognized that special training was requisite in judging works of art.

Naturally, the amateurs and enthusiasts, who are frequently mentioned and set down as fools from the Stoic as well as the strictly Roman point of view, far outnumbered the connoisseurs. The opponents of Greek culture had already reproached Marcellus with having led his countrymen into the evil habit of wasting time in artistic gossip, the result of the plunder of Syracuse. Slaves (especially Greek), who had the opportunity of examining the abundant stores of art in Rome, often neglected their duties; at any rate, the jurist Venuleius, in enumerating the faults of slaves, which a seller is bound to point out, mentions as mental defects, together with the mania for shows and a propensity to lying, a mania for incessantly gazing at pictures.

Thus, neither the enormous art collections of the Romans nor the wholesale employment of art for decorations and monuments prove the spread of any real artistic feeling. The accumulation of ancient works of art was only a form of Roman love of splendour, which with all its magnificence had something barbaric about it; the lords of the world aimed at possessing and enjoying, as far as was possible, all the precious things of the world, and at surrounding themselves with everything that could impart magnificence and splendour to life. Hence they dragged off to Rome the most famous works in all branches of art, but their appropriation of these treasures was only material. It was just the multitude of the impressions that dulled their effect, as Pliny rightly recognized, the more so as quietness and silence, indispensable to artistic contemplation, were impossible amidst the restless stress and movement of Rome. Very few had time to become absorbed in works of art; the majority were content to acquire a hasty and superficial knowledge of them. Tacitus, by way of characterizing the prevalent indifference to poetry, says that any one who had once seen a famous poet was satisfied and went his way, as if he had just seen a statue or picture.

As a matter of fact, notwithstanding all the new and old artistic splendour of Rome and the Empire, the fine arts never exercised any influence over the general progress of

Roman civilization ; Roman literature, regarded as a whole, provides an unexceptionable and irrefutable proof of this. Of the numerous poets and literary men of different periods, many of whom, the chief lights of their age, may fairly be regarded by us as its worthy representatives, there is hardly one who displays any interest in or knowledge of the fine arts. This varied literature, extending over centuries, and coming into contact in all directions with all important interests, during the first centuries of the Christian era is almost exclusively directed to the consideration of the present. Distributing alike praise and blame in its examination of the intellectual conditions of the age, it shows no trace of an appreciation of what really constitutes the essence of art, no expression of genuine emotion caused by its masterpieces. Wherever art is mentioned, it is spoken of unintelligently and contemptuously, or without sympathy or warmth. Although many individual Romans may have penetrated the nature of Greek art, on the whole it has always remained unknown and alien to Roman civilization.

If there still remained any doubt, whether the impression produced by Roman literature as a whole definitely proves the absence of artistic feeling amongst the Romans, such doubt is removed by a comparison of contemporary Greek literature. The sympathy and intelligence lacking in the one are unquestionably to be found in the other ; it is obvious that in this department the contrast between Greek and Roman civilization is uncompromisingly maintained. The ever lively national feeling of the Greeks would of itself lead us to expect that their attitude towards these creations of their great past would be far more sympathetic than that of the Romans.

While Tacitus believes that he can best indicate a superficial and cursory knowledge by comparing it with the contemplation of works of art, Plutarch laments that the 'majority' regarded an absorbed contemplation of objects of art more important than reflection upon their own lives. 'The majority believe', as Arcesilaus said, 'that we must closely examine poems, pictures and statues and review all their details in the mind and with the eyes, while leaving unheeded our own life, which offers many by no means unattractive subjects for contemplation'. All the remarks of Dionysius of Halicarnassus show independent criticism of painting and

sculpture ; on the other hand, the judgments of Roman writers upon eloquence in their comparisons of the art of oratory with the fine arts are evidently borrowed from books, and even the tasteful and refined Quintilian at times betrays a certain hesitation on this subject. To explain his remark that natural gifts can do much without culture, the latter nothing without the former, he makes the following comparison : had Praxiteles attempted to carve a statue out of a millstone, I should have preferred an unhewn block of Parian marble ; but had the artist completed a work from the latter, its value would consist more in his work than in the marble. Consequently, he considered a good material more valuable than work done with bad material by a good artist. A later Greek historian Memnon (in the history of his native town Heraclea on the Euxine) describes in detail the attributes of a statue of Hercules carried away from there by Aurelius Cotta (club, lion's skin, bow and quiver), 'executed, in beauty of proportion, grace and technical skill, in a style inferior to none of the most valued works'. A Roman writer would hardly have spoken so enthusiastically of such a subject even in the most detailed description. In his account of the fire under Nero, Tacitus mentions the loss of numerous Greek masterpieces in two words, Suetonius not at all. And when Herodian compares the youthful Elagabalus (Heliogabalus) with the beautiful statues of the youthful Dionysus in beauty, youthful bloom and delicacy of form, it cannot be considered as accidental that no such comparison is to be found in any Roman historian. In Plutarch's treatise on the famous men of Athens its painters are spoken of at length ; the section on sculptors is lost. Also in Greek geographical works, amongst the things for which individual places are noteworthy, their works of art and native artists, even such as were little known, are included. The dry, meagre, and external notices of works of art in Pausanias certainly do not show any love or knowledge of art, and even the affected enthusiasm in the descriptions of the Philostrati says nothing for the artistic feeling of the authors. Works of art such as scenes from nature, were just the subjects on which the stylists loved to display their learning. Art and nature aroused the interest of the sophists, both Greek and Roman, not for what they were in themselves, but only so far as they afforded an opportunity of exhibiting

their literary skill. The same remarks are applicable to the descriptions of nature and art in Apuleius as to those of his Greek models.

What a difference there is between this painfully elaborated enthusiasm and the language, full of warmth and feeling, which the irresistible effect of the statue of Olympian Zeus inspired in Dio of Prusa ! The sight of this masterpiece, he declares, would astound even irrational creatures, and no man, however miserable and overwhelmed with sorrow he might be, could help forgetting in the presence of this image all the terrors and burdens of life ; such light and grace has art bestowed upon it ! The criticism of this ideal of Zeus, which he puts into the mouth of Phidias, 'the wise and marvellous author of this magnificent work', the friend and companion of Pericles, expresses a lofty idea of the importance and power of representation of the fine arts, combined with an admirable and in many respects striking appreciation of the difference between art and poetry. Lucian, finally, of all the writers of antiquity shows the most comprehensive knowledge and the most thorough understanding of art ; his judgment is always independent, his taste follows the best models, his talent for characterizing works of art by a few features, or reproducing their effect in an enthusiastic description, is no ordinary one, as is shown in particular in his description of the Aphrodite of Cnidus by Praxiteles. For the rest, Lucian's interest also was almost exclusively directed towards the most flourishing period of Greek art ; the keener his eye became, the less worthy of his attention did the productions of later ages appear. In the same spirit Galen declares that the inferior education of his time and the fact that wealth was more highly prized than virtue, explained how it was that there were no masters such as Phidias among sculptors, Apelles among painters, or Hippocrates among physicians. Thus also Aristides calls those the greatest masters, who reached the highest by going beyond earlier art and made their predecessors seem children in comparison with them.

If, then, contemporary art is treated with no more consideration in the Greek literature of the imperial period than in Roman, the causes of this phenomenon are diametrically opposite in the two cases. Measured by the high standard set by the true artistic feeling of the Greeks, its value might easily

be underrated ; whereas the Romans, who in general had no idea of the real and independent value of art, regarded it only as one means amongst others of refining the enjoyments of life and of perpetuating the memory of persons and things. If we only possessed the two literatures, we should have no idea of what the fine arts even then were capable of producing, nor of the astonishing extent to which the need of artistic ornamentation and monumental representation had pervaded all classes of society, nor the enormous development of activity which it called forth in sculpture and painting. Yet how rich was this civilization, which was accustomed to dispose of the productions of art to an extent inconceivable to the modern world, which reckoned amongst the least of its possessions and carelessly scattered broadcast those treasures, whose immensity humiliates and fills us with astonishment !

II. MUSIC

Like every people whose organization is sufficiently advanced, the Romans had their own music and song from the earliest times ; but their modest instruments and doubtless simple melodies were reduced to silence, in the temples and on the stage, by the richer and more artistic sounds of Greek music. In the face of this art, introduced from without in a high stage of development, the native art was unable to hold its ground. In vain the old Roman party, hostile to everything that came from abroad, succeeded in 115 B.C., in passing a measure to prohibit the use of all musical instruments, except the Italian short flute with a few holes. Roman music, as an art in the highest sense, never existed, only Greek music transferred to Roman soil.

The art which the Romans took over from the Greeks was essentially different from modern music, and being less independent and completely subordinate to poetry, with which it was far more intimately connected than our own, it never possessed its importance. Musical recitative was an indispensable element of artistic form for most kinds of poetry, even those which according to modern ideas are entirely excluded from the domain of musical composition. Juvenal defines a poet as one who combines the eloquence of words with the harmonies of music.

It is well known that ancient tragedy and comedy resembled our opera and vaudeville far more than our ordinary plays. The Roman drama, in addition to spoken scenes, included musical interludes (*Cantica*) sung to the flute, melodramatic and recitative, as well as choral scenes properly so called ; it was usually preceded by an overture. All lyric poetry was intended to be set to music and accompanied by stringed instruments ; it was, in fact, regarded as ' songs written for the lyre ', especially choral, for whenever possible they were executed by choruses. This applies not only to the odes of the Greek lyric poets, such as Anacreon, Sappho and Alcaeus, which to all appearance were frequently chanted in imperial times, but also to those of Horace, which he himself calls ' words to be associated with the strings of the lyre ' ; and since there can be no doubt that they were intended to be sung with instrumental accompaniment, in spite of the absence of positive testimony we may assume that they were. Aristides was directed by Aesculapius in a dream to devote himself to songs and poetry, to learn music and to keep boys for the purpose ; also at the bidding of the god (and of Minerva) he composed paeans and hymns on different gods, which were sung by his boys. Now, if the hendecasyllables of the Younger Pliny were sung to the accompaniment of the lyre and cithara, we may believe the same of the hendecasyllables of Catullus. There is express testimony of the musical recital of elegiac poetry to the accompaniment of flutes in earlier times ; this was the case with the paraenetic elegies of Theognis, who states that young men would sing the name of Cynos to the notes of the short flute ; the elegies of Mimnermus, Phocylides and Tyrtæus were similarly treated. Ovid expresses the hope that his *Heroides* may be sung in the future by a skilled vocalist. Gellius describes a banquet given in the country near Rome by a young and wealthy musical friend, a native of Asia Minor. He kept excellent choirs of girls and boys, who after dinner sang ' in a pleasing manner ' to the accompaniment of the cithara several poems of Anacreon and Sappho and graceful love elegies of more modern poets. ' The verses of the poet and composer Seikilos, chiselled on his tomb at Aidin with musical notes and rhythmical marks over them, are Anacreontic in style '. If elegiac distichs were also sung at that time, the recitation at the same banquet of distichs of the

old Roman poets, Valerius Aedituus, Porcius Licinus and Quintus Catulus by the rhetor Julianus must also have been real song ; but as the old song, essentially a recitative, approximated more or less to declamation, the words *canere* (sing) and *dicere* (speak) could be used alternately and indifferently. The positive statement that Virgil's idylls were recited on the stage by singers is to be literally understood. Such recitations were often accompanied by rhythmic gestures, so that the execution was partly operatic, partly dumb show. Ovid in exile was cheered by the news that his poems were often 'danced' on the stage amidst applause. Although we know nothing definite about this mode of representation, the analogy of pantomimes renders it probable that the text (e.g., of the *Heroides*) was sung by a sort of chorus, while a dancer expressed the action in dumb show. And when we read of the epics of Virgil and Homer being 'sung', the word is probably to be taken literally, song in this case approximating more closely to recitation than in other classes of poetry.

In the middle ages also, the connexion between poetry and music was for a long time most intimate. The French *jongleurs* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries sang their romances to the accompaniment of the three-stringed Arabic violin. In Germany, as in France, 'a distinction between "singing" and "speaking," between musical execution and recitation of poems was only gradually established. Song and instrumental music were usually combined, and the court poet had to invent not merely the words but also the melody, which he accompanied on the harp, the fiddle, or the *Rotte* (a stringed instrument partaking of the nature of both)'. As late as the end of the sixteenth century the epics of Ariosto and Tasso were everywhere sung to the lute. The song of the Servians is rather 'speaking' than 'singing'; the monotonous sound of the *gusla*, which has only one string, is only heard at the end of the verse.

The extension of musical execution to nearly all forms of poetry in antiquity supposes a relation between words and music quite different from that of modern times. In modern lyrical compositions the text is in all cases subordinate to the music, whereas to a great extent in ancient vocal music the melody, like rhythm and metre, was only of secondary importance; its value consisted in the fidelity with which it was

adapted to the text. 'This is shown in particular by the newly discovered Delphic hymns'.¹

The Greek musical system was far less comprehensive than ours, and lacked its highest and deepest notes. Two octaves was regarded as the maximum range for the voice, which, however, as a rule preferred the single octave in which it was most successful ('the Delphic hymns, hellenistic in their technique, range within an octave and a half').

Besides the solo, antiquity was only acquainted with choral singing, which, however, only differed from the former in that the expression of the melody was strengthened by an increased number of voices; it was in unison, part-singing being unknown (as is still the case amongst the Greeks and most Orientals) and a creation of the middle ages. In the ancient chorus there was only a difference in octaves, when men and boys or men and women sang together. The director of the chorus (*coryphaeus*) stood in the centre, and at the same time acted as precentor; it was of course his duty to keep the singers in time and unison. But while there was undoubtedly a lack of what we call harmony, the instrumental accompaniment must have been heterophonous even in classical times, and consequently could deviate from the melody of the song. But this accompaniment (which was in a higher key than the singing) must not be considered part-song. It was an apposition of single tones, which certainly gave the melody a kind of harmonic foundation, but claimed no kind of independent importance as a second voice in the contrapuntal sense.

The centre of gravity in instrumental music was not situated in the concert of several instruments, but in the solo, that is to say, in the effect of a single instrument, the skill of the individual artist—a sufficient proof that this kind of music was only poorly developed. In the same manner, the simplicity or rather scantiness of the means at the disposal of instrumentation, makes it perfectly intelligible why it was, and was bound to remain, entirely subordinate to singing. It was practically limited to two instruments, the cithara and the flute; all other instruments, such as the horn and the trumpet (for military music), cymbals, kettledrums and other noisy instruments (chiefly used at the festivals of Bacchus) being

¹ See O. Crusius, 'Die delphischen Hymnen,' in *Philologus*, liii. (1894, supplementary volume).

outside the pale of art proper. The hydraulic organ, a later invention *de luxe*, seems to have been given a place amongst the acknowledged instruments of art during the empire ; it was accordingly allowed to compete (though certainly only in Rome) for prizes in musical competitions. Quintilian bears witness that its power of expression was considerable, since he allows its notes the power of alternately exciting and calming the audience.

Among flutes, the simple flute was the special instrument of artists and *virtuosi*, especially Alexandrian. It was, as is well known, not a cross flute, but a long one, and seems to have most nearly resembled the hautboy. Its tune was not soft and mild, adapted to express melancholy and tenderness, but rather wild and passionate ; but, although it is so described, it must not be forgotten that a contrast is implied with the colourless sound of ancient stringed instruments. These latter, the lyre and the cithara (closely akin and frequently identified forms of the same class) were instruments resembling a harp, without a fret-board, with strings of gut or sinew (metal strings being unknown to the ancients), whose number was gradually increased to eighteen. A number of oriental harps also made their way into Greece, which all appear to have more or less resembled the psaltery of the Assyrians and Hebrews. None of them ever attained the importance of the lyre, which, in all sizes, played the part in Greek music of the violin family in modern times. It was played either with the hands or with a little wand (*plectrum*), the latter being apparently only used in accompanying singing, not in simple instrumental performances, since runs and quick passages could be better executed with the fingers. The use of the bow (an invention of the Arabs) was completely unknown in antiquity.

The lyre and cithara, whose power of tone and expression appears to us extremely limited, indisputably took first rank in Greek instrumental music, 'since at the same time they permitted singing'. For the same reason the cithara was in higher repute than the flute, since it was harder to play. The *virtuosi* devoted their chief attention to it ; in spite of its limited artistic powers, it was difficult to acquire skill in the use of it, and perfect execution consequently created the greater admiration. Distinguished cithara players (*citharoedi*)

were famed for running over the strings with eloquent finger and making them resound as it were with human voice.

Cithara and flute were also played in concert, or independently, or as the accompaniment of song. But amongst the Romans the flute, played alone, rather accompanied dramatic, the cithara non-dramatic song, especially lyric choruses; 'it is the proper instrument in the accompaniment of the Delphic hymns'. It was generally recognized that the same kind of song was not suited for cithara and flute alike. Older Greek music also practised the combination of instruments of the same class on special occasions; thus, there was wedding music for two single flutes, a large and a small, which by playing together were intended to express the harmony of marriage and the precedence of the husband.

We need hardly point out the great difference between the concerto of flute and *cithara* and our orchestra, between ancient instrumental music and modern symphony. In the first place, we are at once struck by a peculiarity of ancient art, resulting from its strictly idealistic tendency, whereby it is especially distinguished from the modern—the uncommon moderation in the use of the means with which it endeavours to produce its effects. But ancient and modern instrumental music are also radically different in their aims. The former certainly endeavoured (and to a certain extent succeeded) to express and call forth certain moods and emotions; its means were also adequate to produce a considerable variety of expression, especially in later times. Aristides Quintilianus divides instruments into male and female. Among wind instruments, the trumpet (*tuba*) belongs to the former, the Phrygian flute to the latter; between both stands the (lower) Pythian (more male) and the (higher) chorus flute (more female). Of stringed instruments the lyre is male, the *sambuca* (with short strings and high treble tones) female; the *polyphthongon* approximates to the latter, the cithara to the former. Between these representative types of the chief kinds of instruments, there were yet others. In general the effect of stringed instruments was considered to be an elevation of the mind into a sphere of peaceful rest and untroubled calm, that of wind instruments emotional exaltation. Canus, a flute-player who was considered unrivalled in the second half of the first century, is reputed to have said that if his audience knew how

much more enjoyment his playing afforded him than them, they would not pay him but would make him pay them ; in Philostratus he boasts of his instrument (the Pythian flute) that it was capable of alleviating sorrow, of increasing joy, of fanning the flame of love, of elevating the devout.

If ancient music set itself the same tasks as the modern symphony, its extremely scanty means prevented it from ever approximately performing them in the same manner. Modern music transports the hearer from the highest to the lowest extremes of mental emotion, affects and touches by the expression of the ineffable, calls up spirits of gloom and bright forms, which struggle for the mastery of the human soul. J. M. Gesner declared that John Sebastian Bach, his colleague at the St. Thomas school, was able to produce effects with the organ, of which all the cithara-players in the world, assisted by six hundred flutes, would never be capable ; although ' a devoted admirer of antiquity ' he thought that his friend Bach or any one like him combined in himself many Orpheuses and twenty Arions. The contrast between a symphony of Beethoven, with the elementary, captivating and melting force of its waves of sound and the simple notes of cithara and flute, is as great as that between one of the great paintings of Raphael or Michael Angelo, with their profusion of forms, their great masses of light and shade, their power of conception and enchanting expression, and the simple and unpretentious, though frequently noble and gracious, figures on Greek vases.

Certainly, however, Greek instrumental music undertook to represent action even without an accompaniment of song, as in the so-called ' Pythian melody ', the subject of which was the combat of Apollo with the Python ; it consisted of five parts or phrases, arranged for the flute alone without song. In the first part the god chooses the scene of the combat ; in the second, he challenges the serpent ; the subject of the third was the combat itself, in which the flute imitated the blasts of the military trumpet and the monster gnashing its teeth when smitten by the arrows of Apollo. The fourth part described the victory, in the fifth the god executed a dance of triumph. The story that the famous *citharoedus* Timotheus, who performed at the wedding feast of Alexander at Ecbatana, had attempted to imitate a storm at sea in his *Sailor* shows that the attempt at imitative music was not confined to the flute ;

certainly the flute-player mocked him, declaring that he had heard more violent storms in his saucepans when they boiled.

If we may speak generally of a further development of Greek music amongst the Romans, it can by no means have been a development in the artistic sense. It consisted, as in the case of all the other arts which were transplanted from Greek to Roman soil, in a strengthening or rather wider but less refined application of the means and the introduction of a mixture of heterogeneous elements, in order to attain stronger but coarser effects, corresponding to the coarser taste of the Romans. As early as the time of Augustus the flute, with a lengthened pipe, an increased number of holes, and plated with brass, had become an instrument which could compete with the trumpet ; it certainly differed from the old Italian flute as much as a modern grand piano from the little spinets of our great-grand-fathers. This strengthening of the sonorousness of the flute soon brought about similar changes in the construction of other instruments, although Ammianus Marcellinus is the first writer who speaks of *citharae*, 'as large as carriages'.

Further, the combination *en masse* of instruments of the same kind and the gathering together of a large number of different instruments produced great effects. The former at least was known in the time of the Diadochi, especially at the court of Alexandria, where Ptolemy Philadelphus introduced into an enormous and magnificent procession a chorus of 600 men, amongst whom 300 *citharoedi*, carrying gilded *citharae* and crowns of gold, played in unison. The concert of instruments of different kinds also was probably not uncommon in Alexandria, since it had been peculiar to Egyptian music from the earliest times. On the monuments of the ancient kingdom of the Pharaohs may be seen stringed, wind and pulsatile instruments, sometimes instruments of the same kind (two harps, eight flutes) being played together. The monuments of the new kingdom exhibit Egyptian music under a far more brilliant and magnificent aspect. 'The orchestras of this period are more numerous, the sounds of the harp are mingled with those of the lyre, flute, double fife, guitar and hand-tymbal', although only females appear as players and singers. The pomp-loving court of Alexandria was not likely to neglect to enhance the splendour of its marvellous festivals and

pageants by employing the native music, which was so admirably suited for the purpose.

Foreign music other than Greek also at an early date made its way into Rome. From the time of the campaigns in Asia Minor women, in whose hands Eastern music had always been, played the Chaldaeo-Babylonian *sambuca* at banquets and carousals; later, female musicians from Syria (*ambubaiae*, from Syrian *abbubo*, 'fife') were to be heard on public places with native instruments (fifes, stringed instruments, kettle-drums) in increasing numbers. The Babylonian bagpipe is first mentioned at Rome in imperial times; Nero wanted to try it, although it is quite possible that it may have been long known. In any case, from the beginning of the empire, it is the influence of the neo-Egyptian or Alexandrian music which seems to have chiefly contributed to the reorganization of Roman music, especially instrumental. Even under the emperors Alexandria continued to be the seat of a manifold and prolific musical activity. Its population yielded to no other in the world in its love and knowledge of music; even those who could neither read nor write were able to detect at once a false note on the cithara; male and female singers or players on the cithara roused the masses to frenzy; music appeared to be a panacea for all evils. Alexandrian musicians and singers after the time of Augustus were held in high esteem at Rome, where they met with the greatest success. An Alexandrian *virtuoso* on the *trigonon* (perhaps the large 6 ft. high Egyptian harp), who performed publicly at Rome about the end of the second or the beginning of the third century, aroused such general enthusiasm, that many soon knew by heart the melodies he had played. Thirty years after the conquest of Egypt, the ladies of Rome were as familiar with the Alexandrian melodies as with theatrical airs, and at the end of the first century Roman dandies were in the habit of humming these airs as well as those of the Gaditanian ballets.

In the last days of the republic, certainly, 'symphonies' and the choruses who executed them (*symphoniaci*) are often mentioned, especially at the luxurious banquets and orgies of the wealthy. But these choruses at that time may have consisted entirely of players on the cithara and flute. It was perhaps the invention of the pantomime (*pantomimus*) in 22 B.C. which led to the introduction of orchestral music properly so

called into the Roman theatre. The texts represented by the dancers were sung by choruses which, in the very large uncovered theatres, required a very powerful accompaniment, in entire harmony with the character of a spectacle, the chief object of which was to affect the senses. Pylades, the founder of this kind of music, and also perhaps of the new Roman theatrical orchestra, when asked in what his innovation consisted, is said to have replied in the words of Homer: 'In the sound of flutes and pipes, and the turmoil of men'. In the new orchestra the flute must have been the leading instrument, although panpipes, cymbals, *citharae* and lyres, as in the Egyptian orchestras, combined to produce the noisy effects of the *tutti*. In accompanying the pantomimes and other dancers, time was marked by an instrument called *scabellum*, which could be attached underneath the feet of the players; it consisted of two boards fastened together, which clattered noisily with each movement of the foot. An orchestra which was not completely swamped by this manner of beating time must have been a powerful one, and this music in general can hardly have been anything else but a noisy representation of the rhythm. For the rest, insensibility to the noise of beating time has persisted in modern Italy to a degree that appears astonishing to a northerner.

To all appearance, then, the alteration which Greek music of necessity underwent at Rome, to render it capable of answering the claims upon it, was in part at least in accordance with oriental ideas. Anyhow, the concerto of different instruments, purely instrumental or in singing accompaniments, continued to be as common in Roman music as it was rare or even unheard of in Greek, the combination of the *cithara* and flute excepted. In the time of Horace, songs accompanied by the lyre, the pipe, and the Berecyntian flute were heard in the temples of Venus; and according to Athenaeus, on the occasion of the Parilia, which since the time of Hadrian had been celebrated as a festival of the goddess Roma (April 21), songs were sung throughout the city to the sound of flutes, cymbals, and drums. Maximus of Tyre compares the poetry of Homer, in the variety of its manifold qualities and effects, to a panharmonic instrument, or rather to an orchestra, in which flute, lyre, trumpet, panpipe and several other instruments unite to form the accompaniment of a chorus song.

In imperial Rome also performances of vocal music took place with the aid of colossal appliances. Seneca says that the number of singers in the theatre exceeded that of the spectators in earlier times ; that singers and musicians not only filled the stage but all the places not occupied by the spectators ; that the accompaniment consisted of a number of metal wind instruments in the body of the house, and of flutes and organs of all kinds on the stage. If we remember that the Roman theatres held many thousands of spectators, we can easily believe that these performances far exceeded in dimensions even the English *monstre* concerts. The taste for massive musical effects seems at least not to have diminished in later times. At a celebration of the Roman games ordered by the emperor Carinus pieces were executed by a hundred trumpeters, others by hundreds of performers on different kinds of flutes ; and Ammianus Marcellinus, who describes the Roman aristocracy of his time as extremely fond of music, but absolutely devoid of all other intellectual interests, says that hydraulic organs and flutes of every kind, as well as the *citharæ* 'as large as carriages' already mentioned, were made for the palaces of the great.

The strengthening of the means employed led to, or at least explains, the gradual loss of moral dignity by Roman music, which was used to flatter the senses by gross effects and to tickle the ears of the vulgar. The old Roman theatrical music in the time of Naevius and Livius Andronicus is characterized by Cicero as 'of amiable severity.' In wealth and variety of musical effect it was related to the music of the imperial period as a pre-Mozartian opera to one by Meyerbeer or Wagner. The old constraint and poverty were replaced by greater freedom of rhythm and method, change and variety of modulations, wealth and movement of melodies. Yet this emancipation from the old-fashioned simplicity of the art soon led to its decay, to which the domination of pantomime, with its effeminate and undignified music, wanton and full of noise and trills, mainly contributed. In the first centuries of the Empire, more earnest friends of art repeated, no doubt with even greater reason, the regrets already heard during the time of Alexander the Great. It was said that the ancients alone had known how to preserve the dignity of art ; that modern composers would have nothing to do with their serious tenden-

cies, and had substituted an enervated and chattering music for one that was virile and divine. 'There', says Plutarch, 'reigns the art of dancing, to which music is almost entirely subordinated'; and Quintilian expresses the opinion that the indecent and effeminate music of the stage had largely contributed to the annihilation of the still surviving remnants of virility. A Greek writer (pseudo-Plutarch *De Esu Carnium*, ii. 2) declares that a distempered ear should be regarded as a disease which had corrupted music, 'the soft and effeminate notes of which provoke immodest touches and lascivious tickling'.¹

In short, the lamentations of that period over the decay of music greatly resembled those uttered in modern times by the champions of a more serious tendency in music. More than seventy years ago, Thibaut, in his treatise *On Purity in Musical Art* (English translation by W. H. Gladstone, 1877) declared that 'in music there may be concealed all manner of impure, morbid and immoral elements; and thus the rubbish that, if presented by the pen or pencil, could not, for credit's sake, fail to be rejected, comes to be swallowed wholesale by the unwary'. 'Many of our innocent girls, if they knew what they are often obliged to hear, or even to play or sing themselves, would die of shame and disgust'. The author inveighs against the 'enervating, uncouth, preposterous, or meretricious', in music; against the 'spasmodic, distorted, exaggerated, rampant and deafening noise, which stirs up everything ignoble in man'; he asks whether music, half compounded of unnatural and unhealthy elements, is not more injurious than beneficial to us; adding that of all the arts it is least able to escape the reproach of having contributed to the vitiated taste of the age. According to him, it is necessary, by returning to naturalness and simplicity to restore to the unstrung nerves of music the elasticity that they need, and to revive what is at the point of death—'the pure love for music as music, and the ennobled taste, which asks to be purified and elevated by music, not to be led into and irrevocably engulfed in the mire of the vulgar and unnatural'. It is besides easy to understand that the ancient seat of this effeminate music, whose prevalence at that time was so deplored, was Alexan-

¹ W. Baxter's translation in Plutarch's *Morals* trans. by various hands (London, 1870).

dria, and that the relation between the music of that city and ancient Greek music was analogous to that between modern Italian (and to some extent French) music and the German music of the eighteenth century.

But if the Romans degraded the art of music by allowing it to become an instrument for the satisfaction of sensual enjoyment, we must at least allow them the credit of having known exactly how to make the most of it for this purpose. Music, like all the other arts, was employed by them, to a far greater extent than is usual or possible at the present day, to enhance the pleasures of life and beautify existence. Only the existence of an institution such as slavery; only the fact that the arts, which we are accustomed to regard as a costly product of rarely united factors, as the flower of our intellectual life, were then learnt and practised on a large scale by slaves at the bidding of their masters and under the superintendence of overseers, could render possible the employment of art on such a gigantic scale in the service of luxury. In the armies of slaves, some of them at least natives of highly civilized countries, who belonged to the great men of Rome, there must have been many intelligent and gifted men; and, under the conditions of ancient art, there were far more opportunities for learning and instruction than in modern times. Thus it was easy to form 'chapels' of singers and musicians of every kind from the hundreds or thousands of slaves of a great house (as from the Russian serfs), which could be completed by the purchase of fresh artists, who besides were continually passing from one owner to another by sale, gift or inheritance (thus, in Russia, Potemkin bought from Count Rasumovski a band of fifty performers for 40,000 roubles). Chrysogonus, Sulla's wealthy freedman, had so many musicians among his slaves, that the neighbourhood of his house resounded day and night with the noise of their songs and flutes. When their masters took short excursions, they were accompanied by bands of singers and musicians; the villas and watering-places visited by the *élite* of society re-echoed from morning till evening with the sound of music and song. Maecenas was lulled to sleep by the gentle strains of symphonies from a distance; Caligula, reclining on the deck of a magnificent galley, by the murmuring waves of the gulf of Naples and the noise of song and music.

At table, especially, where all the senses had to be gratified

at once, there was no lack of music ; a practice which persisted to the last days of antiquity, frequently to the torture of the guests. ' You ask ', says Martial, ' what is the best kind of banquet. That at which there is no flute-player '. At luxurious feasts large choruses accompanied the fair Andalusians in their castagnette dances ; at the gay repasts of a society of learned men Greek male and female singers sang songs of Sappho and Anacreon to the music of the cithara ; the Younger Pliny leaves the single guest, whom he has invited to a simple meal, the choice between a reading, a scene from a comedy, and a performance on the lute ; and Martial, who had a lodging on the third floor, promises a friend at least a performance on the short flute, to season an extremely frugal meal. The extent to which musical entertainments monopolized the banquets of uneducated upstarts is shown by the description, which can hardly be a caricature, of Trimalchio's banquet in Petronius, which certainly belongs to a period in which a real or affected fondness for music was extremely prevalent. In this the food is brought on and handed round, the tables brushed and wiped, in fact, all the details of service carried out to a continual accompaniment of music and singing : ' You would have thought you were in a theatre, not a private house '.

From time immemorial music had been an item in all spectacles and religious ceremonies. In imperial times there appear to have been special singers of hymns (*hymnologoi*) attached to the temples of Greek and Oriental divinities (e.g. the Great Mother and Attis); in the cult of Isis music played a specially important part. Nevertheless, a distinction between sacred and profane music was unknown in antiquity (' even though there was a special sacral style for certain solemn climaxes in divine service ') ; indeed it could not be otherwise, since spectacles formed part of the religious service, which throughout was of a cheerful and festive character. Perhaps Mendelssohn in the chorus of St. Paul (*Seid uns gnädig, hohe Götter*) succeeded in reproducing the impression of old religious music as nearly as is possible under modern artistic conditions. The Catholic service also, until the reform of Church music was undertaken by Palestrina by direction of the Council of Trent, was accompanied by singing like vaudeville melodies ; hence also the lauds before the images of

the Madonna were occasionally sung in the style of carnival songs or *strambatti*, short popular songs most nearly resembling our street ballads. Even in modern Italy there is hardly any essential difference between secular and religious music at the daily service even in Rome, none at all in Naples.

Owing to the unrestricted publicity of the ancient spectacles theatrical melodies must have spread far more widely and rapidly than is possible at the present day ; people were heard singing the airs heard on the stage in the streets and public places. As early as Cicero's time there were many connoisseurs, who at the first note of a flute ritornello, could say whether the piece was from the Andromache or Antiope, which astounded Cicero himself ; and even in those days the general public keenly criticized the singers and allowed no mistake to pass without an expression of disapproval. But the spread of an interest in music at that date is most clearly shown by the performances of the nature of concerts unsupported by dramatic action ; on the other hand, in 167 B.C., the Roman public was so entirely uncultivated, that the chief Greek flute-players and their choruses could only arouse interest by giving a kind of rough and tumble performance.

A century later it was no uncommon thing for musical *virtuosi* (*citharoedi*), who accompanied their songs on the *cithara*, to obtain a favourable reception at Rome. They came forward in the magnificent Pythian festal attire ; a long, gold-embroidered robe, a purple cloak with ornaments of divers colours, a golden crown on the head flashing with precious stones, the artistically fashioned *cithara*, covered with gold and ivory, in their hand.

In imperial times, in addition to the *citharoedi*, other artists gave performances without singing on different instruments, especially the *cithara* and its varieties, the flute and the organ ; there were also dramatic singers (*tragoedi*), whose airs and lyric scenes, often performed by them in mask and costume, closely resembled dramatic representation, and lyric singers properly so called, who specially chanted hymns in honour of the gods. Similarly, at the Isthmian games Nero is said to have sung a hymn to Poseidon and Amphitrite and a short song on Melicertes and Leucothea. It is not known whether the female singers and *virtuose*, who delighted the public of Alexandria, also performed in public at Rome. A

mural painting at Herculaneum represents a concert scene ; in the centre is seated a flute-player, in a long embroidered robe, playing on the double flute and beating time with the *scabellum* ; on the right stands a female player on the *cithara*, grasping the strings with her left hand and holding the *plectrum* in her right ; on the left is seated a female singer, a copy of the words in her hand, waiting for the cue to join in. Certainly, the painting seems to represent a public concert, but it affords no certain indications as to time or place. Choruses, with or without soloists, frequently sang to different instruments. It is quite possible, although there is no positive proof of it, that pieces of the nature of symphonies were performed without singing at public concerts, as a kind of introduction to instrumental solos.

Nero, who desired to shine not merely as a poet, but also as a singer and *citharoedus*, first introduced Greek *agones* (artistic competitions) into Rome, where they were afterwards regularly held. At the periodical 'sacred' festival, instituted by him in the year 60, musical competitions formed the chief attraction. Although they did not give such offence as athletic contests, they were disapproved in conservative circles. 'Justice', says Tacitus (*Annals*, xiv. 20), 'had nothing to gain from them ; the knights would not fulfil their duties as jurymen any more efficiently, after hearing, as experts, effeminate songs and languishing airs'.

The Capitoline competition, instituted by Domitian in 86, was held in far greater and more lasting repute than the Neronian. For the musical performances Domitian ordered a covered theatre to be built in the Campus Martius by the famous architect Apollodorus ; it was called the Odeum, was capable of holding 10,000 or 11,000 spectators, and as late as the fourth century was considered one of the most beautiful buildings in Rome. At this festival, which was celebrated every fourth summer, poets, singers and musicians competed for the wreath of oak-leaves, which the emperor himself presented to the victors after the judges had pronounced their decision. This distinction, the comparatively rare occurrence and solemnity of the festival and the brilliancy of the audience, lent an unparalleled importance to these contests of singers and *virtuosi* in the musical world of the period. In fact, the winner of the prize was considered the first in his art not

merely in Rome, but in the world. Artists came from the most distant countries, from Asia and Egypt, to take part in the competition, and several monuments are still extant, with inscriptions stating that this or that 'celebrated' musician had gained the crown at the Capitoline *agon*. Special mention is made of competitions in singing, playing on the *cithara*, the solo on the Pythian flute and dramatic recitations; competitions in simple *cithara*-playing without singing and on the choral *cithara*, introduced by Domitian, were soon discontinued.

The executants naturally preferred the compositions of the best known masters. Thus Menecles, the ambassador of the Teians to the cities of Crete, frequently played on the *cithara* compositions by Timotheus and his near contemporary Polyidus, 'admirably and in the style of one who understood the technique'. For the rest, such executants were not only far more commonly (if not as a general rule) composers than at the present time, seeing that the handling of the far simpler and consequently more permanent musical forms could have offered little difficulty to skilled musicians, but they were also frequently poets, the result of the closer connexion between poetry and music at that time. The most famous *virtuosi*, such as the singer Tigellius of the court of Augustus, the *citharoedi* Menecrates and Mesomedes of the courts of Nero and Hadrian, were famous for the performance of pieces composed or set to music by themselves. Some fragments of the poems of Mesomedes are preserved, and the music to the hymns to Nemesis and Helios.

In other respects, the style affected by the musical *virtuosi* of the imperial period was much the same as that of the present day. The greatest value was of course attached to training by an experienced singing-master (*φωνασκός*); hence in inscriptions on singers the name of their instructor is sometimes expressly mentioned. A certain Marcus Aurelius Musaeus was 'the first and only singing master' to whom statues had been erected at Elis and Delphi for his success as a teacher. Among the long and wearisome preparatory exercises by which perfection was attained, the solfeggio from the lowest to the highest notes was especially prominent. In addition, vocalists were obliged to lead a strictly regulated life, which was considered necessary for the strengthening and development of the voice. They spared their throat as much as possible, rested

it for a time after every effort, and held a handkerchief before their mouths, when they had to speak loudly. They were extremely temperate, in their eating and drinking, used purgatives and embrocations, lay on their back with sheets of lead on their breast, walked at certain times, avoided the sun and wind, fog and dry air, and so forth. In fact, for singing in large and partly open spaces far stronger and more lasting vocal powers were required than at the present day. And yet *citharoedi* and *tragoedi*, when they appeared in public, sometimes strained themselves so violently that they broke a blood-vessel.

From the time when their artistic development was complete, the *virtuosi* were nearly always travelling; they could not possibly obtain a permanent engagement in one place, since there were no regular theatres and performances only took place on the occasion of particular festivals. The more famous Greek *virtuosi* regularly toured through Asia Minor, Greece and Italy, and were frequently honoured with statues, civic rights and other distinctions, in the towns where they had been enthusiastically received. The fees and income of artists of repute, including prizes at festal performances, were very high. Vespasian, in other respects so parsimonious, ordered several musicians of experience to appear at the games given by him at the dedication of the theatre of Marcellus, which he had restored; a *tragoedus* received 400,000 sesterces, the *citharoedi* Terpnus and Diodorus 200,000, some 100,000, none less than 40,000, not counting the distribution of a large number of gold crowns. Music teaching in great houses at Rome was also very lucrative, and the fees of famous singers and *citharoedi* were the envy and disgust of literary and scientific men. Martial, tired of his wearisome and fruitless duties as a client, removed for a time from the capital to Forum Cornelii (Imola) whence he wrote to his friends that he would never return to Rome except as a qualified *citharoedus*. Again, in a spirit of bitterness, he advises a father not to give his son a learned education, nor to allow him to touch the works of Cicero or Virgil; he even advises him to disinherit him, if he writes verses; if his son wants to learn a profession by which he can earn a living, let him become a *citharoedus* or *choraules*.

Of course, these *virtuosi* had crowds of enthusiastic admirers

of both sexes. The passion of women for singers and musical *virtuosi* furnished ample material for scandal, satire and lampoon. Wealthy ladies of distinction cherished the little wands with which famous *cithara*-players had smitten the strings, pressed kisses on these precious mementoes, offered sacrifice for the success of their favourites in an approaching competition, and sometimes, it was asserted, even paid a high price for their favours. In the highest circles and even at several courts *virtuosi* were honoured and highly paid guests. Mark Antony the triumvir bestowed the collectorship of the taxes of four cities and a military escort upon the famous *citharoedus* Anaxenor, who had been honoured by his birthplace Magnesia on the Maeander with a priesthood and public memorials. Tigellius of Sardinia, the singer and flute-player, who was on the most intimate terms with Caesar, was equally welcome at the courts of Cleopatra and Augustus. The dramatic singer (*tragoedus*) Apelles of Ascalon, a powerful favourite of Caligula, fell into disgrace because he hesitated to answer the Emperor's question, 'which of the two seemed to him greater, Jupiter or Caligula?' The emperor ordered him to be flogged, and congratulated him on his voice, which he declared sounded very pleasant even when he was howling with pain. Nero presented the *citharoedus* Menecrates with a palace and a large estate. Mesomedes of Crete, the poet and composer already mentioned, freedman and favourite of Hadrian, on whose favourite Antinous he composed a panegyric, received a salary which Hadrian's successors thought it right to reduce.

This lively and flattering sympathy and favour, shown in various ways, was bound to foster caprice, vanity and arrogance. The fabulist Phaedrus relates with great satisfaction, how one of these puffed up *virtuosi* had recently made himself universally ridiculous by his absurd vanity. The flute-player Princeps ('prince'), who usually accompanied the famous pantomime-dancer Bathyllus (freedman of Maecenas and inventor of the comic pantomime), broke his leg while the scene was being changed (owing to his own carelessness or the fall of some scenery). He was confined to bed for several months and the artistic public greatly missed his performance. When he was able to walk again, a distinguished personage, who was arranging a spectacle (apparently an allegorical piece at a popular festival) asked him to appear in it. The curtain

fell,¹ the thunder rolled, the gods spoke in the usual manner ; after which the chorus struck up a song, the words of which were unknown to Princes, beginning with ' Rejoice aloud, O Rome ; thy Prince is safe and sound ' ! The public rose and applauded ; Princes, thinking the applause was meant for him, threw kisses to the spectators ; the knights (whose seats were in the front of the house) observed his folly and conceit and laughing loudly demanded an encore. The song was repeated, Princes bowed to the ground on the stage, the knights again applauded in mockery. The general public at first believed that he was asking for the crown. But when his real meaning became known, the impudent fellow, who had dared to claim the homage paid to the divine (imperial) house, was thrown out amidst general indignation, ' with his beautiful white leg-bandages, white tunics, and white shoes'.

According to Horace, capriciousness was a never-failing peculiarity of all *virtuosi*. The fault of singers, he says, was that, when amongst their friends, they could never be induced to sing; but, when not asked, there was no stopping them. Tigellius of Sardinia, who had deeply offended Cicero in 45 by his pretentious irritability is represented by him as a type of instability and capriciousness. Even the imperious Augustus often asked him in vain to sing and seems to have put up with the rudeness of an artist who had already been spoilt by Caesar. If, however, Tigellius thought fit to oblige, he would sing ' Io Bacche ! ' from the first course to the dessert in every key. He was a mass of inconsistency. At one moment he would run as if a pursuer were at his heels, at another he would walk slowly as if in a procession. Sometimes he had two hundred slaves, sometimes ten. Now he would talk big, now he asked for nothing more than a three-legged table, a salt-cellar, and a coarse *toga* to keep out the cold. If he received a present of a million, in a week his purse would be empty. He scattered his easily-gotten wealth broadcast, and his lavish generosity attracted a retinue of quacks, beggars, jesters, and female dancers and singers. Hesat up all night and slept all day.

The mutual envy and jealousy of the artists were especially aroused by the musical competitions. Rivals watched and strove to conciliate one another, while secretly abusing, and

¹ It was *lowered* at the beginning of the performance, and *raised* at the end, contrary to the custom of the modern stage.

sometimes even publicly insulting each other. Dangerous competitors were got out of the way by bribery or otherwise rendered harmless. In the presence of the judges and the public a great show of respect was made. Nero, who scrupulously observed the regulations for the public appearance of the *citharoedi*, never sat down when tired, never spat, never wiped the perspiration from his forehead except with his hand or dress, always prefaced his performance by an appeal to the people: 'Gentlemen, give me a favourable hearing!' At the end, the performer again sought a favourable verdict, doing obeisance on bended knee and saluting the public with his hand, and awaited with real or pretended nervousness the decision of his hearers.

Even the most famous *virtuosi* rarely appeared without having paid for applause in advance. Leaving the competition out of consideration, this was perhaps excusable in the case of artists who had to appear before thousands of hearers of the lowest class, who were by no means chary of their expressions of disapproval; *citharoedi* were frequently hissed off in the theatre of Pompey, which explained their nervousness on entering. Evidently, there was a considerable number of people at Rome, who had nothing else to do but 'applaud a Canus or a Glaphyrus', and the *claque* was considered a lucrative profession.

This lively and general susceptibility of the Romans to music necessarily led to dilettantism in execution. Certainly, Roman prejudice, which considered not merely professional ability in music and singing, but even their practice for amusement, as utterly improper for the freeborn (especially men of rank), had long resisted the fashion. But as a result of the increasing influence of Greek manners and customs, the old-fashioned severity had long since made way for an increasingly liberal tolerance even in this respect. As early as the time of the Gracchi, there were singing and dancing schools at Rome, which were attended by boys and girls of good, even noble, family, no doubt to the great disgust of men like the Younger Scipio. But practice and skill in singing at least were soon looked on more indulgently. In the *De Oratore* of Cicero (91 B.C.) one of the chief personages of Rome at the time (the orator Lucius Licinius Crassus, consul 95, censor 92) mentions without any sign of disapproval that his friend, the knight

Numerius Furius, a family man, occasionally practised as an amateur the art of singing which he had learnt as a boy. Certainly, when a man of Sulla's position not merely admitted actors to his society but did not disdain to be thought a good singer himself, this was bound to give great offence. Cornelius Nepos, in speaking of the differences between Greek and Roman manners and ideas, states emphatically that the Romans considered music unseemly for a man of prominent position. The foppish and dissipated youths, who belonged to Catiline's party, are described by Cicero as skilled in affairs of the heart, singing, dancing and playing on stringed instruments. Diletantism in music was, no doubt, at that time disapproved by many in any circumstances, but the theoretical study of the art must have been by no means uncommon, since Varro included it amongst the sciences which formed the basis of a general education. From the beginning of the empire the theory of music was no doubt not only generally reckoned one of the higher subjects, but it was quite a common thing for boys to be taught to sing and play on stringed instruments as a finish to their education. The section on music (treating of rhythm and metre) in the encyclopaedic work of Augustine on the seven liberal arts, based on that of Varro, is still extant. Columella mentions musical as well as rhetorical and mathematical schools. Titus, who was brought up at the court of Claudius with his son Britannicus, and 'instructed in the same sciences by the same teachers', made rapid progress in all branches of learning. He was not only well acquainted with the rhetoric and poetry of the two languages (Greek and Latin), but 'he was also a good musician, and played skilfully and agreeably on the *cithara*'. Britannicus (born February 13, 41), whose superior voice excited Nero's jealousy, had also received a musical education. At the Saturnalia in December, 54, Nero, chosen 'King' by lot amongst his companions, ordered the young prince, who was not yet fourteen years of age, to come forward and sing a song, hoping that he would make himself ridiculous. But Britannicus sang a poem with the utmost self-possession, containing obvious allusions to his having been unlawfully deprived of the throne. The general emotion aroused by the song aggravated Nero's hatred, and was the direct and final cause of the horrible assassination of this promising lad in the following year. Suetonius expressly states

that Nero when a boy had received instruction in music as well as other branches of learning, and Seneca (in the year 54) praises him as the equal of Apollo in voice and execution. One of the instructors of Marcus Aurelius was Andron, who taught him music and mathematics. The biographer of Commodus declares that he had profited nothing by the teaching of the best scientific masters, but that from his earliest years he had shown talent in things ill-suited to the imperial dignity, such as the art of modelling cups, dancing and singing.

Of course more importance was at all times attached to the musical education of girls than of boys. Famous musicians like Demetrius and Tigellius in Horace's time spent a great part of the day by their pupils' easy chairs. These girls not only learnt to sing, but to play on the *cithara* and other stringed instruments; frequently they became sufficiently proficient to set poems to their own music. Choruses of boys and girls, and even of women, of good family often sang at religious festivals. Catullus wrote a hymn of praise to Diana for one of these double choruses. At the secular games the festal song was sung by twenty-seven boys and girls, whose parents were still alive, in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine and in the Capitol, or during the procession to and from the two sanctuaries. At the funeral obsequies of Augustus children of distinguished family of both sexes sang the lament for the dead; according to Herodian, at the rites preceding the apotheosis of the emperors, a chorus of boys and women of noble birth, standing by the bier in the Forum, sang the praises of the deceased to mournful and solemn melodies.

At the dedication of the temple of Augustus by Caligula in the year 37 boys and girls belonging to the noblest families, whose parents were still alive, sang a panegyric. On certain occasions men of rank were not only permitted, but even ordered, to sing in public. Even so earnest and austere a man as Thræsea Paetus sang a scene from tragedy in costume in his native city of Patavium at a solemn spectacle, a long-standing institution, which was only held at intervals of thirty years.

In olden times the more serious Romans only partially approved of the musical dilettantism of girls and women; this is Sallust's point of view, who says of Sempronia, the

confidante of Catiline, that she sang with greater skill than be-seemed an honourable woman. Later, to all appearance, the voice of censure became silent, and proficiency in music was generally recognized as one of the essentials of female education. An accomplishment which made Statius's stepdaughter a good match was her skill in playing the lyre and singing his poems to her own music ; the Younger Pliny's third wife was equally accomplished. Lucian praises in exaggerated terms the singing and playing of the beautiful Panthea of Smyrna, the favourite of Lucius Verus. He compares her to the Muses and Sirens ; at the sound of her voice the nightingale is mute ; her singing is worthy of her beautiful lips. She accompanies the *cithara* to perfection ; her careful observance of the melody (*ἀρμονία*), and strict adherence to the words, are severely correct ; her voice rises and falls in measured cadence ; the *cithara* is in perfect agreement with the voice, the *plectrum* keeps time with the throat ; even Orpheus and Amphion could not attain the rapid movements of her fingers or her euphonious modulation.

But even the musical dilettantism of men appears to have aroused only trifling opposition in the time of Augustus. As a matter of fact, the only writer who expresses his disapproval in imperial times is the Elder Seneca, a consistent admirer of the old Roman simplicity and austerity of manners. He laments that noble studies are neglected, that men's minds are taken up with pursuits which are even worse than idleness, that the indecent occupations of singing and dancing claim all the attention of an effeminate youth. The censure of the Younger Seneca, writing under Claudius, is only directed against an exaggerated dilettantism. According to him, passionate lovers of music spent the whole day in hearing, singing and composing airs ; tortured their voice by artificial modulations to produce an unnatural expression ; were continually beating time with their fingers to some piece which they had in their head ; even on serious, nay, melancholy occasions, they could not help humming a tune. Similarly, Manilius describes a lover of music, who at a drinking bout enhances the enjoyment of the wine by sweet song, sings on the sly even at work and business, and when he is alone does nothing else.

The extent to which musical dilettantism had spread in Rome since the beginning of the empire is amply confirmed. By means of a beautiful voice a man might hope to please the

ladies ; an accomplished singer might look for an entry into the best circles. Generally speaking, it would seem that musical talent was especially appreciated as a passport to society. Trimalchio in Petronius asks one of his guests, who had the reputation of being a good singer, to give the company something good ; the guest regrets his inability to oblige ; he declares that in his youth he had sung so much that he nearly became consumptive. Trimalchio himself 'murders' some airs of Menecrates, a famous *citharoedus* and composer of Nero's time. The universal dilettante in Martial, who does everything 'nicely', but nothing well, sings 'nicely' and plays the lyre 'nicely'.

This dilettantism seems to have been very common even in the highest circles. Gaius Calpurnius Piso, the leader of the conspiracy against Nero in 65, according to the *Laus Pisonis*,¹ played the lyre so admirably that he might have been a pupil of Apollo ; and indeed, in time of peace why should he have been ashamed of it ? Achilles himself swept the strings with the same hand which hurled the terrible lance against the foe. The number of emperors who are said to have been amateur vocalists or instrumentalists is remarkable. Hadrian was proud of his singing and proficiency in playing the *cithara*. Fronto, when advising Marcus Aurelius to enjoy his holiday at Alsium, appeals to the example of his predecessors, amongst them Hadrian, who found time from the cares of state to occupy his mind with other things, being fond of a good meal, of composing, and of the society of flute players. Caracalla also played the *cithara* and erected a memorial to the famous performer Mesomedes, who had gained a great reputation at the courts of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. Elagabalus (Heliogabalus) sang to the accompaniment of the flute (i.e., dramatic scenes), blew the trumpet, played the *pandura* (a stringed instrument) and the organ. Alexander Severus, who was also fond of music, played the lyre, the flute and the organ, 'as well as the trumpet, although he gave up this instrument after he became emperor'. It thus appears that the *cithara*, although undoubtedly the favourite instrument of the dilettante, was by no means the only one. Nero made a vow that, if he succeeded in putting down the revolt against him, he would perform on the hydraulic organ, the

¹ A panegyric on Piso now generally attributed to Titus Calpurnius Siculus.

bagpipe and the choral flute, at the games with which he intended to celebrate his victory ; at a time when the gravest danger threatened, his counsellors, after a hurried consultation, had to spend the rest of the day in inspecting some newly invented hydraulic organs and listening to his explanations of their respective difficulties. Lucius Norbanus Flaccus was a zealous trumpet-player and practised assiduously, even on the morning of the day on which he entered upon his consulate (January 1, 19 A.D.) ; the crowd assembled before his palace to compliment him took it as a bad omen that a consul should be heard playing on an instrument inseparably associated with war. Of course, the example of the emperors contributed to the spread of this dilettantism, especially in the highest circles.

The manner in which all these instances are recorded makes it clear that what shocked Nero's contemporaries was neither his passion for music nor his performances as an amateur, but the fact that he was not a simple 'amateur', but posed as a 'professional', performed before the public, and submitted his performances to its judgment. The conviction that he was a born artist dominated his mind throughout his life ; and with the oft-repeated words upon his lips, 'What an artist is lost in me !' he died. It is easy to imagine how he was strengthened in his conviction by the exaggerated expressions of enthusiastic admirers. Even his tutor Seneca, in a poem on his accession, calls him the equal of Apollo 'in the art of singing and vocal powers'. Another poet compares him as a *citharoedus* not merely with Apollo celebrating his victory over the Python, but with the divinity who stretched the heptachord of the zones of the world : 'if there are gods, then surely they speak with a voice like his'. On the outbreak of the revolt against him, nothing is said to have excited Nero so much as a proclamation of Vindex in which he was called a poor *citharoedus*. The falsehood of this reproach, which denied him knowledge of an art in which he was a thorough proficient, was regarded by him as the best proof of the falsehood of the other charges brought against him ; he kept asking his courtiers whether they knew a better player. To the astrologers who early foretold his deposition he gave the answer (well known in Rome) : 'My beloved art will help me to endure it'. Immediately after his accession, he summoned Terpnus, the most famous *citharoedus*

of his time, made him sing and play to him every day after dinner and far into the night, and endeavoured to train his dull and feeble voice by incessant practice and study and the strictest attention to diet. He made his first appearance in the year 59 (the fifth of his reign and the twenty-second of his age) in his garden and palace on the right bank of the Tiber ; in 64 in the 'Greek city' of Naples ; but it was not till 65 that he appeared publicly as a *citharoedus* in the theatre of Pompey at the competition instituted by himself. Towards the end of 66 he set out on his professional tour through Greece, from which he probably returned at the end of 67. Next to playing on the *cithara*, he liked best to appear in semi-dramatic performances of solo-scenes from tragedies in costume and mask. Probably, like most other *citharoedi*, he was also a composer. A regular army of well-trained and organized *claqueurs* always greeted his entrance with applause. As often happened at this period, the cruel and the ridiculous were combined. Spies were everywhere on the watch, and woe betide the man who did not applaud loudly enough, or slipped out of the house before the end of the imperial turn, or went to sleep ; when there was an epidemic of sore throats in the city, it went ill with any one who forgot to offer vows and sacrifice on behalf of the 'heavenly' (i.e., imperial) voice.

Our information as to the state of culture, for the first decades of the third century to about the end of the fourth is extremely meagre. In the last days of antiquity we at least know that the love of music was widespread in both pagan and Christian society. The astronomer, Firmicus Maternus, speaks of 'public musicians held in honour by the people', 'choral musicians', composers and inventors of stage melodies. Ammianus Marcellinus says that the palaces of Rome, once famous for devotion to serious studies, were now filled with the amusements of languid indolence, and resounded with song and stringed instruments. 'In place of the philosopher the singer, in place of the teacher of eloquence the teacher of music is summoned ; musical instruments of all kinds are everywhere to be seen, while the libraries are shut like tombs'. At Constantinople John Chrysostom thus addresses his congregation from the pulpit : 'Which of you could recite a psalm or anything else from the Scriptures, if invited to do so ? But if any one were to ask for devilish airs, for amorous and

indecent songs, he would find many among you thoroughly at home in such things and delighted to oblige him'. Further, the general decay of ancient civilization during those times warrants the supposition that this condemnation of music was not merely justified from the Christian point of view; that the only aim of the art was to provide frivolous sensual enjoyment; and that theatrical music especially, while pantomime absolutely dominated the stage, thought of nothing higher than pleasing the ear.

As music became less and less serious and dignified in character, the more dangerous must have appeared its use in Christian worship, of which church singing was from the beginning an essential element; at least there were good reasons to fear its secularizing influence. Jerome warns those whose duty it is to sing in church not to praise God with the voice but with the heart; not to soften the throat and voice with sweet medicaments after the manner of tragic actors, in order that theatrical airs and melodies might be heard in church. For the same reason, many took offence at the singing of women in church. In the case of the majority, says Isidore of Pelusium, it offers an opportunity for sin; instead of being rendered contrite by the diviner psalms, they only find an incitement to passion in the sweetness of the melody of which they think no more than of songs in the theatre. One who desires to act acceptably to God, must forbid women to sing in church or even to stay in the town, since they abuse the divine gift. Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem (died 386) absolutely forbade women to sing, since the apostle Paul imposed silence upon them in the congregation. The ascetics regarded fondness for music as an unlawful and fleshly desire. Augustine, who was very susceptible to music and often shed tears when he heard the hymns of Ambrose, considered it dangerous for this very reason to abandon himself to such emotions. Fearing that the only reason why the hymns found favour with him was their sound that pleased the ear, he sometimes wished that singing in church could be abolished altogether, and the psalms recited in the manner introduced by Athanasius in Alexandria.

The most ardent supporter of church singing in the West was Ambrose, as Basil had been in the East. Certainly, said he, Christians ought not 'to find delight in deadly songs with theatrical colorature (*chromata*), which incline the heart to

sensual love': but he had all the more esteem for plain-song which he regarded as truly edifying. 'What is more beautiful than a psalm? It is the praise of God and a harmonious confession of faith. The apostle certainly orders that women should be silent in church, but they sing the psalms very well. Every age and sex is suited for psalm-singing. While singing, the old no longer feel the hardships of old age; the younger men sing without incurring the reproach of effeminacy, youths of impressionable age without temptation to sensuality, girls of tender years without injury to their female modesty; women and young maidens, without loss of decency, in dignified earnestness make the praises of God resound melodiously with their sweet, rich-toned voices. How difficult it is to obtain silence in church, when the service is simply read; but the moment the psalm is heard, there is silence at once'.

However, all recollection of the heathen origin and character of music gradually disappeared, in proportion as the old forms received fresh substance; and since they were found to be perfectly adapted to receive this substance, the forms of music created by the old Greek artistic feeling have been preserved in some respects less altered than those of any other art. The system of the six or seven Greek 'modes' handed on in an unbroken tradition remained even in Christian times the foundation of musical composition, 'just as the recitative style of the late-antique sacral music, dependent on the tone in the old Christian *melos*, lived on and still lives (as already shown by Helmholtz) in the liturgical recitations of the Catholic church, although the narrow and fixed rhythmical forms have been broken up'. The masters of the eighteenth century ensured the success of a system based on two 'modes', and in connexion therewith won the first place for a system of harmony (in the modern sense) at once rich and simple.

'Thus', says Westphal, 'we have a most peculiar phenomenon in the history of the arts. On the one hand, the very art, which struck out a path most divergent from the ancient spirit, has come down to us in its historical development directly from antiquity in one continued tradition; on the other hand, the old rules of the plastic art, poetry and architecture, which still possess for us the value of authority, have had to be discovered at a relatively late period'.

HR
F

ROMAN LIFE AND MANNERS UNDER THE EARLY EMPIRE

By
LUDWIG FRIEDLÄNDER

Authorized Translation of the Seventh Enlarged
and Revised Edition of the *Sittengeschichte Roms*

by
J. H. FREESE, M.A. (CAMB.)

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CONTENTS

CHAP.

I BELLES-LETTRES: POETRY AND ARTISTIC PROSE.

PAGE

I-83

Effects of the system of education. Its chief aim eloquence. Care of the state and communes for instruction in eloquence. The first course consisted of reading and elucidation of the poets. Greek and Roman poets read at school ; in the first century chiefly living poets. Reaction against modern literature. The old poets introduced into the schools. Fronto. Aulus Gellius. Archaic poetry in the second century. Effects of the study of the poets. Teachers often themselves poets. Precocious poets numerous. Improvisation. Rhetorical schools. Pupils' written exercises. Declamations. *Suasoriae*. *Controversiae*. Romantic themes. Tyrants and pirates as subjects. These subjects used in the *Gesta Romanorum*. Magicians in *controversiae*. Greek rhetorical schools. Effects of the rhetorical schools. The rhetorical colouring of poetry, and the poetical colouring of prose. Decrease of school education and decay of language in the second century. Attempts to restore its purity. *Effects of the classical poetry of the Augustan age.* Its importance. Creation and spread of a poetical language. Popularity of Virgil and other classical poets. Poetical dilettantism the result of classical poetry. *Effects of the monarchy.* Parallels from the literature of the early empire. Imperial interest in poetry and literature. Augustus. Maecenas. Tiberius. Nero. Titus. Domitian. Nerva. Hadrian. Disappearance of poetical dilettantism from the court in the second century. Reasons of this phenomenon. Results of the revived importance of poetry and literature. Rise of the book trade. Writing and printing compared. Prices of books. Foundation of public libraries. Introduction

of recitations. Great increase in their number. How the reciters presented themselves. Expressions of approval. The younger Pliny on recitations. Emperors present. Readings in the Middle Ages and modern times. Crowning of poets (especially the Capitoline). Quintus Sulpicius Maximus. Poets crowned in the Middle Ages. Domitian's Alban competition. Precarious livelihood of poets. Juvenal's description. Their dependence on the generosity of the rich and great. Mutual advantages of this state of things. Imperial generosity to poets. Augustus. The later emperors. Generosity of great men. Maecenas. His relations with Horace. Later poets no more than 'clients' of their patrons. The panegyrics on Messalla and Piso. Worse position of poets in Nero's time. Martial's efforts to obtain patrons at court, amongst the aristocracy, amongst the knights. Patrons of Statius. Poverty of both poets. Martial's degraded attitude. Poetry as a means of social amusement. Statius's attitude more dignified. The higher occasional poetry a substitute for journalism. Large output of occasional poetry. Occasional poems of Martial and Statius on the same subjects. Disagreement between Statius and Martial. Their mutual envy and jealousy. Over-production of poetical literature. Preponderance of (mythological) epos. Influence of Virgil. Poetical trifles. Poetry mostly reproduction. Imitation of Virgil and Catullus. Poetical dilettantism of the younger Pliny. Poetical dilettantism common in the higher circles, even at an advanced age. Revolution brought about in Hadrian's time by sophistic. Greek sophistic and its effects in the Greek and Roman world. Interest taken by the emperors and the Romans generally in the sophistic art. Influence of Greek sophistic on the Roman literature of the second century. Apuleius. Importance of poetry in general education after the Renaissance period.

CHAP.

PAGE

II RELIGION	84-214
-----------------------	--------

I. The Belief in Gods (Polytheism).

Difference between literary and monumental authorities. Literature hitherto almost exclusively utilized. Irreligious tendencies in the latest pre-Christian and earliest Christian times. Hatred of belief a rare occurrence. Lucretius. Epicureans and Sceptics. Religious views of educated Romans outside philosophical circles. Belief (Tacitus). Wavering between polytheism and monotheism (Quintilian). Absolute denial of the gods (Pliny). Reconciliation of faith and reason in Stoic theology. Restoration of belief in the second century. Development and dogmatic authority of the theory of demons. Plutarch. Apuleius. Maximus of Tyre. General impression produced by Greek and Roman literature in the second century. Lucian. The second century emperors. Characteristic phenomena of the newly awakened religious life. Aelian's intolerant orthodoxy. Fanaticism of Aristides. Undiminished strength and permanence of the popular belief. Three proofs of it. (1) *Its power of assimilation*. Adoption of elements from Oriental religions. Theocracy a necessary effect of the intercourse of nations. The idea of superstition relative and variable. Theocracy, only ridiculed by unbelievers, did not give offence to believers. Plutarch's reverence for Greek and Egyptian gods alike. Hellenization of oriental and barbarian gods. Spread of barbarian cults by the soldiers. Nomenclature of barbarian divinities dependent upon the extent to which individual countries were romanized. (2) *Productivity of Polytheism*. New divinities. Annona. Belief in genii. The deification of human beings. The imperial cult. The worship of the dead and living in Greece as heroes. Cult of kings under the Diadochi. Apotheosis of Antinous. (3) *Power of resistance shown by polytheism*. Its influence on Christians. Direct evidence of

the undiminished vitality of the popular belief. The belief in miracles. Appearance of the gods in person. Other divine miracles. The belief in miracles strengthened by the struggle between paganism and Christianity. The same miracle claimed by both. Belief in the announcement of the future in advance the commonest form of the belief in the marvellous amongst the educated. Prognostics in the writings of the historians. Tacitus. Suetonius on Augustus. Continuance of the belief in traditional methods of prophecy. *Haruspicina*. Astrology. Oracles. Their temporary decline owing to the preponderating influence of Italian methods of divination. Their revival and spread of their reputation outside Greek countries. The oracle of Alexander of Abonuteichos. Widespread belief in the significance of dreams. Its connexion with the belief in Providence. The interpretation of dreams a science. The dreambook of Artemidorus. Diseases cured by dreams. The votive tablets of Minerva 'the mindful'. Belief in the efficacy of local divinities outside their proper sphere of influence. Belief in the gods as givers of blessings. Prayer. Votive inscriptions and other religious monuments. Invocation of national and local divinities. General invocation of the gods of definite spheres of influence, especially Jupiter. Lack of definite information as to the number of unbelievers and indifferentists. Atheists a small minority. Cult and its effects on the maintenance of belief. Maintenance of very old forms of cult and ritual in Rome. The ritual of the 'field-brethren'. Old local cults in other parts of Italy. Continuance of very old cults in Greece. Continuance of a general participation in religious worship. Sacrifices. Piety shown practically in the building of temples and other endowments for cult purposes (especially the images of the gods and their adornment with clothes and trinkets). Costly temple presents. Military posts for their protection.

Contents

ix

CHAP.

PAGE

II

Provision for priests and temple attendants. Worship of images. The image identified with the divinity. Desecration of the divine images a proof of the strength of the belief in the power of the gods 84-170

II. Judaism and Christianity.

Contrast between monotheism and polytheism. Judaism and Christianity differently related to polytheism. Dispersion of the Jews in the ancient world. The Jewish emigration not especially commercial. Their settlements in the East and Africa, in Rome, in the rest of Italy, in the West and North. Civil and social position of the Jews. Hatred of the Jews. Attractiveness of Judaism. Religious freedom up to the time of Hadrian. *Christianity*. Missionary zeal of the Christians. Persecutions after the time of Trajan. Comparatively small number of martyrs. Chief causes of the rapid spread of Christianity. Impure elements in the Christian communities. Sects. Montanism. The author of the *Refutation of all Heresies*. His account of the career of Callistus. Christian writers on the state of affairs in the Christian communities. Spread of Christianity (especially in Rome) in the first and second centuries. Relation of Christians to the general population. Spread of Christianity amongst the upper classes dates from the time of Commodus. Christianity rarely mentioned and little known up to the third century. Heathen converts of rank before the reign of Commodus. The supposed relations between Seneca and the apostle Paul. The period from Theodosius to Justinian. Christianity treated with contempt up to the third century. The long death-struggle of paganism a proof of its vitality. Pagan elements which survived the downfall of paganism 170-214

III PHILOSOPHY AS A MORAL EDUCATOR 215-281

The connexion of ancient morality with religion and the supposed dangerous effect of

anthropomorphism. The example of the gods alleged as an excuse for sin by 'sophistic'. Nature of ancient as contrasted with Christian morality. Relation to the deity and mankind. Moral philosophy. Knowledge the foundation of happiness. Happiness. Resignation. Pagan morality recognized by the Christians. Clement of Alexandria. Spread of Greek philosophy in the Roman world. Opposition to philosophy. Antipathies due to the Roman national character. Philosophy disliked by the authorities. Persecutions of philosophers. Change after the death of Domitian. Philosophy in favour under Marcus Aurelius and Septimius Severus. Attempts to represent philosophy as harmless to the government. Seneca. Philosophy disliked by the masses. Most uneducated and many educated men regarded it as useless. The contrast between rhetoricians and philosophers. The elder Seneca. Quintilian. Fronto. Lucian. Aristides. Opponents of philosophy appeal to the immorality of its professors. Pseudo-philosophers in Rome and Greece, especially under Marcus Aurelius. The Cynics. Philosophy recognized amongst the Romans as a guide to morality. Differences of opinion as to the amount of philosophical training required. Roman sympathy for philosophy. The school of the Sextii. Spread of Stoicism, Epicureanism, and other systems amongst the Romans. Philosophy usually begun in early youth. Logic and Dialectic. Physics. Ethics. The teachers' right and obligation to supervise their pupils' manner of life. Teachers of philosophy under three aspects. (1) As educators and spiritual advisers in distinguished families. Lucian's description of their treatment. Philosophers at court. (2) As heads of public schools. Instruction in philosophical schools unsatisfactory. Both pupils and teachers in part responsible for the failure. Flowery language and eagerness for applause. (3) Philosophers as moral missionaries and popular

Contents

xi

CHAP.

PAGE

III

preachers (Cynics). Demetrius. Demonax. Peregrinus. Points of resemblance between Christianity and Cynicism. Standard of morality elevated by the development of philosophy in the early centuries. The assumption of a general decay of morality during this period unfounded.

IV BELIEF IN THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL . 282-313

Attitude of the educated towards the belief in immortality. The elder Pliny. Materialistic epitaphs. Epicureanism. Denial of immortality in other systems. Belief in and proof of immortality. Platonism and neo-Pythagoreanism. The doubters. Galen. Quintilian. Tacitus. Cicero as the representative of believers amongst the educated eclectics. The Stoics. Seneca. Figurative representations on monuments a proof of the belief in immortality. This belief held by a vast majority amongst the masses. Popular ideas of the underworld. Belief in the ferryman of the dead. Widespread idea of a more or less material existence after death. Belief in apparitions a proof of the belief in immortality. Incantation of the spirits of the dead. 'Devotion'. Difference between the Christian and pagan belief in immortality. Connexion between the living and the dead unbroken in the Greek and Roman cult of the dead. Desire to be remembered by posterity. Christian view of death, if not followed by resurrection. Pessimism of the ancients. Death the greatest blessing that nature has given to man.

INDEX

315

CHAPTER I

BELLES-LETTRES

POETRY AND ARTISTIC PROSE

IN the following investigation an attempt will be made to show that the influence of poetry on education in general in later Roman times was much more comprehensive and far-reaching than in modern days. For this purpose it will be necessary to obtain an idea of the relation of the educated world to poetry, the mission of the latter, the resulting position of poets, and lastly the substitution of artistic prose for poetry,

The relation of the educated world to poetry was in great measure determined by the instruction given to youth, the aims and methods of which were entirely different from those of to-day. The aim of the modern instruction of youth is to put him in the way of defining his attitude in regard to the most important branches of human knowledge, to facilitate, as far as possible, his understanding of the manifold works of science, and to render him capable of taking his part in them. On the other hand, in antiquity its task was far simpler, since the branches of learning now taught in schools did not exist at all or only in a rudimentary condition, or were not considered as forming part of a general education. The development of the creative faculties, not increased power of receptivity, was the object in view. Education was not intended to facilitate the acquisition of comprehensive knowledge, but of special excellences; of a perfect mastery of linguistic expression; of the artistic employment of words to set forth ideas in a clear and persuasive manner; of the choice of the most suitable and elegant phraseology.

In republican times, when language, far more than knowledge at the present day, represented 'power'; when, as Tacitus says, 'no one attained great power without the aid of elo-

quence', this is easy to understand. But although political eloquence was reduced to silence after the downfall of the republic, the lively susceptibility of the southerners to the 'living word' and all the habits of ancient life still rendered necessary to a certain extent in all cases public and spoken utterances; and even under the empire the relation of the written to the spoken word, as far as their importance and influence on each other were concerned, was inverse to that in which they stand in the modern world. 'It is by the power of language', says Diodorus, 'that the Greeks are superior to the barbarians, the educated to the uneducated; by this alone one man can be superior to many'. 'It is easy', says the elder Seneca, 'to pass from eloquence to all other arts and accomplishments; it equips even those, whom it does not train with special reference to itself'.

Eloquence was indispensable not only for advocates and teachers, but also for higher officers or functionaries, for the senator or statesman, and, generally speaking, for all who aspired to a prominent position in life. The best standard of the value attached to it in imperial times, the best proof that it was even then regarded as the most important element in education generally, is the fact that it held the first place in the different branches of instruction, and long remained the only one for the teaching of which the state considered it its duty to provide. The first public professorships founded by the government in Rome and endowed with an ample salary (100,000 sesterces) were those of Greek and Roman oratory. The emperor, who imposed this burden on the treasury and summoned Quintilian, 'the glory of the Roman *toga*',¹ to the Roman chair, and made him 'the chief controller of the unsteady youth', was Vespasian, the economical ruler, the inveterate opponent of all ideal tendencies, in whose eyes practical needs were everything. Soon, not merely the large cities of Italy (at least about the middle of the second century), but even many smaller towns and the provinces had their professors of eloquence appointed by the communities; the largest no doubt, like Rome, had chairs of both Greek and Latin.

An unremitting and exclusive study of poetry prepared the way for the teaching of eloquence. The poet 'formed the stammering lips of the child'; reading and elucidation of

¹ Referring to his practice as an advocate, when it was necessary to wear the *toga*.

the poets was almost the only subject of school instruction for the rising generation. On the other hand, only a trifling knowledge of music and geometry was recognized as necessary or desirable; the former, instruction in which was frequently limited to theory, seems to have owed its admission into the curriculum to its connexion with poetry, which was far closer than in our own days. The youthful mind was also introduced by poetry to some other branches of learning—geography, astronomy (which in both Greek and Latin furnished themes for poetical descriptions), philosophy, the history of literature, and history proper, in which legend and mythology were generally included. At the same time children were intended to adopt and assimilate the doctrines of morality and worldly wisdom from the poets, whose maxims were probably collected for this purpose in numerous selections especially adapted for school use.

Where a higher education was aimed at, the instruction at school of course included Greek as well as Latin poets. It began with Homer, a course approved by Quintilian; 'for although riper years were necessary for a complete understanding of his poetry, every one would read him more than once'. Of other poetical works he mentions tragedies and lyric poems; he would apparently only exclude those which might offend the scrupulous, for example, elegies; he especially recommends Menander, whose pieces were read in boys' and girls' schools in Ovid's time. Even in the last days of antiquity Homer and Menander were given to boys beginning Greek. The father of the poet Statius kept a school at Naples, which, as his son assures us, was attended not merely by boys from the neighbouring towns, but also from Lucania and Apulia. At this school Homer, Hesiod, Theocritus, Pindar, Ibycus, Alcman, Stesichorus, Sappho, Corinna, Callimachus, Lycophron, Sophron and other poets were read. Certainly, such an extended study of Greek poetry outside of Greek countries would hardly have been possible, except in a city like Naples, where the Greek language and manners still held their ground; but it may fairly be assumed that every educated man, probably when he left school, had some acquaintance with the most important Greek poets. This is shown by Seneca's story of Calvisius Sabinus, who, to appear learned, made his slaves learn the poets by heart from which he was fond of quoting; in

addition to Homer and Hesiod, he mentions the nine lyric poets.

We know nothing further as to the choice of the Greek poets for school instruction, whether or to what extent it varied at different periods ; but we do know that the Latin poets read at school in the second century were not the same as those read in the first ; a change due to the revolution in literary and artistic taste, which began after the time of Nero and was complete at the beginning of the second century.

In the first century, Virgil was the first Latin poet put into the hands of the young ; and his poems were the foundation and the main subject of the Latin course, as those of Homer of the Greek. Next to him probably Horace was most read ; even at the beginning of the second century their busts usually adorned the schoolroom ¹. The grammarian Quintus Caecilius Epirota, a freedman of Cicero's friend Atticus, is said to have been the first to introduce the most modern poets as a part of the curriculum in his school, opened after the death of his patron the poet Cornelius Gallus (died 26 B.C.) In this he read and commented on the poems of Virgil (evidently before the death of the latter in 19 B.C.) and other living poets, which gained him from Martial the name of ' nurse of poets in swaddling clothes '. But Caecilius probably only established as the rule what had hitherto been the exception ; for Horace, in a satire written several years later, declares it is folly for a poet to desire the applause of the multitude and to feel flattered at his poems being read in second-rate schools, where, to all appearance, after this period the works of the most modern living poets were read by preference. We may conclude that Lucan's epic was read at school immediately after its publication from the fact that in Vespasian's time poetical ornament ' from the sanctuary of Virgil, Horace, and Lucan ' was required of the orator ; this is further confirmed by the express statement of Suetonius and the extraordinary care taken by the booksellers in the get-up of his works, the sale of which, says Martial, was the best proof that he was a poet. Persius says it is a fine thing for a poet to have his verses dictated to a number of curly-headed boys ; and the statement of the scholiast, that this refers to Nero's poems, which at that time were in general use in schools, is in

¹ Juvenal, vii, 227. According to the scholiast, however, the reference is to copies of their works.

itself very probable. At the conclusion of his *Thebaid*, Statius could assert that this poem, the result of twelve years' labour, was already eagerly studied by the youth of Italy. Martial, whose poems were of course entirely unfitted for educational purposes owing to their indecencies, represents his sportive Muse as asking him whether he felt inclined to put on the *cothurnus* of tragedy or celebrate wars in epic, 'that a pompous schoolmaster might read him in a hoarse voice, and that he might become the aversion of growing girls and good young men'.

But at that time it had long been a subject of dispute in literary circles, whether the preference should be given to ancient or modern literature and of course the out-and-out supporters of the former would not hear of the latter in the schools. As early as the time of Vespasian there had sprung up a keen opposition to the extravagances, unnaturalness and affectation of modern prose. Quintilian, whose authority undoubtedly was decisive in many quarters, was on the side of the opposition. On entering upon his professional duties, he found Seneca, the most brilliant of the modern writers, the object of the universal and enthusiastic admiration of young men, just because of his dazzling and misleading errors, which his imitators multiplied and outdid. Quintilian and those who thought with him strove for and brought about a regeneration of prose on the basis of the Ciceronian style, which, remodelled in conformity with the needs of the time, gained in mobility, colour and brilliancy.

But even then some of the archaists were greatly dissatisfied. They believed it was necessary to go back about a century, to find the models by which the degenerate taste could be re-educated; they extolled the elder Cato, the old chroniclers, orators such as Gracchus, and the poets of the time of the Punic wars (Naevius, Ennius, Plautus, Accius, Pacuvius, Lucilius and their contemporaries), and of course also wanted to see them introduced into the schools. About the year 90 this tendency had gained ground to such an extent that Quintilian recognized the last demand as legitimate. He was too moderate and liberal-minded, his taste was too fine for him to take sides in the dispute, least of all with the archaists; his views were far more modern; he did not share their enthusiasm for Plautus and Ennius, and only accorded

the latter the respect due to what is consecrated by age. In his review of the standard authors he does not even mention Cato or Gracchus. However, he admitted that it was proper to read the old poets at school. According to him, their works were certainly well adapted to nourish and promote the development of a boy's mind, although their strength lay rather in their truth to nature than in their art ; but they were especially calculated to increase the *copia verborum*, tragedy by its seriousness and dignity, comedy by its elegance. Their composition also, regarded artistically, was more careful than that of most of the moderns, who considered sententious phrases the chief beauty of poetical works. Consequently, it is in the works of the older writers that moral earnestness and internal vigour must be looked for, since the language of the moderns has degenerated owing to its ultra-refinement and affectation. Finally, Quintilian appeals to the example of Cicero and other great orators, who certainly knew what they were about, when they introduced into their speeches so many passages from Ennius, Accius, Pacuvius, Lucilius, Terence and others. To all appearance, it was under Hadrian that the archaists gained the upper hand. The fact that the Emperor, who preferred Cato to Cicero and Ennius to Virgil, gave them his support, was bound to ensure their supremacy ; and under the two Antonines they appear to have obtained almost absolute control over literature and the schools, to judge from the reputation enjoyed by such a nonentity as Fronto, their most extreme representative.

But even the members of this party held divergent opinions ; the most exclusive and absolute veneration for the ancients, combined with equal contempt for the moderns, is to be found in Fronto. In his correspondence with his royal pupils, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, which is full of quotations from ancient literature, the names of Virgil and Livy will be looked for in vain ; Horace is mentioned once. Only after the accession of Marcus, when begging permission to resume his former duties as teacher, does he mention Seneca and Lucan, and then only to issue a most serious warning against both. He then expresses, with indescribably comic apprehension, his serious anxiety on the subject of a certain penchant for the modern exhibited by Marcus in one of his speeches. He allows that there are many beauties in Lucan, but ' little pieces of

silver are to be found even in sewers ', if any one likes to rummage for them. The safest thing is to abstain from reading such works altogether, ' for on slippery ground there is always more danger of tripping '.

Aulus Gellius, on the whole, held the same views as Fronto ; he thought it necessary to mention Seneca once, in order to pronounce strongly and decisively against him. He thinks it will be enough to quote the offensive criticisms of this ' insipid and insensate ' fellow upon Ennius, Virgil and Cicero ; Lucan he never mentions. But Gellius, although a great pedant, was by no means without taste and was less narrow-minded than Fronto ; he admired Virgil as much as Ennius. Certainly, he mentions no other poets of the Augustan age except Horace, whom he pays the honour of citing a passage in support of the name of a wind.

Thus, in the course of about a hundred years, a complete revolution in literary taste had taken place ; the prose and verse writers who had been admired and imitated in the first century were despised and ignored in the second, and *vice versa*. The number of poets which the two periods united in admiring, appears to have been small ; in addition to Virgil, whose greatness even the archaists never contested, a special favourite was Catullus, for whom even the moderns had an affection, and whom Martial imitated before all others. Juvenal is the last of the moderns ; he had a lively recollection of how Statius, the celebrated epic poet of the party in the time of Domitian, delighted all Rome by the announcement that he would read his *Thebaid* ; how all flocked to hear him and were enchanted ; how the seats collapsed from the frenzied stamping of the audience. But a generation later, Statius was completely forgotten, and in the time of Hadrian Lucan had long ceased to be read in schools. Nevertheless, several of the moderns still had friends and readers ; thus, Aelius Verus was especially fond of Ovid and Martial (whom he called his Virgil), who was one of the poets most frequently read to the last days of antiquity. But the friends of this kind of literature cannot have been very numerous in the second century. Ennius, to whom Quintilian thought he had shown sufficient respect by allowing him to pass as a venerable relic of antiquity, was now in every one's mouth. Reciters of Ennius (*Enneanistae*) toured Italy, and Aulus Gellius tells how one

of them read the *Annals* of Ennius in a theatre at Puteoli, amidst the enthusiastic applause of his audience. Grammarians (*φιλόλογοι*) had above all to be strong on Ennius. In a letter (written in 161) to his former pupil, the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, who had gone for a few days to Alsium to recruit, Fronto pictures the emperor reading for amusement after his siesta, 'seeking refinement from Plautus, taking his fill of Accius, enjoying the charm of Lucretius, or firing his imagination with Ennius'.

It goes without saying that the few poets of talent whom that age produced moved on the lines of the ancient authors. The poets Annianus and Julius Paullus, friends of Gellius, were intimately acquainted with the ancient language and literature, the second being one of the most learned men of his day; another learned poet, a friend of Fronto, was well read in Plautus and Ennius. A short but very characteristic specimen of archaistic poetry has been preserved in the epitaph of a certain Marcus Pomponius Bassulus, chief municipal magistrate of Aeclanum, written by himself after the manner of Plautus in elegant old-fashioned Latin, and in a style commendably free from exaggeration ¹.

Naturally this radical revolution in taste brought about a similar change in the school curriculum; the modern poets were either entirely displaced by the ancient or at most tolerated by their side. In Quintilian's time the old poets were probably read in many schools concurrently with the modern; when Gellius went to school, Ennius was read everywhere.

But there were still poets who were put into the hands of the young, read, explained and learnt by heart in school. Poetry at that time was not an 'extra', an occupation for spare hours; it was not looked upon as an amusement, but as a subject for serious study. It is difficult to estimate the effects of a system of education, which regarded the works of the national poets and of those of kindred peoples as the most important instrument of culture, and as almost the only nourishment of the youthful intellect. It necessarily filled the memory with poetical turns and expressions; roused and elevated the activity of the imagination by a wealth of

¹ See *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, ix., 1164. Mommsen in *Hermes*, iii. on historical grounds considers Bassulus a near contemporary of Trajan; Ritschl, from considerations of style, assigns him to the second (or perhaps the third) century.

imagery ; early developed the sense of beauty of form and artistic representation, and made it second nature for impressionable minds. The effect of these impressions, firmly imprinted on the mind, at a time when it is most susceptible, must have lasted a lifetime.

In addition to this, the professors sometimes (perhaps frequently) were poets themselves, and thus were able to persuade, and actually did persuade, their pupils to try their hand at poetry and assisted them in their attempts. Learning and poetry were not antagonistic at Rome, any more than formerly at Alexandria and subsequently in the age of humanism ; in both places it was quite an ordinary thing for the same person to be both savant and poet ; among the philological celebrities of Alexandria, Aristarchus, who disdained poetry, was a prominent exception. ‘ Only a mind rendered fruitful by a powerful stream of literature ’, says the poet in Petronius, ‘ is capable of conceiving and bringing forth a poetical work ’. One of the most usual titles of honour bestowed on the poets was ‘ learned ’, not in our sense of the word, but implying a perfect knowledge of the forms and rules of the art, acquired by the study of the best models. The oldest schoolmasters of Rome, such as Ennius and Livius Andronicus, were poets, and this was probably often the case in later times. Valerius Cato, surnamed ‘ the Latin siren ’, who lived in the last days of the republic, was considered an excellent teacher for students of poetry, a man, ‘ who not merely expounded, but made poets ’. Lucius Melissus, appointed by Augustus superintendent of the library in the *porticus* of Octavia, was also a poet and invented a new kind of Latin comedy. The father of the poet Statius had gained the prize in poetical contests not only in his native city Naples, but also in Greece ; he had sung of the burning of the Capitol in the civil war of 69, and intended to make the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 (which destroyed Herculaneum and Pompeii) the subject of a poem ; his son enjoyed his advice and guidance in the composition of his *Thebaid*.

But even without direct encouragement, lads possessed of a certain taste and gift for form were bound to find in this intensive application to poetry at school a sufficient incentive to poetical attempts of their own ; to all appearance precocity was rather the rule than the exception. Catullus had already

written his first love-songs 'when first the white robe (the *toga virilis*) was bestowed upon him'. Ovid began to compose still earlier. When a mere boy, the Muse secretly attracted him, and verses flowed from his pen long before he was of age; he read his first poem in public, 'when his beard was just beginning to sprout'. Propertius began his attempts at poetry after assuming the *toga virilis*. Virgil wrote his *Culex* when he was sixteen; Lucan (A.D. 39-65) was only fourteen or fifteen when he composed his *Iliacon*, the subject of which was the same as that of the last three books of the *Iliad*. It was in existence till a late period, as well as another poem (*Catachthonion*) on the underworld; in his twenty-first year he was an unsuccessful competitor with a panegyric on Nero for the prize at the *Agon* founded by the latter, and began the *Pharsalia* a year later. The boyish productions of Persius were destroyed by his mother after his death on the advice of Cornutus. Nero also when a boy had shown by his poems that he possessed the elements of a good education, and Lucius Verus at the same age was equally fond of writing poetry. The poems written by the first Gordian (apparently before he entered the rhetorical school), which included an *Antoninias* (the lives of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus) were still extant in the time of Constantine. Martial was glad to find the poetical trifles of his schoolboy days, which he had almost forgotten himself, for sale at the book shops; the reputation of Serranus, who died young, was made by his boyish poems which caused great things to be expected of him. The elder Statius excited universal admiration by taking part in a poetical competition when a boy, and parents pointed him out to their children as an example; the rhetorician Publius Annius Florus, when a boy, competed for the Capitoline wreath with a poem on the Dacian triumph, and the eleven year old Quintus Sulpicius Maximus with improvised Greek hexameters; the thirteen year old Lucius Valerius Pudens of Histonium obtained it (in 106) by the unanimous verdict of the judges.

In olden times Greek poets such as Antipater of Sidon and Licinius Archias of Antioch were famous for their improvisation, an accomplishment which was very common at Tarsus in the time of Strabo. It was probably also frequently practised in Rome, where it was facilitated by the stereotyped turns and formulas in which the language of poetry abounded,

and the easily accessible store of metaphors and similes, common places, and mythological parallels ; again, it was recommended as a means of acquiring a complete mastery of expression and metres. The mimograph Publius of Syria is said to have challenged the dramatists to a contest in improvisation on subjects set by each side ; by his skill in the art of his native land he defeated all his competitors, including his most important rival Laberius. Quintilian speaks of improvisation as an art much practised in his time. Lucan improvised an *Orpheus* (in hexameters), the subject apparently being set to several poets at the same time. Martial, who combined a ready facility in the treatment of form with the capacity of striking the most varied notes, no doubt improvised a considerable number of his epigrams, at banquets, and on given subjects. The poems of Statius thrown off on the spur of the moment on special occasions, were at least improvisations in the wider sense of the word. Apollinaris Sidonius in addition to shorter improvisations, also mentions a longer one, in which he competed with three friends at a banquet in the treatment of the same theme in different metres.

Thus prepared, lads and young men passed into the rhetorical schools, where, partly under the guidance of the professors, they studied prose instead of poetical models. Here also, of course, the prevailing literary tendency exercised the same influence upon the choice of authors as in the boys' schools. For young beginners Quintilian recommended Livy and Cicero (Sallust for the more advanced), and found it necessary to issue a warning against putting Gracchus and Cato into the hands of lads. Fronto, on the other hand, recommended these authors and the like to the young Marcus Aurelius, and the prince, who was then in his twenty-second year, entirely shared his master's taste ; he early gave up the study of Horace and devoted himself exclusively to Cato, while at the same time he found great edification in the speeches of Gracchus. Cicero, however, although not exactly an orator after Fronto's heart, was also recognized by the archaists as a model, and considered by many not inferior to Gracchus, to the annoyance of Aulus Gellius ; even in the second century he maintained his place in the rhetorical schools at least as firmly as Virgil in the grammatical.

Instruction in the rhetorical schools consisted mainly of

special exercises, gradually increasing in difficulty, under the teacher's guidance. These exercises, starting from the subjects and ideas derived from the works of the poets in the grammatical schools, were in a measure admirably adapted to foster and develop the poetical inclinations which had been already aroused. At first the pupils wrote on given subjects. In narrating historical events, on which they had to try their hand first, they were accustomed to insert excessively detailed descriptions of every kind 'in imitation of poetic licence'; however, intelligent teachers preferred these youthful vagaries, which at least showed ability, to meagreness and aridity. The next exercises consisted of an examination of the probability or improbability of legends and legendary narratives: e.g. whether it was credible that a crow really perched on the head of Valerius in his duel with a Gaul, flapped his wings in the latter's face and pecked out his eyes; the nature of the serpent, which is said to have begotten Scipio, or the wolf of Romulus and Remus; Numa's Egeria; and similar themes which ancient Greek history in particular provided in abundance.

Further: the praise or censure of famous men; so-called commonplaces, especially dealing with the foolish and vicious types of mankind (the adulterer, the gambler, the debauchee, the pimp, the parasite) or their varieties (the blind adulterer, the impoverished gambler, the old debauchee); comparisons, e.g. of town and country life, of the legal and military professions, of marriage and celibacy; investigation of the origins of certain customs and ideas, e.g. why Venus is represented as armed by the Lacedaemonians, why the boy Cupid was conceived as having wings and equipped with bow, arrow and torch. These things for the most part readily adapted themselves to poetical treatment, the last named for instance being actually the subject of one of Propertius's elegies, while the superior advantages of a country life were a favourite theme of the poets.

After these and similar preparations, the pupil began to attempt oratorical exercises, the so-called 'declamations'. Beginners delivered monologues in the rôle of some well-known historical personage, in which the reasons for and against an important and decisive resolution were set forth (such monologues were called *suasoriae*). The characters

and the situations were sometimes taken from poetry, e.g. Agamemnon deliberating whether he should sacrifice Iphigenia, but in the majority of cases from ancient Roman history, e.g. Hannibal deliberating whether he should lead his troops against Rome, Sulla whether he should lay down the dictatorship, Cicero whether he should apologize to Antony in order to save his life. Persius, when a small boy, often rubbed his eyes with oil, so as to be able to shirk school on the plea of sore eyes, if he did not feel inclined to learn the pathetic speech of Cato before his suicide—a speech in which an intelligent teacher could find nothing to praise, but which the father of the hopeful son invited his friends to hear and to which he himself listened ‘in perspiring ecstasy’. Such tasks, which required young people to identify themselves with men of the past and to reproduce the emotional tension of the crises of their lives could only be adequately performed by true poets; nevertheless, they could not fail to arouse the youthful imagination in various ways and to develop in it an activity approximating to the poetical.

This, however, was the case to a far greater extent in the last, most difficult and most protracted exercises of the rhetorical school. These were entirely dramatic in character and were called *controversiae*, i.e. disputes in which the pupils took sides, as accusers, defenders, or advocates. In early times, cases of recent occurrence or known from history were selected, such as the following mentioned by Suetonius. Several young men, who had gone on an excursion from Rome to Ostia, saw some fishermen on the point of drawing in their nets. They bought the catch in advance for ready money. After a long wait, the net was pulled up, and found to contain no fish, but a basket of gold neatly tied up. Both parties accordingly laid claim to the treasure. In another case, certain slave-dealers, having put their cargo ashore at Brundisium, in order to cheat the custom house officers out of the duty for a beautiful and valuable slave, dressed him in a purple-embroidered *toga*, and hung a golden *bullā*¹ round his neck. On their arrival at Rome, the fraud was detected and the freedom of the boy demanded, since his master,

¹ A round or heart-shaped box worn round the neck by free-born children; those of wealthy parents wore a golden *bullā*, those of poor parents one of leather.

by dressing him in that manner, had practically renounced the right of ownership.

But such cases soon came to be regarded as not sufficiently interesting. Criminal cases took the place of property disputes, and fictitious cases were substituted for real ones : questions of civil law and history form only a very small part of the extant collections of *controversiae*, and even those of an historical character have been garbled to produce a greater effect. Certainly, sensible masters demanded that fiction should resemble reality as far as possible ; but to all appearance their resistance to the prevailing taste, which clamoured for thrilling and piquant situations, strong seasoning and drastic effects, was practically without result. This is shown by the first collection of *Controversiae* (that of the elder Seneca in the time of Augustus) and even more by succeeding ones, as well as by the repeated complaints of the predominance of the nonsensical in the rhetorical schools. According to Petronius, the fault lay, not with the teachers, who, if they did not wish to see their classes empty, were obliged to do as others did, but in the vanity of the parents. Quintilian himself considered the exclusion of all 'incredible and poetical subjects in the proper sense of the word' too severe and impracticable ; it was necessary to allow the young people some recreation and amusement, provided that the subjects although emotional and full of bombast, were not foolish and ridiculous.

Unfortunately, the *controversiae* were often to a great extent both foolish and ridiculous. For the most part, even if not actually contrary to reality, they were far removed from it ; they made a rule of what should at most have been allowed as an exception ; they were on the borderline of possibility, or even overstepped it. In time the rhetorical school created for itself a fantastic world of its own, separated from practical life by a deep gulf which could not be bridged. The existence of imaginary justice, of imaginary, even impossible, laws was assumed ; for instance, ingratitude, or a crime not provided for by the law was admitted as actionable. The persons and circumstances of these fictions were purely imaginary ; it never occurred to any one to regard them as pictures of real life. It may appear strange that, during the last periods of imperial despotism, when men's minds

bent beneath the yoke of the most fearful oppression and the last trace of freedom of speech had disappeared, tyrants were the stock characters in the *controversiae*, and 'declaimers' breathed hatred of tyrants and extolled tyrannicide. But these tyrants, 'who issued edicts, ordering sons to execute their fathers', were in reality as harmless as marionettes, except to the teacher, 'whose pupils, in a full classroom, one after the other put their favourite tyrant to death'. If Caligula banished the rhetorician Secundus Carinas for such a declamation, if Domitian put Maternus to death for the same reason, it must be remembered that Caligula was capable of any extravagance, and that Domitian welcomed any excuse, however trifling, for an act of violence; these two instances are exceptional, and there is no evidence that they in any way affected the choice of such subjects.

Next to fearful tyrants, brutal pirates were the favourite subject in the rhetorical schools, 'standing on the bank rattling chains'; sometimes they had lovely daughters, as in the following story. A young man, who has fallen into the hands of the pirates, in vain beseeches his father in a letter to ransom him. The daughter of the pirate chief makes him take an oath to marry her, if he gains his freedom. He swears; she elopes with him, he returns home and marries her. The marriage of his son with a wealthy orphan is proposed to the father, who calls upon the son to consent and to repudiate the pirate's daughter. The son refuses, and is himself repudiated by the father.—As a rule, the actors on both sides were involved in the most painful and strenuous conflicts between equally sacred obligations, equally strong and legitimate feelings and inclinations.—A sick man asks his slave to give him poison; he refuses; in his will he orders that his slave should be crucified; the slave appeals to the tribunes. In a civil war, the father and brother of a woman are on one side, her husband on the other; she follows the latter. He is killed; the wife flees for refuge to her father, who spurns her; on her asking, 'How am I to appease you?' he replies, 'Die!' She hangs herself at his door. Whereupon the son proposes that the father should be declared insane.—The father of three sons, having lost two by death, becomes blind by excessive weeping. He dreams that, if the third son dies, he will recover his sight. He tells the dream to his wife,

who tells it to his son, who immediately hangs himself. The father recovers his sight, but repudiates his wife, who disputes his right to do so.—A husband repudiates his wife for adultery ; their son demands and receives from his father a sum of money, ostensibly for the support of a mistress, but really for his starving mother ; the father finds it out and repudiates the son, who defends what he has done.

The most striking contrasts were freely introduced. Stock figures were the poor and the rich man, mutually hostile (for instance, the poor man's bees gather honey in the rich man's garden, who poisons the flowers, and so kills the bees) ; on the other hand, their children are often fond lovers. Maidens of noble birth are sold for the brothel, dishonoured maidens are given the choice between the punishment of the criminal or marriage with him ; young men of noble birth are compelled to enter the disgraceful profession of gladiator, e.g. to obtain an advance of money to bury a father. Terrible afflictions overtake individuals and whole countries. The plague especially was a favourite subject, which according to the oracle can only be stayed by the sacrifice of some young maidens ; a country is visited by famine and the inhabitants are finally reduced to eating the corpses of the victims. Bodily and mental afflictions of an exceptional nature, such as blindness (and its wonderful cure) and insanity ; miracles (a woman brings forth a negro child and is accused of adultery) ; cruel punishments (hurling from a rock) and torture ; murder and suicide, especially by hanging and poison (the cutting of the rope and the pouring out of the poison were stereotyped *motifs*) ; horrible crimes such as parricide and the mutilation of children, trained to beg by one who lives on what they receive ; but especially family horrors of all kinds (of course 'stepmothers, more wicked even than in tragedy' are frequent characters)—such were the favourite ingredients for the preparation of strongly effective *controversiae*, which were so greatly in demand, and which always elicited thunders of applause in the schools.

It is remarkable and at the same time the clearest proof that these fictions partook of the character of novels, that Seneca was laid under contribution more than any other ancient authority in a collection of novels and anecdotes widely circulated in the middle ages, the *Gesta Romanorum*.

The 'enchanters', who subsequently played an important part in these themes, were perhaps only introduced later, for Quintilian is the first to complain of them, while they are not mentioned in Seneca, Petronius and Tacitus ; on the other hand, in the collection which bears the name of Quintilian, there is a case of hatred excited by a magic potion, an astrological prophecy, and a really excellent specimen of this class, 'the enchanted tomb'. A mother, who has lost her son, is visited nightly by the latter in a dream. She tells her husband, who gets a magician to cast a spell over the tomb ; the visitations cease ; but the wife then brings a complaint against her husband, 'on the score of ill-treatment'. Perhaps the Greek rhetorical schools are the source of the stories of magic. The magician who attempts to kill by enchantment another who has seduced his wife, and being unsuccessful tries to commit suicide, is a common subject for a theme in Greece towards the end of the second century.

In the Greek rhetorical schools, the subjects of oratorical exercises differed essentially in character. Certainly there were 'declamations' of *controversiae* and to all appearance on the same themes ; the magician, the tyrant, the tyrannicide, the debauched woman, and the poor man are occasionally mentioned as typical figures. But the most difficult and most profitable task for advanced pupils and the masters themselves was clearly not *controversiae*, but persuasive or dissuasive discourses after the manner of the Latin *suasoriae*, speeches in defence or accusation, epideictic, i.e. show speeches, which will be spoken of later. This difference of method had its origin in the totally different appreciation of eloquence by Greeks and Romans. The Romans looked upon it principally as a means to an end, that of upholding one's own interest against all opposing interests, especially in a court of justice ; whereas the Greeks of that age considered beauty of form a sufficient end, and skill in its manipulation a desirable and much admired accomplishment.

In Rome, Italy, and the western countries, the great majority of educated persons no doubt attended only the Latin rhetorical schools, or at least preferred them ; most of the large towns, however, also had paid teachers of Greek oratory, notably Rome, where the Athenaeum, founded by Hadrian and kept up by his successors, had a separate chair for this subject.

Further, it may be assumed that in western countries, Greek rhetoricians adapted themselves to the system that prevailed in the Latin school; thus, according to Seneca, they competed with one another in the treatment of the same themes, and we know that Isaeus, on his first appearance in Rome, asked for controversial themes for his improvisations. Thus, this system, especially the 'declamation' of *controversiae*, ever exercised a most important influence upon the character of Roman education at the time; the fact that in most cases the school-course ended with these studies, and that the pupils passed at once 'from the fairy tales of the poets and the epilogues of the rhetoricians' into the realities of practical life, there to test the value of what they had acquired at school, considerably increased this influence.

Further, rhetorical themes were also treated in a poetical form. There are extant examples of speeches in verse, most commonly improvised, delivered by persons in certain situations (*ῥητορικαὶ, ethicae*, an exercise for beginners), in fact, *controversiae* and *suasoriae* in verse. To the last days of antiquity the systems and exercises remained the same in both Greek and Latin rhetorical schools; even themes, which assumed pagan belief and worship, were constantly handled by Christian pupils; evidently, opinions otherwise strictly tabooed were regarded as integrant elements of both rhetorical and grammatical instruction.

The effects of this method of instruction, common to all educated persons, are clearly manifest in the literature of the period. Only superior and specially keen intellects could entirely avoid the dangers, seductions and devious ways of this method of teaching rhetoric. In the case of the majority of pupils, the continuous striving after effect, the habit of intoxicating themselves with phrases and working themselves up into a permanently emotional frame of mind, was bound up to a certain point to make an essentially unreal eloquence a kind of second nature; the more so as it was just the artificial and affected, the dazzling and surprising, the risky and abnormal, which was assured of the loudest applause. Even the greatest intellects of the time could not entirely escape these influences, which chiefly affected the poetry of the first century, which, lacking all elasticity of its own, was rarely able to rise above the pompous stiffness of rhetoric.

Quintilian's opinion, that Lucan, the greatest poetical genius of his time, was more deserving of imitation by orators than by poets, was certainly justified. But while poetry has a rhetorical tinge, that of prose is poetical, an equally necessary result of the system of education. The grammatical school made the boy at home in the world of poetry; the rhetorical school did not estrange him from it. The themes set, with their melodramatic situations, highly romantic motive and adventurous characters, were bound to lend wings to imagination, and to claim poetical handling; like the subject, the manner of treatment must often have reached the borderline of poetry or have overstepped it. The rhetorician Arellius Fuscus, one of Ovid's tutors, was fond of indulging in absolutely poetical descriptions (to judge from a specimen in Seneca) and unblushingly on occasion borrowed straight from Virgil. Inversely, Ovid reproduced many sentences of another of his teachers, the rhetorician Porcius Latro, almost word for word. According to Seneca, Ovid's own speeches in the school where he was considered an admirable 'declaimer' were nothing but verse broken up into prose, which was probably the case with many other pupils similarly trained. These rooted habits of the school necessarily held their ground in practical life. 'At the present time', says the apologist of modernism in the *Dialogus* of Tacitus, 'poetical beauty, which must be derived from the sanctuary of Virgil, Horace and Lucan, is required of the orator; the speeches of the present are related to those of the past as the modern temples glistening with gold and marble to the old erections of rough freestone and shapeless bricks'. We may believe with the poet in Petronius that many who had tried their hand at the bar, took refuge in poetry as a haven of rest, foolishly thinking that it was easier to put together a poem than a *controversia* embellished with sparkling aphorisms. Poetry was akin to eloquence; it was reckoned among the forms of 'speaking well' in the widest sense of the word, and 'eloquent' (*facundus*) was an extremely common and honourable epithet of a poet. As a result of the mutual relations and points of contact between poetry and prose, the prose of the most matter of fact and unpoetical people in the world ever assumes fresh poetical colouring and is proof in itself that its intimate relation to poetry taught in school was permanently maintained. The

extremely poetical prose of Apulcius shows that the triumphant reaction of the archaists might modify, but could not entirely suppress these influences.

Lastly, it must be observed that a school education was more general in the first than in the second century. By degrees military merit and practical knowledge of business opened the way for the lowly born (and so frequently for the uneducated) to high positions, formerly confined to the descendants of families of the two highest orders. Thus provincials, only to a certain extent romanized, entered these orders in ever increasing numbers. For both these reasons school education among the upper classes ceased to be regarded as an indispensable requirement, or the lack of it as disgraceful or ridiculous. Augustus is said to have recalled a consular legate as insufficiently educated since he had written a word as it was pronounced by the lower classes. Yet, as the number of provincials in the senate increased, we may assume that fault was more frequently found with persons of high position in Rome itself for bad pronunciation and even errors of speech. During his quaestorship, Hadrian was laughed at for his accent when he was reading out an imperial speech. When Marcus Aurelius issued a command in the field in Latin, none of his staff understood him, apparently because his officers did not know how educated persons expressed themselves; indeed, Bassaeus Rufus, praefect of the Praetorian guard, a man of no education, remarked to the emperor that the man addressed knew no Greek. According to Cassius Dio, the aged consul Oclatinus Adventus could not read and was so poor a speaker that he pleaded illness whenever he had to transact negotiations. The statement in Philostratus, that the sophist Hadrian was loudly applauded in Rome even by the knights and senators, who did not understand him, seems to show that a knowledge of Greek had become rare amongst the two first classes.

In Rome itself, about the middle of the second century, the indications of the commencing decay of the Latin language were sufficiently numerous and alarming. The form and meaning of many words was doubtful and disputed; learned men held different views on the fundamental rules of grammar; expressions in use among the vulgar were heard in the mouths of advocates. The barbarisms, which

in the time of Severus made their way into public documents and work on stone, could already be found in individual private inscriptions. The feeling of increasing linguistic uncertainty and confusion, the effort to stem the tide of advancing barbarism, the similar exertions of the atticists in Greece incited the critics and friends of language and literature to zealous investigations in the ancient classics. The friends of Gellius busied themselves specially with these researches, by the aid of which they hoped to regain a surer footing, and to restore purity and clearness of expression. But these well-intended efforts could at best only affect a limited circle ; in the face of the preponderance of contrary influences at work since the third century throughout the Latin tongue, incessantly destroying language and intellectual culture, they were completely unimportant. This later period, however, is beyond the scope of this treatise ; let us return to the condition of letters in the first two centuries.

The fact that the period with which we are concerned entered upon the heritage of the most brilliant epoch of Roman poetry (the Augustan age), was a second element which, combined with the system of youthful instruction, gave poetry so important an influence on education generally. We need only mention Virgil, Horace, Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid (many other famous poets, such as Varius, are only known to us by name), in order to realize the brilliancy and wealth of poetical productions which matured side by side within the space of a single generation. All classes of poetry were represented—epos, ode, tender or passionate elegy and satire—idyll and poetical epistle, descriptive and didactic poetry. Even drama was included, although nothing likely to live was produced in that branch of literature ; the period of dramatic writing was finally past, and its plays are lost to us for ever. In all the other departments of poetry the results were perfect of their kind. Not that any one would ever think of ranking them amongst the highest poetical efforts ; no one can for a moment entertain any delusion as to their lack of originality and real genius, notwithstanding their abundant talent, their great dramatic power, their perfect grace, their pure and unerring taste, and their lofty culture. As the Muse had come from Greece to the ‘rude people of the Quirites, after they had conquered Hannibal’,

so also the new poets refused to walk in any other path than that of the Greeks and loudly and clearly professed themselves their followers. But in the first place, they chose as models, not the old poets, but such as were more within their reach, especially the Alexandrine; and in the second place, the understanding of Greek art had gained infinitely in depth and refinement. The result was that the contemporaries of Augustus reproduced the nobility and beauty of Greek form in quite a different manner from those of the Scipios and even of Sulla and Cicero, whose works must have appeared clumsy, formless and rough by the side of the new productions. Noble forms were created as standards in all departments for every mode of feeling and representation; the structure of the line and the art of composition were elevated to the height demanded by the knowledge of Greek art; but, above all, in the matter of language they did for poetry what Cicero had done for prose, and this was the greatest and most lasting creation of that period.

As Cicero was the founder of a prose adapted to increased culture, so the Augustan poets were the creators of a new poetical language. They developed the poetical power of expression of Latin in all directions in a manner formerly scarcely dreamed of, bestowed upon it wealth, variety and fulness, beauty and grace, vigour and dignity. They thus exercised an immense influence not merely on the prose and verse literature of the succeeding centuries of antiquity, but upon that of all later times, an influence which they will probably continue to exercise as long as literature exists. These poets were animated by a true and genuine Roman patriotism; they desired to secure for their nation the only possession for which they still envied Greece. To dispute with the Greeks for preeminence in the plastic arts or astronomy appeared unworthy of the great people which, more than any other, had proved its skill in ruling others, in 'sparing the conquered and vanquishing the proud'; but to appropriate their poetical artistic form was a lofty aim and one worth striving for. 'To secure the fame of this achievement for the great people and its native language was the main object for which the poets of the Augustan age so earnestly strove'; and so far as such a thing was possible, they succeeded.

In their efforts they were assisted by the consciousness

that they were not working for a single country and a single people, but for the human race; that their works would form part of the literature of the world. Ennius had been brought to write poetry for the rulers of Italy, Virgil and his contemporaries knew that they were writing for mankind in general; and indeed the outlook upon an horizon so immense was enough to make them giddy. The prophecy of Horace, that 'the most distant peoples would one day know his works', is well-known. It has been literally fulfilled, like that of Ovid, that the lamentations uttered by him in exile on the barren shores of the Euxine would one day traverse all lands and seas, and would be heard from East to West. They even lived to see their predictions in part fulfilled. Ovid could boast that the whole world read him; Propertius, that his reputation had penetrated to the inhabitants of the shores of the wintry Borysthenes. In fact, the works of the living poets were probably read wherever Roman teachers found their way.

The most exalted idea of the magnificence of the new political organization of the world-wide empire, the immensity of its resources and of the all-conquering influence of the Roman language cannot prevent our astonishment at the rapidity with which the Romans succeeded in 'uniting so many discordant and barbarous tongues by the bonds of intercourse'. Scarcely more than twenty years had passed since the complete subjugation of Pannonia, when Velleius Paterculus wrote his history; and already an acquaintance with the Roman language and writing was widespread in these rude, uncultivated and barbarous countries (the eastern part of Austria, especially Hungary). Roman literature had made its way into the older provinces of the West, as early as the time of Augustus. Livy began one of his later books with the declaration that he had already gained sufficient reputation and only continued his work to satisfy the demands of his restless mind; and this reputation at that time extended beyond Italy, for it is well known that it caused a Spaniard to travel to Rome on purpose to make the acquaintance of Livy; when he had achieved his purpose, he at once returned home. Even then the 'remainders' of new works at Rome were sent to the provinces. Horace sends forth the first book of his *Epistles* to the world with the pros-

pect of serving as food for book-worms unread, or of being shipped off to Ilerda (Lerida) or Utica, when thumbed and dirty by constant handling. The best books, which brought most profit to the retailers, were also sent over sea.

If then, the master-minds of literature in a certain sense lived to find themselves famous throughout the world, their ambition was most completely satisfied in Rome itself. There their poems, which in accordance with a custom recently introduced were recited by them before large audiences, were at once introduced into the schools, or sung at the theatres to the applause of thousands; and finally a comprehensive and active book-trade promoted their sale and multiplied their circulation. Virgil, who died before the publication of his *Aeneid*, had been so successful with his earliest poems (the *Eclogues*), that they were frequently sung on the stage; the actress Cytheris, frequently mentioned in the literary circles of the period, the mistress of Mark Antony and afterwards of the poet Cornelius Gallus (who sang her charms under the name of Lycoris), is said to have sung the sixth eclogue, in which Virgil extols the poetical fame of his friend Gallus. When Virgil happened to be present in the theatre on such an occasion, the whole audience rose and greeted the poet as respectfully as Augustus; in fact, such a distinction was as a rule reserved for emperors and members of the imperial household. When the poet during his later years, which were mostly spent in southern Italy (especially Naples), occasionally visited Rome and appeared in public, he was obliged to take refuge in a house from the crowd which followed him.

Certainly, the fame and popularity of Virgil among his contemporaries and posterity, and consequently the influence of his poetry, were greater than that of any other Roman poet, and indeed unexampled. His popularity may justly be compared with Schiller's. In the case of both, it is evident that the sublime, the ideal, and the noble in art, instead of repelling or intimidating, as might have been anticipated, attracted the masses even more than its popular forms. The truth is, that men feel more gratitude, respect and love for the mind which uplifts them to itself and impresses them with the feeling that there is in them something akin to a higher nature, than for one which descends to their level.

Virgil's poetry made its way into all educational circles and into all strata of society ; artisans and shopkeepers had his verses constantly on their lips and used them as mottoes. Even the most ignorant could quote scraps from the *Aeneid*, and at banquets where the guests were entertained with jugglers' tricks, imitations of animals' voices and farcical performances, pieces from the *Aeneid* were recited, although, no doubt, atrociously. Like the Bible in modern times, the works of Virgil were opened in times of anxiety, and the first passage on which the eye lighted was regarded as an oracle of destiny ; this method of divination was also practised in Renaissance times. In literary circles his birthday (October 15), was kept by a number of admirers, and the temple oracles (e.g., those of Praeneste and Patavium as late as the third century) gave their responses in the words of Virgil.

No other poet, as we have remarked, attained such unexampled popularity ; but the walls of Pompeii show that Propertius and Ovid also were widely known. Here, in addition to lines from Virgil (some obviously written by schoolboys), verses from these and other poets have been scrawled with the stylus, partly word for word, partly parodies, especially in the Basilica, which was used as a fashionable promenade. Jacob Grimm's remark in reference to Schiller may explain their popularity. 'The multitude is pleased with the poetry which in style and ideas reaches the high level of modern education ; the old-fashioned manner of the past seems strange to the people, which desires to be initiated into the standpoint of the present'. 'The multitude, which is affected by a beautiful poem, desires to enjoy it with all modern advantages, and is ready to renounce the old'.

Even in ancient times, the people of Italy were probably as impressionable to poetry as at the end of the sixteenth century, when Tasso's *Jerusalem* so rapidly became popular, and Montaigne was astonished to hear shepherdesses singing Ariosto. The influence of the school, which was practically non-existent in more modern times, must have made the poetry of the Augustan age far more widely known in the first two centuries. The theatre, where probably poems were often sung, also co-operated with the school ; and their joint influence depended partly on the delight felt by southerners in euphony and rhythm ; although at the present day the rapturous

delight even of educated Italians in the national poetry is tinged with sensuality. But in ancient times the feeling for euphony and rhythm was far finer and more developed, and demanded satisfaction even in prose, in a still higher degree among the Greeks than among the Romans. Their lively sense of mere euphony is shown, e.g., by the mention in Philostratus of the welcome given in Rome to the Phoenician Hadrianus, professor of eloquence under Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. Knights and senators directed that they should be summoned from the theatre when he began his lectures, and flocked to the Athenaeum, even if they did not understand Greek. People admired his harmonious voice, its cadence, the modulated rhythm of his delivery ; he was listened to with as much delight as the tuneful nightingale.

But apart from all favourable accessory circumstances, the effects of the classical poetry of the Augustan age on the educated world of the period immediately succeeding must have been enormous. This period was essentially unproductive, but possessed the delicate sensitiveness associated with high culture. At such a time, the production of numerous perfect works of art, the establishment of standard forms for its various departments, but above all, the creation of a new poetical language, full of enchanting beauty and dazzling brilliancy, was bound to call forth the instinct of assimilation and imitation most strongly and in the fullest extent. 'All men', says Goethe, 'have an inexpressible taste for the enjoyment of works of art ; but man learns nothing and enjoys nothing, without at once desiring to produce something himself. This is the most deep-seated peculiarity of human nature ; it is no exaggeration to say that it is human nature itself'. Thus, at every period of high culture, a wide-spread dilettantism is the necessary consequence of a great and abundant development of art. This has been the experience of Germany, especially in the domain of poetry. She has enjoyed a golden age of poetry without parallel, which gave her a poetical language. But succeeding generations displayed an excessive eagerness to obtain assured possession of the precious heritage, by unceasing use and abuse of it, and by continual reproduction. Although we have no express testimony, we may assume a similar state of things for the post-Augustan age. The temptations due to a cultivated language were as irresistible

and the illusions of the *dilettanti* as to the merits of their productions the same as at the present day, and consequently forced the same observations upon the impartial spectators of the literary movement. 'Many', says Petronius, 'have been led astray by poetry. As soon as a man has set a verse upon its legs and has drowned a delicate idea in a flood of words, he thinks he has attained the summit of Helicon'. In addition to this, dilettantism was promoted by the intimate connexion of poetry with the school, the inevitable result of which was that poetical exercises were more or less generally practised, with or without the prompting of the teacher, solely with the object of obtaining more complete mastery over form and of acquiring excellence in a florid and lofty style.

Even those who did not share the delusion of regarding simple reminiscences, the result of study or imitation, as original or their own property, could not help being attracted by the idea of securing for themselves by constant practice the cleverness of form that they had been taught. But no doubt delight in the real or imaginary success of such poetical exercises (which by the way were chiefly responsible for interpolations in the texts of the poets most frequently read) caused many to regard as an end what should only have been a means of study. Even the *Odes* of Horace, almost too severe a critic of his own works, contain many exercises whose only merit is their form. But if Horace, in Quintilian's judgment, was the only Roman lyric poet worth reading, we may assume that the lyric poetry of the post-Augustan age was above all a poetry of schoolboys and *dilettanti*.

The political conditions of the monarchy, the interests and inclinations of different rulers, courts and court-circles, combined with the influences of school and the classical poetry of the Augustan age to turn literary inclinations, tastes, and occupations in the direction of poetry in particular. The universal peace which succeeded the battle of Actium and the decay of political life which came in with the monarchy, almost entirely excluded the Roman people from the two domains on which for so many centuries its intellectual force had displayed such richness and vigour. A mass of talent, vigour and activity, driven out of its natural path by this revolution, now turned its attention to literature. But even here those portions of the field, which under the republic had been most successfully

cultivated, remained only partially open ; freedom of speech was curtailed, the writing of history, up to the time of Nerva and Trajan, who bestowed upon men ' the rare good fortune that they might think what they liked and say what they thought ' , was full of danger, even under the tolerant rule of Augustus. Titus Labienus, one of the last of the republicans and an irreconcilable opponent of the new order of things, when he publicly read his history of modern times, omitted considerable portions of it with the words, ' this can be read after my death ' . Nevertheless, his work was condemned to be burnt, a sentence hitherto unheard of. Labienus refused to survive its destruction ; he had himself buried alive in the family sepulchre. Eleven years after the death of Augustus, Cremutius Cordus was brought to trial for having called Brutus and Cassius ' the last of the Romans ' in his *Annales* ; he anticipated his certain condemnation by starving himself to death ; his works also were burnt. In such times, poetry offered a doubly welcome refuge to peaceful spirits, who sought an ideal support for life and an escape from reality. But even this refuge was not absolutely safe ; ' the souls of the mighty ' were easily provoked, sometimes by the mere choice of a subject, and by real or seeming allusions to the present. Thus, under Tiberius, the last representative of the noble house of the Scauri brought death upon himself by his tragedy *Atreus*, in which the line, ' The folly of kings must be patiently endured ' was considered specially deserving of punishment. Such dangers, however, rarely threatened poets who were really careful to avoid them and in no way prejudiced the poetical tendencies of the age. Tacitus in his *Dialogus* expressly says that the occupation of poetry is chiefly justified by the fact that it is less likely to cause offence than oratory. Thus poetry especially filled the great gap in the life of Rome caused by the fall of the republic ; and it was by no means a mere result of human caprice, as set forth by Horace in his epistle to Augustus, that the Roman people displayed a zeal for authorship to which they had hitherto been strangers ; sons and austere fathers wreathed their brows, and savants and ignoramuses everywhere took to writing poetry.

The French literature of the first empire offers many parallels to the Roman literature of that time. Fontanes and many other poets ' exhausted their powers in laudations to order

for a fee ' ; those who did not (like Delisle) ' carefully avoided political and social problems and kept to subordinate or indifferent subjects ', which, as it were by way of compensation, they treated in an agreeable manner. The emperor bestowed especial attention upon the theatre. In 1805 two poets were commissioned to ' improve ' Corneille, Racine, and Voltaire ; yet the omission of certain passages only increased their significance. Napoleon allowed no pieces to be performed, the subjects of which were taken from recent times ; the stage ' needed a touch of antiquity ' ; in his opinion the time of Henry IV was not remote enough to avoid exciting passions. Even the *Tiberius* of Joseph Chenier was prohibited, since certain passages could be referred to the present, and in the *Ajax* of Ugo Foscolo the Napoleonic police in Milan (1812) discovered political allusions, which caused the author no slight unpleasantness.

Augustus never entertained the idea of drilling poetry to such a condition of uniformity. He knew how to make it subservient to his aims by frank recognition. The monarch had brought the blessing of 'peace and order', so long desired ; the next step was to reconcile the educated classes with Caesarism by according protection and encouragement to intellectual efforts, so long as they kept within due bounds ; as for the masses at Rome, the great improvement in their material condition and splendid shows and festivals were ample compensation for the loss of liberty. The interest displayed by Augustus and his circle (Messalla and, above all, Maecenas) in this poetical revival, which was also shared by the ladies of the imperial household, has justly become proverbial. Even more important than the favour of this circle, to which even the captious Asinius Pollio belonged, was the example of its members. Augustus was the most cultivated man of his age ; his interest in literature was sincere, and he showed it not merely by assistance and encouragement, but by openly displayed sympathy with poets and men of letters, whose recitals he listened to ' with patience and good-will '. To him the fourth book of the *Odes* of Horace owed its origin, the *Aeneid* of Virgil its preservation ; it was to him that Horace was allowed to address the *Epistle* containing a comparison between the old and the new poetry. Augustus himself tried his hand at authorship, mostly in prose ; according to Sue-

tonius, 'he only took a superficial interest in poetry'. However, he wrote a long hexameter poem on Sicily, and a small collection of epigrams, which he composed in the bath. He destroyed a tragedy (*Ajax*) before it was finished: 'his *Ajax*', he said, 'had thrown himself on the sponge' (i.e., had been wiped out). This was certainly enough poetry for a statesman on whom the heavy task was imposed of re-organizing the world. Asinius Pollio, Messalla, and Maecenas also wrote verses. The poems of the last-named, according to what we are told, confirm the observation, which applies equally to other branches of art,—that the purest taste and the soundest judgment of the works of others is not always a safeguard against bad taste and affectation in the critic's own attempts. Maecenas's poetical trifles, like everything else of his, were written in a corrupt and bombastic style; Augustus ridiculed the 'perfumed ringlets' of his 'curled' style¹. Seneca has preserved a specimen, in which this remarkable man describes the love of life with a cynicism worthy of Heine.

Tiberius, who devoted himself with the greatest zeal to the studies necessary for general education, was an admirer of the Alexandrian school; he had a special fondness for the mythological erudition with which they adorned their works. In his Greek poems he imitated Euphorion, Rhianus and Parthenius; he also composed a lyric poem in Latin, an elegy on the death of Lucius Caesar,—an event which brought him, at the age of forty-three, considerably nearer the throne; he also wrote poems of a frivolous kind. A man so gifted and ambitious as Tiberius would hardly have condescended to poetical diletantism had not his efforts to assimilate the culture of the age as thoroughly as possible, almost forced him to it. The noble Germanicus also during his strenuous life found leisure for poetry; amongst other works he left some Greek comedies. His version of the astronomical didactic poem by Aratus (*Phaenomena*) is still extant. Caligula confined himself to the study of oratory, in which he attained considerable skill; Claudius wrote several learned works, but in prose.

Nero was the first and last emperor who studied poetry not as an exercise or amusement for idle hours, but as a claimant to a prominent position in the poetical world. He never

¹ The Latin words *cincinni* (locks) and *calamistri* (curling irons) are used in the sense of 'ornamental flourishes'.

felt any interest in serious and sound learning, from which his own temperament and his *entourage* dissuaded him. His mother is said to have advised him not to study philosophy, as prejudicial to a future ruler ; his tutor Seneca prevented him from reading ancient literature, so that the pupil's admiration for the works of the master might last the longer. Although both before and after his accession, when in his seventeenth year, he delivered ' declamations ' in the presence of large audiences, he was obliged to have his public speeches written, to the general astonishment ; he was the first emperor who made use of another's pen. But his lack of scientific education proportionately increased the manysidedness of his dilettantism in the fine arts. We have already spoken of his fondness for music, which he considered his forte ; he dallied with the chisel and modeller's stick, and wrote poems as enthusiastically as he sang and played musical instruments. His poetical efforts, according to Tacitus, were intended to counterbalance, in public opinion, the bad effect of his other less seemly artistic exercises. It is doubtful whether he possessed any, or how much, real talent for poetry. Tacitus denies it to him altogether. According to that historian, ' he surrounded himself with persons who possessed a certain facility in writing verses, but had not yet made a name for themselves. These persons met, strung together the verses they had brought with them or threw off on the spot, and worked up the emperor's chance utterances into a whole. This is shown by the character of these poems, which possess neither vigour nor originality, nor uniformity of style '. It may be confidently assumed, that this was the origin of many of the poems of distinguished *dilettanti* (e.g., the ' little love-poems ' dictated by them after their meals on couches of citrus-wood), since in all branches of learning the productions of clients, slaves and freedmen were regarded by persons of quality as their own property, which they had a perfect right to make use of. In the poems of Lucius Verus, again, everything good was credited to his gifted friends. It is true, on the other hand, that in this matter Suetonius defends Nero, asserting that he had no need to deck himself in borrowed plumes, since verses flowed from him with ease. Nero's compositions, written by his own hand, were evidently (if we may believe Suetonius, who had inspected them) neither imitations nor copies, but all original, judging by

the numerous erasures, corrections and insertions. Nero's poems were numerous and of various kinds : little trifles (e.g., on Poppaea's 'amber-hair'), satires, lyrics to be sung to the accompaniment of the *cithara* (including probably solos from tragedies), a long epic called *Troica*, in which the chief hero was Paris, who, without revealing his identity, defeated all comers, including Hector himself, in a wrestling bout ; another contemplated epic, containing a complete history of Rome from the earliest times, does not appear to have been finished. Martial, who as a rule has nothing but abuse for Nero, concedes some merit to his poems. Some lines, accidentally preserved, on the course of the River Tigris, at least show a certain dexterity in versification.

Musical contests formed the chief item in the programme of the festival first instituted by Nero after a Greek model, which was intended to be held every five years, but seems to have only taken place on two occasions (in 61 and 65). Its apologists were of opinion that the victories of orators and poets would stimulate talent. But as a matter of fact Nero wanted to be the only poetical and musical star in these contests ; the participation in them of persons of distinction at his wish was only intended to enhance his reputation ; it was to him that the crown was awarded. At the second festival he gave a reading of the *Troica*. He allowed no poetical rival near his throne. Lucan, whom he had admitted into his poetical circle, soon aroused his jealousy ; when present at a reading by the poet, he ostentatiously withdrew and apparently forbade him to recite again in public (end of 62 or beginning of 63). Lucan, carried away into open hostility to the court, joined Piso in his conspiracy, and paid the penalty of death on its discovery. But, however dangerous it was in the time of Nero to claim any reputation as a poet, it was advisable—even necessary, for all who had anything to do with him, to make a show of sympathy and liking for poetry, and as far as possible to provide a foil for Nero's poetical efforts by their own. No one who knows the history of that period, can doubt that this feeling produced a greatly increased activity in the domain of poetry. It was one of the reproaches levelled against Seneca by his enemies, that he wrote verses more frequently and enthusiastically, from the time that Nero showed a fondness for the poetic art.

A complete change took place under Vespasian, who, although no poet himself, liberally encouraged talent of all kinds, including poetical. Titus, who had lived at Nero's court as a boy, had a facile gift for Latin and Greek poetry, even for improvisation; amongst other things, he described a comet 'in a splendid poem', as the elder Pliny calls it; he is also mentioned as a poet by the younger Pliny. In many respects under Domitian the conditions of the time of Nero were repeated; certainly, men's minds felt the weight of an even more terrible oppression, but poetical efforts were honestly favoured and encouraged, above all by the Capitoline competition (founded in 86) at which genius was allowed free scope. On the whole, this second Nero laid no claim, as emperor, to poetical fame, although during his enforced leisure when only a prince he had pretended a zealous devotion to poetry. Of course, at his court his youthful poetical efforts were declared to be unsurpassable. Quintilian says that the gods considered it too paltry an honour for him to be merely the greatest poet; therefore, they handed over to him the care of the universe, in order to divert his attention from such an occupation. It is doubtful whether he even began an epic on the Jewish war, mentioned by Valerius Flaccus, but it is certain that the fight for the Capitol in December, 69, during which his life was in peril, was the subject of a poem by him; Martial in 89 mentions the 'heavenly poem of the Capitoline war'. It would seem, therefore, that Domitian was by no means averse from being reminded of his poetical efforts, although he had quite given them up; and Martial does homage to him as 'the lord of the sisters nine'.

Poets also claimed Domitian's successor Nerva as one of themselves; Pliny mentions him amongst the writers of amusing and wanton trifles. Martial styles him 'the Tibullus of our age'—an expression borrowed from a poem by Nero, to whose circle Nerva had once belonged; Martial's epigrams on him, written with all the humility of a client, show that even during his last days, Domitian liked to be considered a poet.

There was no poetical fibre in Trajan's soldierly nature he seems to have been absolutely indifferent to poetry; Hadrian on the other hand, the most versatile *dilettante* who ever occupied the Roman throne, wrote verse (including indecent

poems) and prose equally well ; some of his trifles have been preserved. Even on his deathbed, whimsical as ever, he wrote the famous lines, which according to his biographer are an average specimen of his poetry—

‘ Soul of mine, pretty one, fitting one,
Guest and partner of my clay,
Whither wilt thou hie away,—
Pallid one, rigid one, naked one,—
Never to play again, never to play? ’
(C. Merivale.)

Hadrian’s example seems to have made poetry the fashion at his court. His adopted son, Aelius Verus, was a skilled versifier ; Lucius Verus, who was adopted at his suggestion by Antoninus Pius, also devoted himself to poetry in his early years, as already mentioned. Marcus Aurelius also, at the age of twenty-two, had written hexameters, of which he thought so highly that they were not in danger, like his other attempts, of being committed to the flames.

Here this series of imperial poets, almost without a parallel in history and literature, comes to an end, and poetry for a long time was an exile from the court of Rome. The next emperor who is said to have written verses (Greek) was Alexander Severus, whose education and poetical dilettantism (like that of Balbinus, the two elder Gordians, Gallienus and Numerian) show that even in the third century the old literary traditions and intellectual sympathies still survived in some of the highest circles, like islands amidst the ever-rising flood of barbarism.

During the period from Augustus to Hadrian, the ruling princes, some before and others after their accession, were nearly all poetical amateurs. This very exceptional phenomenon is undoubtedly no more the result of chance than the fact that, from the Antonines to Alexander Severus, we do not find a single imperial poet, although the emperors during that interval were for the most part highly educated. A more probable explanation is that both the later and the earlier emperors simply shared the prevailing tendencies and interests of their time, and that their attitude towards poetry was essentially the same as that of their educated contemporaries. Hence we may assume with certainty a very general diffusion of poetical dilettantism in the cultured circles of the first

century, and an equally striking decline towards the middle of the second.

In fact, there is no doubt that in the time of Hadrian, a new intellectual movement, which arrested the poetical tendencies of the first century, obtained the upper hand. The history of Roman poetry up to about 100 A.D. was as rich in names as it was poor, if not absolutely barren, in later times. The explanation of this is not to be looked for in the decay of creative power or original genius, which Gibbon regards as one of the characteristic phenomena of the second century; the poets of the age immediately succeeding the Augustan were nothing but highly educated and gifted *dilettanti* (in the best sense of the word): and even in later times there was by no means a dearth of poets. Undoubtedly, the decline of poetical aspirations was in a measure due to the domination of anti-quarianism over literature, since the study of ancient authors could not offer the same stimulus to original or reproductive effort as that of modern poets. Consequently the influence which the application of the emperors to poetry (although simply the result of the prevailing tendency of the age) exercised upon the upper classes by force of example, disappeared, and with it an important inducement to poetical dilettantism. But the chief reason for the decline is to be looked for in the great impression produced by the highly artistic prose of the sophists, which had its origin on Greek soil; it provoked the admiration of the Romans and found many imitators amongst the more impressionable. Lastly, it must never be forgotten that, chiefly owing to the new organization introduced by Hadrian, the empire was gradually developed into a military and bureaucratic state, which claimed greater powers and held out to its functionaries more brilliant prospects in their official career; the result was that talent and ambition turned their attention from *belles-lettres* in general to military service, administration and the study of the law. Eloquence, however, was still generally cultivated, but rather as a means than as an end, and in a different manner; special branches of learning, especially philology, which was closely connected with the now reviving jurisprudence, were also eagerly studied.

The new importance acquired by poetry and literature generally on the establishment of the monarchy is shown

chiefly in three things : the development of an extensive book-trade and the foundation of public libraries ; the institution of public readings of recent works (*recitationes*) ; and, lastly, the establishment of an entirely new honour for poets—the crown of gold. The last dates from the reigns of Nero and Domitian ; the other institutions go back as far as Augustus.

Even when Cicero was a young man, the elements of a book-trade must have been in existence in Rome. His friend Atticus, the first person who is known to have undertaken the multiplication and sale of books on a large scale, had numerous rivals. Under Augustus at the latest, the book-trade in Rome was a business by itself, and soon after in the provinces. The retail shops, situated in the liveliest quarters of the capital, had their pillars and entrances decorated with notices and copies of books for sale, and formed, as in modern Rome, a meeting-place for the friends of literature, who came to inspect the new books or to have a chat. Thanks to slave labour, this industry was able to furnish its wares promptly, cheaply, and on a large scale. Hundreds of scribes, writing from dictation at the same time, did the work of a modern press. Even if they did not take much longer time, the result was very unsatisfactory ; incorrectness was the chief fault of ancient books. Since two hours was enough for taking down Martial's second book, a complete copy of his epigrams could have been turned out in a little more than seventeen hours ; a bookseller, who could employ fifty scribes at once, was consequently able to produce an edition of 1,000 copies comfortably in a month. The mention of such an edition of a pamphlet of entirely personal and ephemeral interest, published at the writer's own expense, justifies us in assuming that big booksellers must have brought out much larger editions of favourite and superior works.

In our days we are too much inclined to underestimate the productive power of writing, as compared with that of the press. Yet it has been shown on various occasions, when copy not print was necessary, that the difference between the two is less than is generally imagined. About 2,000 copies of Voltaire's *La Pucelle* were distributed in Paris in a month. Of Burgos's two-sheet memorandum to Ferdinand VII (January, 1826), 5,000 copies are said to have been circulated in Spain. On the second day after A. Oppermann had received the first

copy, thousands of copies of the protest of the Göttingen Seven ¹ were in existence. Kossuth successfully distributed throughout Hungary his *Reichstagszeitung*, which he was not allowed to print. Thanks to the comprehensive organization, the fruit of many centuries of experience, and the employment of slave labour, the multiplication of MS. copies in antiquity must have been far greater. The circulation of books in distant lands soon followed. Cicero says that the depositions of the witnesses in the Catilinarian process were copied by all the clerks, circulated in Rome, distributed throughout Italy, and sent to all the provinces, so that there was no place in the Roman empire which they had not reached. According to Pliny, Varro had conferred a kind of omnipresence on the 700 persons, whose portraits were included in his illustrated biographies, by sending the work into all parts of the world. Sulpicius Severus's life of St. Martinus of Tours, which Paulinus, bishop of Trèves, had brought to Rome, was at once in general request, and the booksellers were delighted with the good business they did; 'for nothing commanded a readier sale, or fetched a higher price'. A friend of the author, who visited Africa, found that it had preceded him and was being read throughout Carthage. Going on to Alexandria, he found it in everybody's hands there as well, and also all over Egypt, in the Natron Valley and the Thebaid; he even saw an old man reading it in the desert.

The prices of books were not high. The price of the first book of Martial (118 epigrams, 700 lines), elegantly got up, was 5 denarii (about 4s.), cheaper editions 6 to 10 sesterces (about 1s. 2d. to 2s.); his *Xenia* (274 lines under 127 headings) was sold by Tryphon the bookseller for 4 sesterces (about 10d.), too high a price according to Martial, who maintained that it could be sold at half the price for a profit. It fills fourteen pages in the Teubner edition, and since the price probably included what answered to our 'binding', the transcription of the text perhaps did not cost much more than at the present day in Germany, where an ordinary sheet can be printed for about 3½d. The text of a little book sent by Statius to Plotius Grypus, written by the poet himself, cost nothing, the purple cover, the new paper, and the two knobs (*umbilici*)

¹ Seven professors who were dismissed in 1837 for having signed a protest against the abolition of the Hanoverian constitution.

at the end of the stick, round which the roll was wound, 10 *ases* (about 6*d.*). Spoilt paper found its way into the schools, where the boys utilized the clean backs of the sheets for their exercises, and into the grocery and provision shops, where it was used for making bags for pepper and incense, or for wrapping up salt fish.

But everybody also had free access to collections of literary works in both Greek and Latin. Julius Caesar's plan of founding public libraries in Rome was frustrated by his death ; but it was carried out by Asinius Pollio, to whom Rome was indebted for its first public library (Greek and Latin). Augustus added two more (one on the Palatine, the other in the portico of Octavia), and later emperors (especially Vespasian and Trajan) continually increased the number, so that in the fourth century no fewer than twenty-eight were in existence. Naturally, the libraries were also used as meeting places for the friends of literature. Asinius Pollio was also the first to utilize the rooms for rendering homage to literary celebrities in a manner before unknown. Their statues, with boxes of books at their feet (such as those we possess of Sophocles and others), or busts crowned with ivy, 'the reward of the poet', some of bronze and others of gold and silver, adorned the halls and porticoes. In Asinius Pollio's library Varro's was the only likeness of a living celebrity ; but the honour appears to have soon become very general. Sidonius Apollinaris in the fifth century could boast that his statue was to be seen among those of other literary men in Trajan's library.

Nevertheless, the general accessibility to standard (preferably older) works in the public libraries, and the activity of the book trade, which did its utmost to promote the circulation of the most recent books, were not enough to bring authors and public together, at a time when literary life was extremely rich and animated, and a general and lively interest was taken in literature. The public was still so accustomed to *viva voce* recitation, that reading never became so general as in modern times, since, without punctuation or the separation of words, frequent abbreviations, bad writing and incorrect texts nearly always made it a trouble instead of a pleasure. Poetry (especially lyric) lost most by not being heard ; since it was intended either to be sung to a musical accompaniment, or at least for a musical recital or something like it. Euphony

and rhythm were its most essential characteristics, and were most generally and keenly appreciated ; hence poems, which were read instead of being recited, seemed to lack reality ; even prose, when simply read, lost its effect, though not to the same extent. When Juvenal tells us that the announcement of a reading of the *Thebaid* of Statius by its author drew crowds to hear the pleasant voice and the favourite poem, it is clear that the voice formed part of the attraction. In the hellenistic period also, the works of poets and historians were intended for public rather than for private reading. Asinius Pollio, by the introduction of recitations (i.e., readings of new works before large and specially invited audiences), undoubtedly met a generally felt want. The ever-increasing public, which took the liveliest interest in the most recent productions of literature, became acquainted with them at first hand and in an indisputably authentic form, and at the same time satisfied its natural curiosity as to the personality of the author. Of course, literary men and poets were equally pleased to make their bow to the public in person, to convince themselves of the effect produced by their works, to profit by the criticism of the learned, but above all, to be able to enjoy to the fullest extent the approval of their contemporaries.

Owing to the crowd of idlers, who were delighted at every fresh chance of filling up their spare time, the number of *dilettanti* and poetasters, who sought above all the satisfaction of their vanity and of course expected from others the indulgence and favour which dilettantism lavishes upon itself, the rapid degeneration of this new institution was unavoidable. ' You want me to read you my epigrams, Celer ? ' runs an epigram of Martial ; ' I won't. You don't want to hear, but to recite yourself '. While *dilettanti*, such as Pliny the younger, even during the most beautiful weather, never tired of attending recitations every day and lavishing their applause, it was the real poets who suffered most from this ever-increasing mania for reading. Horace's greatest terror was the poet in his frenzy ; ' he rages like a bear, who has managed to break the bars of his cage ; the savage reciter puts the learned and unlearned to flight ; when he has caught a man, he holds him fast and puts him to death with his reading, like a leech which will not let go the skin until it has sucked its fill of blood '. ' The reciter ', says Seneca, ' brings an enormous historical

work, written very small, tightly folded together ; after he has read a considerable part of it, he says, " I will stop now, if you like ". Immediately there is a shout of " Read ! read ! " from his hearers, who would really like to see him struck dumb on the spot '. One of the characters of the Petronian romance is an old man, possessed by a mania for improvising and reciting, who in face of death on a sinking ship continues to bawl out verses and to write them on a huge sheet of parchment. In all frequented places—porticoes, baths, theatres—he at once begins to recite, although everywhere pelted with stones. The poet with his manuscript, says Martial, is more fearful and more feared than the tigress robbed of her young, the poisonous snake or the scorpion. He holds his victim fast in the street, follows him into the bath, to table, to his study, and wakes him from his sleep. Wherever he shows himself, men shun his luxurious table as the sungod turned away in disgust from the meal set before him by Thyestes, and solitude reigns around him. Martial is also of opinion that the imperial spectacles in the amphitheatre satisfied the ears even more than the eyes of the public ; for as long as they lasted, the poets amongst the spectators could not recite. One of the reasons which, according to Juvenal, drove his friend Umbricius from Rome, in addition to the continual fires and collapse of houses, was the recitations of the poets in the month of August ; in an outburst of comic despair, he describes how he himself, to obtain revenge for this torture, decided for his part not to spare the paper, which others were sure to spoil, since the place was swarming with poets.

While the vanity of poets led them to test the patience of their hearers by frequent and lengthy recitations, they only too often had recourse to all kinds of theatrical affectation, in the effort to exhibit themselves and their work in the most favourable light. The great importance attached to a fine delivery, suitable gesticulation and other externalities was sufficient to account for this. Quintilian gives detailed instructions for the oratorical debutant : on the training and necessary qualities of the voice, the compass of which ought to include the whole scale of sounds ; how to avoid monotony and the extremes of treble and bass at the same time. He warns him against the sing-song delivery which was the great fault of the orators of the day, and treats in equal detail of

gesticulation and dumb show, dress and outward appearance, for which he recommends instruction not only from a musician but also from an actor. Of course all these and similar rules were equally applicable to the reciter. When the younger Pliny discovered that he read poetry badly, he decided to have his poems read before an audience of friends by one of his freedmen ; he was in doubt, however, whether he ought to behave as a disinterested spectator, or like many others express his opinion by murmurs, gesticulation, or facial play ; but as he thought he was as poor at dumb-show as at reading, he begged Suetonius to help him out of the difficulty by his advice. Persius describes the affectation of reciters who, in a snowy white holiday *toga*, with well-curled hair and a huge diamond ring on their finger, took their seat on a high chair ; then, with languishing looks, their neck rocking backwards and forwards, they began to recite in melting tones, the result of long practice in solfaing. Sometimes they wore a woollen neckcloth, to spare their voice or show that they were hoarse ; as a matter of fact, thinks Martial, this only showed that they were as incapable of speech as of silence.

The manner in which the readers presented themselves before the public and the applause of their hearers were reminiscent of the theatre. Although the majority of the audience, invited personally or by letter, were friends or, at least, too polite not to be lavish of their applause, especially if they were themselves authors and looked forward to similar treatment at their own recitals, many, perhaps most, readers were careful to provide themselves with a reserve of hired *claqueurs*. In Trajan's time, the practice was common also amongst advocates ; it is possible that the pernicious custom may have crept into the law-courts owing to the widespread influence of the recitations. One of the poet's patrons lent him the services of some loud-voiced freedmen, who posted themselves in suitable places, especially at the ends of the benches, and at a sign from the 'leader of the chorus' (*mesochorus*), burst into shouts of applause. Sometimes, persons in the audience itself were enlisted for the purpose by the present of an old cloak, the promise of a good dinner (such were called *laudiceni*, those who gave their applause in return for a dinner), or the offer of a sum of money, which was paid quite openly in the basilicas. Pliny

relates that two of his youngest slaves had been thus engaged for three *denarii* apiece ; the rate of pay no doubt varied according to the ability of the *claqueur*, special importance being attached to the modulation of the voice. Thus, the recitations were accompanied, on the part of the audience, by clapping of hands, acclamations of all kinds, and gestures of delight ; people rose to express their admiration of the reader, and kissed their hands to him.

But not even the liveliest interest, the best intentions and the greatest desire to be civil could prevent the majority of the audience from showing annoyance at the continual round of recitations, which often lasted whole days, even in the hottest months of the year (July and August). Certainly Pliny, whose enthusiasm for literature and the literary profession knew no bounds, never got tired himself and rarely refused an invitation to a reading ; but he admitted that there were disquieting symptoms. He writes as follows : ' This year (97) has produced a plentiful crop of poets ; during the whole month of April scarcely a day has passed on which we have not been entertained with the recital of some poem. It is a pleasure to find that a taste for polite literature still exists, and that men of genius *do* come forward and make themselves known, notwithstanding the lazy attendance they get for their pains. The greater part of the audience sit in the lounging-places, gossip away their time there and are perpetually sending to inquire whether the author has made his entrance yet, whether he has got through the preface, or whether he has almost finished the piece. Then at length they saunter in with an air of the greatest indifference, nor do they condescend to stay through the recital, but go out before it is over, some silyly and stealthily, others again with perfect freedom and unconcern. . . . Were one to bespeak the attendance of the idlest man living and remind him of the appointment ever so often, or ever so long beforehand, either he would not come at all, or if he did would grumble about having lost a day, for no other reason but because he had *not* lost it. So much the more do those authors deserve our encouragement and applause, who have resolution to persevere in their studies and to read out their compositions in spite of this apathy or arrogance on the part of their audience ' (Melmoth's translation).

On another occasion, Pliny indignantly writes to a friend that recently, while an excellent work was being read, two or three of the audience sat in their places as if they were deaf and dumb. What laziness! what impertinence! what indecency! indeed, what madness to spend the whole day in insulting a man, and to leave an enemy instead of a friend!

Certainly, Epictetus's rule, not to accept invitations to readings without due consideration, was by no means unnecessary; but if one did attend, he ought to maintain an attitude of dignity and reserve and avoid giving offence. Pliny was a model of punctilious courtesy. He relates how, after a recitation, he went up to the youthful poet, embraced him, heaped praises upon him, and encouraged him to persevere in his profession. 'The family—the mother and brother of the young man were also present; the brother, at first anxious then joyful, had excited general attention by his deep and lively interest in the performance. Then Pliny also congratulated them and, after reaching home, wrote one of his elegant notes on this trifling event, which spread abroad the news of the young poet's success'. Such a reading was an event which formed the subject of conversation in literary circles during the next few days; then the poem was taken up by the booksellers, who pushed its circulation.

Considering the great importance of recitations in the literary life of Rome, it may be assumed that the emperors frequently honoured them with their presence. Augustus, as already mentioned, set the example; Claudius, after his accession, had a reader to recite his numerous works. Nero, soon after he became emperor, recited his poems himself in the theatre; this caused such delight, that a festival of thanksgiving was ordained and the poems, inscribed in letters of gold, were dedicated to Jupiter in his temple on the Capitol. Domitian, while prince, also recited in public. Dating from the second century, readings seem to have chiefly taken place in the Athenaeum, where a space in the form of an amphitheatre was reserved for the purpose. Pertinax, on the very day of his murder, had intended to be present there at a poetical recitation; and Alexander Severus frequently formed one of the audience at the lectures and recitations of Greek rhetoricians and poets.

In the middle ages, also, even after the invention of print-

ing, poets and literary men often made their works known by recitations. Thus Giraldus Cambrensis (Girald de Barri) in the year 1200 after his return from Ireland publicly read his *Topography* of the island at Oxford. The *Rederijkkamers* (poetical guilds of the Netherlands) and the Italian Academies of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries may also be compared with the old Roman recitations. Boiardo read *Orlando innamorato* at the court of Ferrara, and Madame de Sévigné speaks of readings of Racine and other classical authors. Lastly, the introduction of the Greek custom of regularly recurring poetical competitions at Rome opened up to poets the alluring prospect of being crowned, an honour never before heard of, and thus gave an entirely new stimulus to poetical ambition. For Greek poetry there already existed such a competition in the *Augustalia* at Naples, founded in honour of Augustus (A.D. 2) and held every four years, which was considered by the Greek world one of the most brilliant and famous festivals of its kind. Here Claudius, who appeared in Greek dress for the occasion, ordered a Greek comedy to be performed, written by his brother Germanicus, whose memory he always honoured in every possible way. He awarded the prize to it in accordance with the decision of the judges. Statius also once received a prize (a crown of ears of corn) at Naples. At Rome the first poetical contest was that instituted by Nero, which, as already remarked, was only intended for his own glorification, and exercised little or no influence on Roman poetry.

The Capitoline *agon*, instituted by Domitian in 86, and held every four years, acquired all the more importance. The competition for the prize in Greek and Latin eloquence (a stock subject being the praise of the Capitoline Jupiter), which at first formed part of the proceedings, was soon discontinued. On the other hand, the prize for Greek and Latin poetry, which was unique of its kind, continued to be the highest aim of poetical ambition throughout the empire; and the hope of receiving the wreath of oak leaves, amidst the liveliest manifestations of sympathy, from the hand of the emperor himself, after the judges had delivered their verdict, induced the most gifted poets from distant provinces to cross the seas to Rome. If unsuccessful, they could console themselves with the reflection that no provincial was ever allowed to obtain prizes at

Rome ; at least, the African Publius Annius Florus, who failed in one of the first competitions with a poem on the Dacian triumph, assures us that the audience had unanimously demanded the prize for him, but that the emperor had refused it, to prevent the crown of the great Jupiter being carried off to Africa. Of course it was frequently discussed in literary circles at Rome, who was going to win the crown at the next competition. Statius (probably in 94) was an unsuccessful candidate. A certain Collinus, to whom it appears to have been awarded in 86, is absolutely unknown ; of the tragic poet Scaevus (or Scaevius) Memor, a brother of the satiric poet Turnus, who received it under Domitian, hardly anything is known but the name.

The grave of a Roman boy, apparently the son of a freedman, named Quintus Sulpicius Maximus, who died early in his twelfth year, has been discovered at Rome. According to the inscription on his tomb, he competed for the prize at the Capitoline *agon* in the year 94 with fifty-two Greek poets : 'owing to the talent he displayed, the favour which his tender years aroused became admiration ; he came out of the contest with honour'. The 43 Greek hexameters, improvised by him on the theme, 'What Zeus said when he reproached Helios for lending his chariot to Phaethon' (probably a common subject in the rhetorical schools), were engraved upon the monument, 'that it might not be thought that the parents were influenced in their judgment by their affection' ; they give evidence of a diligent study of Greek epic. Of two Greek epigrams in praise of the deceased, one asserts that sickness and exhaustion carried him off, since he devoted himself day and night to the Muses. In 110, the thirteen year old Lucius Valerius Pudens of Histonium, as already noticed, was unanimously awarded the prize. We know nothing of later coronations of poets, although they probably took place regularly every fourth year, until the last days of antiquity.

Further, the externalities of the festival sufficiently demonstrated its Greek character, at least in the time of Domitian. The emperor presided, wearing a Greek purple cloak and Greek shoes, a golden crown on his head, adorned with the images of the three Capitoline divinities—Jupiter, Juno and Minerva. The judges and assessors consisted of the *flamines* (priest of Jupiter) and the priestly college of the Flavian

house, similarly attired, except that their crowns, in accordance with hellenistic and Alexandrian custom, also displayed the image of the emperor. Later, the priestly colleges took it in turns to direct the competitions, under the presidency of the emperor. The brilliancy and solemnity of this festal gathering, the presence of the highest personages of the court and dignitaries of the empire, the bestowal of the crown by the emperor himself, the world-wide historical importance of the place—all combined to make the honour of coronation something unique of its kind. The memory of it survived till the middle ages, and the custom was revived in the cities of Italy from the end of the thirteenth century. At Padua and Prato, poets were crowned before Petrarch, and Dante, when in exile, hoped to receive the honour in the chapel of St. John at Florence. Petrarch, in his retirement at Vacluse, when simultaneously invited by the university of Paris and the senate of Rome to receive the crown of laurel in public, decided in favour of Rome, 'where the ashes of the great poets of antiquity were buried'. On Easter Sunday, April 8, 1341, he was solemnly crowned on the Capitol, in the hall of the senate, by the senator Ursus; after the conclusion of the ceremony, the poet went in procession to St. Peter's, where he humbly deposited the laurel on the altar of the chief of the apostles.

Besides the Capitoline, Domitian held another competition yearly on March 19, a festival of Minerva, the object of special worship at his country seat near Alba. One of the members of a college founded by the emperor, elected by lot to preside, superintended the arrangements; in addition to theatrical representations and magnificent combats of wild beasts, there were oratorical and poetical competitions. It was here that Statius (before the year 94) received the golden crown of olive for his poems on the German and Dacian campaigns—a prize of course not so highly esteemed as the Capitoline crown of natural oak leaves. No doubt the festival ceased with Domitian's death. Nothing definite is known of other poetical competitions in the later days of Rome, nor of the revival of the Neronian *agon* by Gordian III and the poetical *agones* in other cities and the provinces; but we may assume that their number was considerable. Eumolpus in Petronius says he is a poet and no mean one, 'at least, if the crown is worth any-

thing, although certainly it is sometimes bestowed by favour upon those who do not deserve it'. A Roman knight of Beneventum is described in the inscription on his grave as a 'Latin poet, crowned at the festival in his native town'. As late as the end of the fourth century, poets, as well as athletes and musicians, took part in the Pythian *agon* at Carthage, as is shown by Augustine's mention of his own coronation as a poet by the proconsul.

During these two centuries, then, poets had ample opportunity of being heard and becoming famous, and obtained applause, honour, reputation and public sympathy, to an even greater extent than at any other time. On the other hand, poetry did not secure material advantages, such as an income, since the booksellers of course paid no fees or royalties, at a time when the idea of literary ownership was unknown, and when neither they nor the author were in any way legally protected. The exemption from public duties and charges, enjoyed by teachers and physicians, did not extend to poets (according to a rescript of the Emperor Philip). A wealthy poet might certainly remain content with fame, like Lucan, who rested on his laurels in gardens adorned with marble, or the consul Silius Italicus, who devoted only the evening of his life to poetry, in his villas magnificently decorated with numerous statues and busts, on the delightful coast of Campania. Otherwise, it was extremely hazardous for a man who had no assured means of existence to make poetry the serious business of his life. Nevertheless, the number of those whom confidence in their talents (real or imaginary) led to adopt it as their profession, was evidently very large; indeed, it could not be otherwise, considering the unusual number of powerful inducements and temptations to poetry. Few, however, were successful, and those who despised this art which failed to provide bread and cheese, practical, matter-of-fact individuals, were able to appeal to the miserable condition of the majority of poets and their own complaints. Ovid refused to give up poetry, in spite of his father's exhortations to abandon an occupation which was so unprofitable that even Homer left no fortune; but, although he had enough to live on, he nevertheless complained of the poet's lot. Formerly, in the good old days of Ennius, the name of poet was honoured and respected, and wealth was his in abundance; now poetry has

fallen into disrepute, and the service of the Muse is reviled as idleness.

If this complaint could be made at the most brilliant period of Roman poetry by one of its most celebrated representatives, it is evident that poetry and poets were at all times regarded with widespread contempt by Romans of the old stamp. In the *Dialogus* of Tacitus, also, this view of poetry is chiefly insisted upon ; little is said in its praise. In addition to the fame that it may bring, it is reckoned one of the chief blessings of the poet's life that, far removed from the cares and stress, the crime and bustle of the world, he can pass his life in seclusion in the midst of nature, in the solitude of forests and groves, while his mind can take refuge in the haunts of purity and innocence, on consecrated ground. But this was just what a man ought not to do, according to Tacitus's view of life, although he does not show so pronounced an aversion from poetry as its regular opponent in the dialogue. The latter is made to say that poems and verses confer no dignity upon their author, nor any lasting advantage ; all that he obtains is the brief satisfaction of idle and useless praise. Even if he has taken a whole year, working day and night, to complete a single poem, he has further to run about everywhere, begging people to condescend to come and hear it. Nor can this be done without money. He has to rent a house, to prepare a reading-room, to hire benches and send round invitations. Even if the reading is successful beyond his expectations, his reward only lasts a day or two ; all that he gets by it is vague applause, empty words, and a brief, momentary pleasure. Even the fame of the poet is worth little ; mediocrities have no readers, the best but few. The fame of a reading very rarely extends throughout the city, to say nothing of the provinces. Very few of those who come to Rome from distant provinces, such as Spain and Asia Minor, visit the most celebrated poets in person ; or, if they do, they are satisfied with a passing acquaintance. How different, in all respects, is the position of an eminent orator, who acquires wealth, honour, influence and a world-wide reputation. Eumolpus in Petronius, who boasts of being a poet whose merits are recognized, when asked why he is so badly dressed, answers : ' For that very reason ! ' Martial also advises a friend to abandon Helicon, which has nothing to offer except loud but empty applause,

and to turn his attention to the *forum* : ' there is to be heard the chink of ready money ; but round our unprofitable chairs and platforms, nothing but the sound of kisses thrown by the audience '. If you meet people in threadbare cloaks in the streets of Rome, you may be sure that they are the Ovids and Virgils of the time ; the upright, the learned, and the amiable walk about shivering in a brown hood, simply because they are guilty of the crime of being poets ; if a son writes verses, his father makes haste to repudiate him.

The most detailed account of the miseries of a poet's life is to be found in Juvenal. Before the emperor (Hadrian) looked favourably upon the sorrowing Muses, things had reached such a pitch at Rome that even well-known and famous poets had to try the lowest means of getting a bare subsistence, such as hiring a bathroom at Gabii, a bakery at Rome, or acting as criers at auctions. The rich were lavish of nothing but their praises. If a poet went to pay his respects to a wealthy patron, he was told that he was writing verses himself and acknowledged Homer alone as his superior by reason of his antiquity. The rich never wanted money for their luxuries ; they always had enough to feed a tame lion, but there was nothing left for the poet, as if he had the larger maw. At most they would lend him an empty house, long since bolted and barred, with walls covered with mildew, to hold a reading in, but they would not give him even the money to pay for the erection of the platform or the hire of the seats and benches. But what good was a brilliant reputation to the poor poet, if it meant nothing else ? Even the celebrated Statius would have had nothing to eat, if he had not disposed of his unacted *Agave* to Paris.¹ And yet the pestilent itch for writing is incurable in many, and lasts till old age, though their heart be sick with waiting ; poets still compose sublime verses in their garret, by the light of a solitary lamp, on the chance of seeing their lean features immortalized in an ivy-crowned portrait-bust. But how can the mind soar to poetic enthusiasm, while the starving body calls aloud day and night for the satisfaction of its needs ? The mind of a man who does not know how he is to get a blanket cannot feel the divine afflatus ; even Virgil's imagination would have been paralyzed, if he

¹ A famous pantomime and dancer. Agāvē tore her son Pentheus to pieces at a festival of Dionysus on Mount Cithaeron, as described in the *Bacchæ* of Euripides.

had not had a slave to wait on him and tolerable quarters. How absurd to ask a Rubrenus Lappa to rise to the level of the buskin of the ancients, when he has been obliged to pawn his dishes and his cloak, before he could write his tragedy *Atreus*. Only a mind free from all earthly anxieties, filled with longing for the solitude of the woods, the grottoes and the fountains of the Muses, can gain admission to the ranks of true poets. Thus the years that should have been devoted to agriculture or service in the army or the navy, are passed in fruitless efforts; a needy and destitute old age approaches, and the poet curses himself and his profession, although men speak well of him. Formerly it was different: in the time of the Maecenases, Cottas, and Fabii it was an advantage to many to look pale, and to remain sober during the Saturnalia. Then paleness was regarded as an attribute as necessary to learned men, especially poets, as his beard to the philosopher; when Oppian looked ill, says Martial, he began to write verses.

But apart from the fact that Juvenal everywhere exaggerates, his description is by no means correct, since he represents poverty and want as the unavoidable and exclusive lot of the poet, unless he has private means or is willing to work at a trade. Certainly, in this case, as at all times when literary production cannot be made immediately profitable, poets were entirely dependent upon the favour and generosity of the wealthy and influential, which, however, they probably then enjoyed to a greater extent than at any other time. For it was the general opinion throughout the Greek and Roman world that wealth, rank and position imposed great obligations, and especially that the possession of a large fortune required not merely a proportionate expenditure in the public service, but also a generous distribution of superfluous wealth amongst the poor. Princely generosity was especially expected from the great men of Rome; and at a time when interest in poetry was so keen and general, this was bound to be particularly advantageous to the poet. Certainly, charity was not practised on so large a scale as formerly. Even the younger Pliny laments that the good old custom of rewarding poets for their eulogies with a sum of money, had gradually fallen into disuse; he himself, however, still kept it up, and thought it his duty to pay Martial's travelling expenses home in return for a very flattering poem.

Martial had a number of other generous patrons. Even Juvenal's complaints of the stinginess of the rich show that it was always considered to a certain extent one of their duties to assist poets, and that neglect to do so excited dissatisfaction in literary circles and brought them into disrepute.

On the other hand, it was by no means the poets alone who were benefited by this state of things; they might even return the favour with interest, for honour and fame in the present and immortality in the future were regarded as the highest of blessings by the men of that age; and who was better able to bestow them than the poet? But even during their lifetime, great men looked to poetry for guidance, as elevating and glorifying every important event. The idea that even the most favoured existence lacked something without the adornment of poetry, was widespread and never entirely disappeared, although it gradually became rare. In this sense those most highly placed felt the need of the poet and were quite ready, in their own interest, to lay him under obligations to secure his devotion. Naturally, of course, the number of poets who sought favour and generosity was always incomparably greater than that of the great men who desired to purchase the poets' praise.

In this, too, the emperors set the example. They of course expected and demanded from contemporary poets the glorification of their rule and achievements, of their person and family, of their buildings and other undertakings, of their festivals and shows, and, like Augustus, directly called for it. Certainly, during every reign there existed a poetical literature exclusively devoted to its glorification. Two years after Trajan's accession, we read of 'serious poems' (as contrasted with the effeminate panegyrics on Domitian), in which his praises were sung. Indeed, the glorification of the emperor was so generally regarded as the most natural task of poetry, that prominent (especially epic) poets, who as a rule chose other subjects, chiefly mythological, as least compromising, found it necessary to make excuses or explanations: that they were quite incapable, or not yet capable, of so lofty a task; that they would make the attempt when they were better equipped. In fact, Statius, who expresses himself to this effect at the commencement of both his *Thebais* and his *Achilleis*, had already written poems, presumably

short ones, on Domitian's German and Dacian wars. As early as the Augustan age, poets felt bound to provide such explanations. Virgil in his *Georgics* declares his intention, after he has finished it, of girding himself to sing of raging battles, and of proclaiming Caesar's fame to posterity. I would sing of the wars of Caesar, says Propertius, of Mutina, Philippi, the Perusian, Sicilian and Alexandrian wars, and the triumph at Actium, if I were capable of it. And three hundred years later, Nemesianus at the beginning of his *Cynegetica* (a didactic poem on hunting) promises that he will one day sing of the triumphs of the sons of Carus 'with a more competent lyre'. Again, Julian the Apostate in his panegyric on the emperor Constantius says that all who have anything to do with literature extol him in both verse and prose, and that it is especially easy for poets to praise his deeds.

But apart from the fame which they expected, the emperors as a rule evidently recognized a certain obligation to show their practical interest in poetry by the payment of grants and fees to prominent poets. They were regarded as the most natural and the highest patrons and protectors of poetry and poets, who accordingly addressed their dedications and homage to the emperors before all. In addition, it is worth notice, that while rhetoricians were often elevated to lucrative and influential offices, no single instance is known of a poet being so promoted. It is most probable that he was usually rewarded by considerable gifts of money.

Horace declares that every one looked forward confidently to a time when a mere hint to Augustus that any one was devoting himself to poetry would be enough to secure him a livelihood at once and encouragement to continue. Even without this assurance, we could form an idea of the pretensions and expectations aroused in the poetical world at that time by the decided interest shown by Augustus in the revival of poetry. An anecdote related by Macrobius shows the importunity and outspokenness of the poets who bombarded him with homage and dedications. A Greek had presented to him, for several days in succession, as he was leaving the palace, some trifling flatteries in verse; but Augustus did not seem to pay any attention. When he saw that the Greek was going to repeat the attempt, Augustus himself

wrote down some verses, and ordered one of his suite to hand them to him. The Greek read them, and by his looks and gesture expressed the profoundest admiration; then, approaching the emperor's litter, he offered him a few *denarii*, at the same time regretting that his means did not allow him to give more. This happy thought brought him a present of 100,000 sesterces.

Horace praises Augustus for the keen and sound judgment shown by him in his gifts to poets; his princely donations to Virgil and Varius especially did him honour. Varius had received 1,000,000 sesterces for his *Thyestes*, which was performed at the spectacles in honour of the victory of Actium; Virgil was richly rewarded, especially for the sixth book of the *Aeneid*, which contained the glorification of the house of the Caesars. He is said to have left a fortune of 10,000,000 sesterces. Horace, whose chief desire was to live in modest retirement, had positively to refuse the offers of Augustus; more than any other man he might have looked for wealth and honour, had he not despised both; at his death, he made Augustus his heir.

There is reason to believe that the liberality of the later emperors was as a rule exploited on a large scale by the poets, since nearly all the poets of those times forced themselves upon the emperor's attention by dedications or occasional flattering addresses or notices; the panegyrics in verse, composed for festal and other occasions, of which there was an enormous number, even if not directly intended for presentation to the emperor, were written in view of such a contingency. The *Eclogues* of Calpurnius Siculus afford a specimen of the homage offered to the emperors by needy poets. This poet had certainly found a patron ('Meliboeus', perhaps Calpurnius Piso), himself a poet, who had protected him from want and saved him from the necessity of migrating from Rome to a province (Baetica). But still he is continually complaining of his poverty, which obliges him to think of earning a livelihood, and prevents him from producing as much good work as he otherwise might. Hence he begs Meliboeus to present his poems to the emperor and thus become his Maecenas; since he also has access to the 'holy apartments' of the emperor, 'the Phoebus of the Palatine' (Nero). In the poem this prince, who had just ascended

the throne, is praised by the god Faunus and celebrated in the amœbacans of the herdsmen. The whole world, all peoples adore him, the Gods love him, with his reign another golden age has commenced, he is a god sent down from heaven in the form of man, and so forth. Another poem describes a magnificent spectacle, given by the 'youthful god' in the (wooden) amphitheatre (constructed in the year 57).

Many incidental but trustworthy statements prove that the emperors did not allow the poems dedicated to them to pass unrewarded. Tiberius handsomely rewarded the Knight Gaius Lutorius Priscus for a universally praised elegy on the death of Germanicus. When Tiberius's son Drusus fell ill in the year 21, the poet, in the hope of a second reward in case this prince died, composed another elegy, which he was foolish enough to read before a number of distinguished ladies; he was denounced and condemned to death by the senate for *lèse-majesté*. Claudius also must have been liberal to poets, since the 'modern poets' lamented his death. An epigram on a Greek poet living in Rome runs as follows: 'Had not the emperor Nero given me some ready money, it would have gone ill with me, O Muses, daughters of Zeus!' Vespasian was liberal in his support of eminent poets; the needy Salcius Bassus received a present of 500,000 sesterces. Juvenal greets the emperor Hadrian, who had just succeeded to the throne, as the only hope of the poets; he alone protects the sorrowing Muses, at a time when they can expect neither favour nor support from other quarters; he will not suffer a poet to be reduced to work for his bread in the future in a manner unworthy of him; may his grace and favour, which are on the look out for worthy objects, act as a spur to youthful talent! The Greek poet Oppian is said to have received a piece of gold from the emperor Marcus Aurelius for every line of his poems which he read in his presence.

Next to the emperors, who with the best intentions in the world could only satisfy a small part of the petitions and entreaties addressed to them, it was from the great men of Rome that poets expected and received protection and assistance. Of all these patrons of poetry there was none to compare with Maecenas. His importance as a diplomatist, statesman and co-founder of the new order of things was

eclipsed in the next generation by the glory of having been the noblest 'protector of those dedicated to Mercury' [in his capacity of patron god of learned men and poets]. The fact that Maecenas, at an advanced age, when, according to Tacitus, he retained the appearance of the imperial confidence rather than any real power, had more leisure after his retirement from public affairs to exhibit his literary sympathies, may have further contributed to this reputation, independently of the unanimous and enthusiastic praises of contemporary poets.

With admirable judgment he recognized genuine talent, sometimes before it revealed itself, no easy task at a time when poetical diletantism was rampant, and one rendered still more difficult after it was recognized that poetical talent was a means of gaining the favour of this great man. The number of those who, with this end in view, assumed the title of poet with more or less justification, must have been large, since even the importunate vulgar thought it necessary to have recourse to this expedient, and men forced their way to him whose chief recommendation in their own eyes was the capacity of writing more verses, and more rapidly, than any one else. Maecenas chose his friends and associates without regard to birth, rank or external advantages, but at the same time he did not consider talent and education alone; he knew how to keep sordid and disturbing elements at a distance. No house in Rome, says Horace, was purer or more free from intrigue; every one had his place and no man tried to oust another. Hence it was not easy to gain admission. Horace, who after the battle of Philippi had no resources except his brains and was emboldened by poverty to write verses, was recommended to Maecenas by Virgil and Varius, those honest souls whose friendship he valued above all else. The first audience was brief; the poet, then about twenty-six years old, was so embarrassed that he could only stammer a few words about his affairs; Maecenas, as a rule, said very little. Horace thought himself already forgotten, when, nine months later, he was invited to an intimacy with Maecenas, which lasted uninterruptedly for more than thirty years, till the death of both almost at the same time. Maecenas gave the poet as much and more than he needed, a position free from anxiety and a little property

with garden, wood and fountain, his 'delightful retreat' in the Sabine mountains; and what he gave, he gave with the greatest delicacy. In his later years a chronic invalid, a martyr to insomnia, and subject to fits of despondency, Maecenas was inclined to exact too much from Horace, whose society he found almost indispensable. Nevertheless, the poet's tact and affection enabled him to decline frankly his friend's invitations, without rousing his anger. Maecenas, in his will, besought Augustus to 'remember Horatius Flaccus as myself!'

Evidently he was more intimate with Horace than with any other poet of the day; but all whom he gathered round him were fascinated not merely by his intellect and refined manners, and his lively and stimulating interest in their works, but almost as much by his consummate skill in associating on terms of equality with men of intellect. The great men of Italy in modern times have been equally distinguished in this respect above those of all other nations. Thus he was exceptionally fitted to be the centre of a circle formed by the highest intellectual aristocracy of his time. Many palaces may have been open to poets in later times, but none ever saw so brilliant an assembly again, none ever was so hospitable as the house of Maecenas, a lofty and imposing building on the heights of the Esquiline in the midst of a large park and gardens, with an extensive view of the bustling city, the Campagna and the mountains, Tibur, Aesula and Tusculum from its upper floors. Later, the mound that marked the grave of Maecenas and that of Horace beside it rose on the spot. After the death of Maecenas, garden and palace became the property of the emperor (Nero watched the burning of Rome from its windows in the year 64), and later of Fronto.

Later, the relation of poets to their distinguished protectors was as a rule that of client to patron. The reason of this was partly that, as the brilliancy of the golden age of Roman poetry gradually faded, the noble appreciation of poetic genius in the higher circles of society, which characterized it, also disappeared. But the poets themselves were also in great measure to blame, since with all their exaggerated self-estimation they lacked the confident feeling of their own value, the self-reliance of men 'who had seen the republic', such as distinguished the poor son of the freedman of Venusia

even in the presence of his powerful benefactor, the descendant of an Etruscan princely family. Even in Horace's time, mediocre and needy poets lacked this feeling; this is clearly shown by the anonymous panegyric on Messalla, a miserable patchwork of phrases, overloaded with mythological and other scholastic erudition in certain passages, in which the want of taste almost results in nonsense. And yet this production has been thought worthy of inclusion in the collection of poems which bears the name of Tibullus. The poet begs Messalla to take the will for the deed; he is well aware of the feebleness of his powers and of the defects of his poetry. He has formerly been well-to-do; now, reduced to poverty, he puts himself entirely at his patron's disposal; if Messalla will only take a little interest in him, he will prize the favour as much as the gold of Lydia or the reputation of Homer. Even if his verses only rarely fall from the lips of his honoured patron, destiny will never prevent him from singing his praises; nay, he is ready to do even more for him,—to brave the dangers of the sea, face a squadron of cavalry, or trust his body to the flames of Aetna.

About the middle of the first century, the most brilliant and distinguished of the great families of Rome was that of Piso, the head of the conspiracy against Nero, the object of which was to set him on the throne, but which in reality caused his death (in 65). His princely liberality appears to have been chiefly shown to poets. He himself was a poet, verses flowed readily from his pen, he played the *cithara* like a master, 'his house resounded throughout with the varied performances of its inmates'; devotion to art and science was the rule. The mediocre poem, with which a still youthful poet endeavoured to obtain an introduction to Piso, is a not uninteresting specimen of 'clients' poetry'. After celebrating the renown of Piso's family, he speaks of the admirable qualities of its present representative (especially his eloquence) and the honour of the consulship already bestowed upon him; praises his noble presence, his sincerity, his generosity and affability, his education, his musical and poetical talents, his skill in sword exercise, tennis and draughts—a description which essentially agrees with that given by Tacitus. At the conclusion the poet declares that all he asks is that Piso will deign to admit him into his house, for

he is not influenced by thirst for gold, but solely by the desire of fame. He will think himself happy if he may pass his life with Piso and attempt to describe his virtues in verses worthy of them ; if Piso will open to him the path of glory and rescue him from obscurity, he will do great things. Perhaps even Virgil would have remained unknown without a Maecenas to protect him ; and Maecenas, not content with opening his house to him alone, also laid the foundation of the fame of Varius and Horace. Under his protection, poets never had to fear starvation in their old age. If Piso will listen to his prayers, the poet will sing of him in polished verse as his Maecenas ; since he feels capable of handing down a name to posterity, if indeed one may promise anything of the kind. He feels that he has courage and strength to do something great, if only Piso will stretch out his hand to the swimmer, and draw him out of the retirement into which his humble birth and poverty have thrust him. His powers are greater than one might imagine from the number of his years, since the first down is only beginning to cover his cheeks and he has not yet passed his twentieth summer.

After Nero, the position of the aristocracy, and with it that of the poets dependent upon it, underwent a change for the worse. Many of the great families had ruined themselves by luxury and extravagance ; others had fallen victims to the suspicion, hatred or cupidity of the imperial despotism. The reign of Vespasian brought to Rome new men from the cities of Italy and the provinces, who retained their old habits, contracted under more restricted conditions of life, while the emperor himself set the example of economy ; under Domitian, distinguished men had to guard against arousing suspicion by too lavish a display of generosity or too numerous a *clientèle*. Thus, the poets of that time certainly had reason to wish for the return of the good old days of Maecenas, and even of Seneca and Piso. When Martial, then a young man, came to Rome about the year 63, the hall of the Pisos, filled with ancestral busts, and the houses of his countrymen the three Senecas (the philosopher, Junius Gallio, and Annaeus Mela the father of Lucan) were open to him. All perished in the years 65 and 66 ; and towards the end of the century the only surviving representative of the great Seneca family was Lucan's wife Polla Argentaria, Martial's patroness,

addressed by him as 'queen' as late as 96. Under Domitian such patrons of literature as Piso, Seneca, Vibius Crispus and Memmius Regulus no longer existed; at least, the two most prominent poets, Martial and Statius, strove to gain the favour of a large number of persons, without being able to obtain what had formerly been granted by a single individual.

Martial had certainly been connected with the court during the reign of Titus, who had bestowed upon him the privileges of a father of three children (*jus trium liberorum*), confirmed by Domitian, and perhaps raised him to the status of a knight by creating him titular tribune. His recommendation was enough to procure the citizenship for several claimants, and he was occasionally honoured with an invitation to the imperial table; but the emperor refused, although not ungraciously, a request for a few thousand sesterces. As the poet never returns thanks for gifts received, he does not seem to have been indebted to him for any real improvement in his position, although he continually begged for it, 'without timidity or embarrassment'; he was not even permitted to connect his country or town house with the Marcian aqueduct. This is the more striking, as Domitian was fond of reading his poems; had not this been the case, Martial would not have ventured to make frequent references to his approval. He is also unwearied in his efforts to win the favour of influential freedmen and other persons at court, sometimes by the most degrading flattery; he praises them generally and flatters them individually—Parthenius, the chamberlain, Entellus master of petitions, Euphemus the superintendent of the table, Earinus the cup-bearer, Crispinus the imperial favourite, the father (already retired) of Etruseus, and a certain Sextus, who appears to have been the director of the imperial studies.

During a twenty years' stay in Rome, however, Martial had been brought into frequent relations with members of the aristocracy, which he sought to keep up and enlarge by honourable mention of them in his poems, which (as he himself says) bestowed upon them lasting fame, although he gained nothing himself by such homage. His long-standing connexion with Seneca obtained him the friendship of Quintus Ovidius, who had accompanied Caesonius (or Caesennius) Maximus, a friend of Seneca the philosopher, into exile in Sicily. The large number of men of senatorial rank to whom Martial offers homage

or flattery, whom he begs or thanks for favours in his epigrams (written during the last twelve years of his stay in Rome from 86 to 98, and in Spain up to 101 or 102) includes the following names : the poet Silius Italicus (consul 68) and his sons ; Nerva, afterwards emperor ; the wealthy orator Marcus Aquilius Regulus, notorious as an accuser in cases of *lèse-majesté* ; the enormously rich brothers Domitius Tullus and Domitius Lucanus ; the poet Stertinius Avitus (consul 92, who in 94 had the portrait of Martial set up in his library) ; the well-known author Sextus Julius Frontinus (consul for the second time 98, for the third time 100) ; the younger Pliny (consul 100) ; the poet Arruntius Stella (consul 101) ; Lucius Norbanus Appius Maximus, conqueror of Lucius Antonius Saturninus (twice consul) ; Licinius Sura (consul 102), Trajan's most powerful friend ; Marcus Antonius Primus of Tolosa, Vespasian's former partisan ; and many others. Naturally, Martial sought and found patrons amongst the knights. Amongst them may have been the elegant Atedius Melior, who gave such excellent dinners in his beautiful house and garden on the Mons Caelius. One of the friends whose praises he most frequently sings is a centurion, Aulus Pudens, who appears to have reached the rank of *primipilaris*, but not the summit of his ambition, admission to the equestrian order. He also enjoyed and highly appreciated the friendship of other centurions, to judge from his honourable mention of them in his poems.

Statius to some extent moved in the same circles as Martial and also endeavoured to win the favour of the same patrons, above all of the emperor ; he never published anything ' without appealing to his divinity '. Yet his repeated and obsequious homage and laughably exaggerated flatteries seem to have gained him nothing from Domitian but an invitation to table and a supply of water from a public aqueduct for his house near Alba. Like Martial, Statius flattered the imperial freedmen ; besides Etruscus and his father and the youthful eunuch Earinus, he especially sang the praises of the imperial Secretary Abascantus. Some of Martial's patrons (Lucius Arruntius Stella, Polla Argentaria the wife of Lucan and Atedius Melior) were also Statius's. Many senators, whose names are found in his poems, attended his frequent readings ; the aged consular and city praefect, Rutilius Gallicus,

the young Vettius Crispinus and Maecius Celer. He also enjoyed the friendship of members of the equestrian order (such as Septimius Severus, great grandfather of the emperor of that name) and of wealthy friends of literature, whom he had known in his native city Naples.

Nevertheless, in spite of their relations, so eagerly sought and carefully cultivated, with so many great and wealthy men, and in spite of the general approval with which they were received in these circles, both poets remained poor. We know this of Statius from a passage of Juvenal already referred to ; he was not so undignified as to be always complaining and begging in his poems, like Martial. He certainly had a small estate near Alba, probably the gift of one of his patrons, but it was a poor one and reared no cattle ; his failure in the Capitoline *agon* can hardly have been the only reason which induced him to return home and end his days in his native city, when at the height of his fame as a poet. Martial also possessed a small vineyard near Nomentum, but it was barren and poorly wooded, and produced nothing except an inferior wine and 'apples like lead'. But it must be admitted that Martial was anything but an agriculturist. If his friend Stella had not sent him some tiles to repair the roof of his house, the rain would have come in; the chief advantage of his property was that he could retire thither from the worries of clientship and take a rest. Towards the end of his stay at Rome some one had given him a team of mules, and he also had a small town house on the Quirinal, where he had formerly had a lodging on the third storey. But he was never independent or free from anxiety, until, at the age of fifty-seven, he decided to leave Rome, whose atmosphere was life to him, and to end his days in his native Spain. There, the cheap living and the liberality of native patrons (especially Terentius Priscus and Marcella), made it possible for him to idle and enjoy himself to his heart's content.

While poets were thus dependent on a single patron, only the most lofty conception of the bond of union could entirely exclude the danger of the degradation of the former—a danger which increased as their position became more precarious and irksome. The example of Martial shows that, in the case of less noble natures, the position of a client almost necessarily led to the misuse of poetical talent and personal degradation.

Martial not only reminds his readers in general and his patrons in particular, that a poet wants money above all things ; he is continually begging, even for a *toga*, a cloak and the like. He writes on one occasion to Regulus, that he is so pressed for money that he will be obliged to sell his presents ; will Regulus buy something ? He even declares with cynical frankness, that his poetical gifts are at the disposal of any one who likes to pay for them : ‘ A man whom I have praised in one of my poems, pretends he owes me nothing ; he has taken me in ’. In one of his epigrams the emperor is supposed to ask, what he has gained from conferring immortality on so many in his poems ? his answer is : nothing, but it amuses me. Probably all were not of the same opinion as the younger Pliny, who thought it his duty to pay Martial’s travelling expenses in return for a poem of praise, since no gifts could be greater than those bestowed by the poet, ‘ fame, praise and immortality ’. Yet many of those who were praised by Martial certainly paid for the honour, although not always as liberally as he expected.

But he mainly turned his talents to account in intellectual and witty conversation in social circles, for which indeed they were best adapted ; and on such occasions he degraded them as much as by his most cringing flatteries. We certainly cannot blame him for writing poems to order or on given subjects, such as the *Xenia*, which to all appearance were originally written as labels for *Saturnalia* presents in wealthy houses. But since the jovial guests at the *Saturnalia* carousals and readers generally relished nothing so much as indecency, Martial in this respect also accommodated himself to the taste of the public. The ideas of decency at that time allowed the poet any obscenities, if disguised in elegant language ; the disproportionately large number of indecent epigrams shows how ready Martial was to satisfy the grossest tastes of the majority, and the manner of his excuses makes it clear that he himself was conscious of having overstepped the bounds of propriety.

In spite of his brilliant talents, Martial with his merry *Saturnalia* poems reminds us somewhat of the strolling poets of old times, who invited themselves to banquets, where they were welcome, but were treated somewhat contemptuously. Statius was saved from a similar humiliation by the nature of his talents, which always had in view the pathetic and solemn ;

also he had more sense of his own dignity than Martial and a higher idea of poetry. His minor poems give us an idea of the origin of the higher occasional poetry of the age and its usual subjects. Of the three chief classes of such poems—on births, marriages and deaths—Statius's forte was the last ; the four 'consolatory poems' of his collection are selected from a large number. He calls himself 'the gentle consoler of the afflicted, who has so often soothed the pain of the still bleeding wounds of fathers and mothers, comforted affectionate sons at their father's grave, dried so many tears and so often made his voice heard beside the tomb by departing spirits.' This clearly shows that he had produced many such poems. Rich people also commissioned poets to write them for the funerals of favourite slaves and freedmen, and even of animals ; Statius has included two, one on the death of Atedius Melior's green talking parrot, the other on that of a lion torn to pieces in the arena by another wild animal. As a rule, every joyful or melancholy event in distinguished families was celebrated by the house and client poets. The poems of Statius on the recovery of Rutilius Gallicus from a severe illness, on Domitian's seventeenth consulship, on Maecius Celer's journey to his garrison in Syria are examples of the numerous and varied subjects of occasional poems. But the services of poets were especially requisitioned at the celebration of festivals, the inauguration of important buildings or artistic undertakings. The day after the colossal equestrian statue of Domitian was set up in the Forum, Statius was ordered to let the emperor have a poem upon it.

At these solemnities, occasional poetry supplied the place of modern journalism. Rich people gladly availed themselves of it, to secure publicity for eulogistic descriptions of their beautiful villas and gardens, baths, splendid buildings, art collections and valuables, and probably there was never any lack of poets ready to meet their wishes. 'You praise the baths of Ponticus, who gives such good dinners, in three hundred verses', says Martial ; 'you don't really want to bathe, but to dine'. But even when there was no special reason for it, the majority were anxious that famous poets should sing their praises, and frequently directly invited them to do so.

The larger and more distinguished the family, the more numerous probably were the poets who were eager to bestow

poetical consecration on all the most important incidents in the life of its members, whether joyful or melancholy. In her passionate grief for her son Marcellus Octavia refused to listen to 'the poems composed to glorify his memory'. At a marriage festival in the house of the emperor Gallienus all the Greek and Latin poets recited nuptial songs for many days together; but the emperor with a few verses carried off the prize 'from a hundred poets'. Of course the number 100 is not here to be taken literally; but in modern times, less than eight days after the birth of the King of Rome, more than 2,000 odes, hymns and other poetical expressions of homage reached the Tuileries, for which Napoleon paid 100,000 francs by way of honoraria. Although poets, of course, participated most frequently in the glorification of festivals in the imperial palace, they appear to have done the same in aristocratic houses generally, where in accordance with Roman taste people amused themselves by listening to the numerous productions offered to them. On the occasion of the wedding of Stella and Violentilla, Statius summons the whole 'troop' of poets, especially the elegiac poets, the singers of love, 'to contend in various modes', each according to his mastery of the lyre. Of the certainly considerable number of poems, in which the contemporary poets of Rome, in response to this appeal, sang of the wedding of their distinguished colleague, only those of Statius and Martial have been preserved.

But as in this case, so on other and quite different occasions the two poets wrote pieces on the same themes for the same patrons and friends. Both lamented the death of Atedius Melior's favourite freedman and of the aged father of Claudius Etruscus; both celebrated the sumptuous bath constructed by the latter and the bronze statuette by Lysippus, belonging to Novius Vindex; both presented Lucan's widow with some poems on the celebration of her birthday; and when the eunuch Flavius Earinus, Domitian's cup-bearer, cut off his hair and sent it in a box set with precious stones together with his mirror to the temple of Aesculapius at Pergamus, Statius at his desire composed a lengthy poem on the event and Martial five short ones. Now, since we find the only two poets of the time, with whose occasional pieces we are acquainted, so often and deliberately dealing with the same subjects, we may fairly assume that on extraordinary occasions also as a

rule a crowd of poets was seized with inspiration, and that there was a perfect downpour of poems, long and short, in all kinds of metres.

Although Statius and Martial so frequently visited the same houses, that each must have often been witness of the other's success, neither of them mentions the other, while both are lavish in praise of their numerous poetical colleagues. Evidently they did not love one another, as indeed was hardly to be expected, considering the profound contrast of their natures; even if the Spanish poet, now growing old, had been able to refrain from vexation and jealousy at the fame of the Neapolitan, which threatened to eclipse his own. But he frequently expressed a contemptuous opinion of long mythological epopees, although he does not mention the *Thebaid* of Statius. 'Certainly', he says, 'every one praises and admires them, but my epigrams are read. Epics contain nothing but monstrous abortions of the imagination; whereas my epigrams touch real life to the quick, and must be read by any one who wishes to understand himself or the age in which he lives. Any one who regards epigrams as mere trifles, mistakes their character; in reality the poet who deals with fables and legends is the trifler. The figures of epopees are giants, but of clay; my figures are small, but they live. My little books are free from fustian and bombast, my Muse never struts in a ridiculous, swelling dress with a long train. Let those austere and over-serious people, who burn the midnight oil, handle the highly tragic and lofty themes of Greek mythology; I will season genuine Roman poems with wit, and be content with the modest shepherd's flute, since its tones surpass the trumpet blasts of so many others.' In face of these attacks, made in the years in which he read the last books of his *Thebais* and the first of his *Achilleis* to the loud applause of a large audience, Statius never condescended to criticize epigrams unfavourably. He characterizes his own short poems, written 'as a sort of epigrams', as insignificant trifles, thrown off on the spur of the moment; he had been blamed for publishing anything of the kind, but he was of opinion that even badinage might be justified. At the conclusion of his *Thebaid* he complains of the clouds of mist, heaped up by envy to obscure its brilliancy.

At all times envy and jealousy amongst poets arise from their easily wounded vanity, their exaggerated self-esteem

and thirst for glory ; but in the period with which we are concerned, their dependent position, their rival efforts to win the favour and approval of the great, on whom their very existence depended, were only too likely to arouse the ugly passions of ignoble natures, and often led to irritation, persecution and calumny, intrigue and cabal of all kinds. Martial suffered much from enemies, envious and unfavourable critics of various kinds. The criticism of the literary circles of Rome was as a rule anything but benevolent. Many (from envious motives, says Martial) blamed the indecency of his epigrams ; but the number of those who declined to recognize living poets and praised only those of the past, was probably larger, as is always the case. In general, Martial regarded the censure of poets as rather a proof of the universally good reception accorded to his works, and justly preferred to see his poems approved by the guests than by the cooks. One of those who 'were ready to burst with envy' because all Rome read his poems, because he was pointed out in the streets, because many welcomed him as a guest, because he had secured a modest competence, was a Jewish poet, who was always criticizing his poems, but all the same plundered them. However, it did not trouble Martial much if plagiarists gave out and read his verses as their own, since the difference between their productions was so great that no one could help noticing the theft. He frequently complains, however, of what was far more prejudicial to his reputation as a poet and his position generally ; anonymous poets, whose identity could not be traced, published broadcast under his name virulent abuse and vulgar insults directed against men and women of rank. This treachery was all the more likely to injure him with his patrons, since in any case there was always the danger that persons, whose favour was of great importance to him, might think his sarcasm was intended for themselves ; hence his repeated assertion that he never has any particular individual in view.

In addition to these and similar glimpses in Martial's poems of the doings at these meetings in the 'school of the poets' or the portico of the temple of Quirinus, they furnish other information concerning the literary interests and tendencies of the time.

In particular, the epigrams of Martial, the poems of Statius

(90-96) and the letters of the younger Pliny (97-108/9), which are directly connected with both, acquaint us with the relation of educated society to poetry in the time of Domitian, Nerva, and the beginning of Trajan's reign. Yet the phenomena disclosed, though characteristic of this relation and of literature in general, are not exactly confined to this period alone, but may be considered essentially applicable to the whole time from Augustus to Hadrian. They also confirm the observation, that poetry at that time was of greater importance and exercised a greater influence upon education in general than at the present day.

The first impression is that of excessive industry and productivity throughout the domain of poetical literature, the whole field of which was cultivated by rival poets and *dilettanti*. Thus Juvenal, in a despairing outburst against perpetual recitations, mentions poems of the most varied kinds, which one was compelled to listen to daily; one reads a *Theseis*, another Roman comedies, a third elegies; a *Telephus*¹, and a never-ending *Orestes* take up a whole day; the columns and plane-trees of a peristyle used by the reciters resound unceasingly with descriptions of the combats of the Centaurs, of the judgment of the dead, of the carrying off of the golden fleece. A certain Varro according to Martial was equally distinguished as a writer of tragedies and mimes, lyrics and elegies; Canius Rufus of Gades appears to have been no less versatile. Manilius Vopiscus wrote lyric and epic poems, satires and epistles; Pollius Felix hexameters, epodes or distichs and iambics. In addition to the best known kinds of poetry, others less common are mentioned, such as the Aristophanic comedy and the mimiambus; many composed in Greek. Of course Martial, Statius and Pliny only tell us the names of a few contemporary poets; according to Quintilian, the number of satirists and lyric poets was considerable.

But epos, especially mythological, was probably the favourite; long epic poems of the period have been preserved, all of which, with the exception of the *Punica* of Silius Italicus, are mythological—the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus, the *Thebais* and *Achilleis* of Statius. Juvenal's remarks on recitations also indicate a preponderance of epos. Its subjects were the most harmless; the poet who set Aeneas and

¹ Telephus, King of Mysia, a favourite subject of tragedy.

Turnus fighting might feel certain of never giving offence ; nobody could complain of a wounded Achilles or a drowning Hylas. To this was added the authority of Virgil, whose form was thought the easiest to reproduce. Accordingly, the school of necessity directed its poetical efforts to the field of Greek legend. Its wealth of poetic material facilitated execution ; in addition to Virgil numerous (and especially Alexandrine) models, ready to hand, supplied the want of invention, and of power to create new poems. Again, epos offered the widest scope for the development of all the excellences, which even a less gifted *dilettante* might appropriate, such as beauty of language, irreproachable versification, rhetorical pathos, and above all, descriptive liveliness. Horace speaks of descriptions of nature, which could be used as 'purple patches' to conceal the nakedness of long poems : 'a grove and altar of Diana, a stream winding through smiling fields, the course of the Rhine, the rainbow'. Seneca mentions Aetna, sunrise and sunset among such poetical commonplaces. Juvenal declares that every one knows the cave of Vulcan and the grove of Mars better than his own house. The author of *Aetna* declares that he intends to strike out a new path ; the old legends are too hackneyed. Every one knows the golden age better than his own world. Who has not sung of the expedition of the Argonauts, the Trojan war, the misfortunes of Niobe and of the house of Atreus, the adventures of Cadmus, the desertion of Ariadne ? Similarly, at the end of the third century, Nemesianus in the introduction to his *Cynegetica* announces his intention of abandoning the 'beaten track'. He enumerates a number of mythological subjects, adding, 'a number of great poets have already anticipated all these ; the old legends of former times are known to all'. Further, we may assume that Virgil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, as well as his *Aeneid*, were frequently imitated. Columella chose horticulture as the subject of a poem, simply because 'the divine Maro, the poet deserving of the highest reverence', had expressly called upon his successors to treat this department of agriculture poetically. Martial's friend, Julius Cerealis, besides a *Gigantomachia*, composed some rural poems, 'inferior only to those of the immortal Virgil'. The *Georgica* composed by Clodius Albinus, the rival of the emperor Severus, was also a poem.

But most of the educated men, who did not make poetry their profession but, like Atticus, were unwilling to deprive themselves of the charm which it lent to life, and whose poetical efforts were only a recreation, distraction or literary exercise, as a rule had no time for long-winded epics. The younger Pliny recommends a friend, who was training for an orator, sometimes to write something historical or a letter. ' You will do quite right again in refreshing yourself with poetry ; when I say so, I do not mean that species of poetry which turns upon subjects of great length and continuity (such being suitable only for persons of leisure), but those little pieces of the sprightly kind of poesy, which serve as proper reliefs to, and are consistent with, employments of every sort. They commonly go under the name of poetical amusements ; but these amusements have sometimes gained their authors as much reputation as works of a more serious nature. In this manner the greatest men, as well as the greatest orators, used either to exercise or amuse themselves, or rather, indeed, did both. It is surprising how much the mind is enlivened and refreshed by these little poetical compositions, as they turn upon love, hatred, satire, tenderness, politeness, and everything in short that concerns life and the affairs of the world. Besides, the same advantage attends these, as every other sort of poems, that we turn from them to prose with so much the more pleasure after having experienced the difficulty of being constrained and fettered by metre ' (Melmoth's translation).

Apart from these poetical exercises, amateur and even professional poetry no doubt consisted to a great extent, if not mainly, of reproductions of classical Greek or Roman models, and in the former case was often merely a free translation. And such reproduction was by no means unintentional. While at the present day even poetical amateurs strive after the appearance of originality in inverse proportion to their real capacity, the later Roman poets made no such effort, since their greatest predecessors from time immemorial had made it their object to transplant the flower of Greek poetry to Roman soil. Throughout the entire domain of ancient art respect for tradition was so strong that forms once recognized as models had the binding force of laws, which no artist dared resist or alter at discretion. Imitation, copy and repro-

duction were held to be legitimate and allowable, and to a certain extent industry and study were considered an adequate substitute for originality. This is especially true of all post-Augustan poetry, the chief characteristic of which is the unexampled frequency of imitations and repetitions, echoes and reminiscences of every kind. There were even 'Ovidian' and 'Virgilian' poets, who apparently employed only Ovidian and Virgilian turns, phrases and verses.

The enormous influence of Virgil on later poetry, especially epos, has been already mentioned. As Ennius and Virgil had imitated Homer, so later epic poets wrote under the spell which Virgil exercised over the whole period. Silius Italicus revered his picture more than that of any other great man, celebrated his birthday more conscientiously than his own, and approached his tomb as if it had been a temple. Statius, who at the end of his *Thebais* craves for its immortality, adds that he is content to follow the divine *Aeneis* at a distance and to tread in its footsteps with holy awe. In other branches, also, poets obtained the highest praise for the successful imitation of a great model. Passennus Paullus, a friend of the younger Pliny, was a zealous imitator of the ancients generally, whose poems he copied and reproduced, especially those of Propertius, to whose family he belonged, and whose most successful imitator he was; his elegies were 'written entirely in the house of Propertius'. Later, he turned his attention to lyric poetry, and reproduced Horace with the same fidelity.

For most of those who satisfied their aspirations by composing trifles, epigrams and all kinds of poetical odds and ends, Catullus, as in the Augustan age, was the model most generally followed; even the epigrams of a poet like Martial, certainly one of the most original of later writers, are full of reminiscences of him. He sends his little poems to Silius, as the gentle Catullus may have ventured to send his lament on the death of the sparrow to the great Virgil. This poem was the inevitable model for all similar subjects and appears to have been imitated times without number. Martial flatters Stella by saying that in his *Columba* (dove) he has shown himself as far superior to Catullus as a dove is larger than a sparrow. Unicus the Spaniard, a relative of Martial, wrote love poems, such as those of Catullus to

Lesbia or of Ovid to Corinna. Pliny's friend, Pompeius Saturninus, a distinguished orator and historian, also wrote verses 'like Catullus or Calvus, full of grace, sweetness, bitterness and passion; their tenderness and playfulness was tempered with a certain severity, this too in the manner of Catullus or Calvus'. It would be in the highest degree unjust, adds Pliny, to admire him less because he is still alive. Pliny also listened with the greatest pleasure and even admiration to another friend, Sentius Augurinus, who had recited his little poems for three days running. 'There was a good deal of writing in the light and graceful, the lofty, the gay, the tender, the sweet and the satirical vein. I am of opinion there has not for these many years appeared anything more finished of the kind, if indeed my great affection for him and the praises he bestows upon me do not bias my judgment'. For he had said 'I sing in modest verses, as formerly Catullus, Calvus, and the poets of old. But what need to mention them? Pliny, who also writes verslets, is more to me than all his predecessors'.

The example of Pliny, who did not begin 'to walk in the paths of Catullus' until he had attained consular rank and was more than forty years of age, and who relates in great detail the history of the origin of this 'late spring of song', shows most clearly how at that time the keen interest in literature necessarily attracted even the most matter-of-fact and unpoetical natures to poetry. He had already made several attempts at verse, as was only natural at a time when culture was so saturated with poetical elements, and since he himself had always aspired to literary distinction. He writes as follows to a friend: 'You have read, you say, my hendecasyllables, and are desirous to know what first induced a man of my gravity (as you are pleased to call me, though in truth I am only not a trifler) to write verses. To go back, then, to my earliest years, I had always an inclination to poetry, insomuch that when I was fourteen years of age, I composed a tragedy in Greek. What sort of a one do you ask? I really don't know; all I remember of it is that it was called a tragedy. Some time after this, on my return from the army, being detained in the island of Icaria by contrary winds, I wrote some Latin elegies on the self-same island and sea. I have since made some attempts in the heroic kind;

but these are the first hendecasyllabics I have ever composed ; and the following incident gave them birth. The treatise of Asinius Gallus was read to me one day at Laurentum, in which he draws a comparison between his father and Cicero, and cites an epigram of Tully's on his own favourite Tiro. Upon retiring to take my afternoon's nap (for it was summer time) and not being able to sleep, I began to reflect that the greatest orators have been fond of poetry and by no means despised it as an art. I tried therefore what I could do in this way ; and though I had long disused myself to do things of this sort, I wrote down, in a much shorter time than I could have imagined, the following lines upon the subject which gave me the first hint' (Melmoth). The hexameters, in which he explains how Cicero's example determined him to abandon all restraint, are utterly prosaic and heavy, his hendecasyllables probably afforded an even more terrible example of the result 'when a pedant itches to attempt the free and easy'. 'From this I turned to elegy', he continues, 'which I executed with the same ease ; and being thus lured on by the facility with which the Muses yielded to me, I added others to the number of my productions of this kind. On my return to Rome I showed my performances to some of my friends, who were pleased to approve of them. Afterwards, whenever I had spare time, and particularly when I travelled, I made several other attempts in the poetical line. At length I determined, after the example of many others, to publish a separate volume of these poems, and I have no reason to repent of my resolution. They are much inquired after, and are in everybody's hands ; they have even tempted the Greeks to learn our language, who sing them to their harps and lyres. But why am I boasting so ? though poets, remember, possess the privilege of raving. Still, I am not giving you my own judgment, but that of others, which, be it right or wrong, I am exceedingly pleased with ; and have only to wish that posterity too may be of the same right or wrong way of thinking' (Melmoth). Later, Pliny published, or at least prepared for publication, a collection of smaller poems in various metres. At the request of his hearers, the recital lasted two days, for Pliny did not, 'like others, omit a portion and take credit for doing so ; he read everything, since he wanted to improve every-

thing ; and how was he to do this, if he only submitted select passages to the criticism of his friends ?' This shows how the *dilettanti* of the time, incited to poetical efforts by the want of an intellectual occupation for their hours of leisure, the spirit of imitation, extensive reading, knack of verse-writing, the example of others, and the desire to be perfect in everything, soon came to fancy themselves poets, when they were as vain, as well-born and as rich as Pliny.

At that time it was evidently nothing exceptional for men of rank or position, whose time was much occupied, to devote their leisure hours to poetry even at an advanced age. In reference to the brilliant success of Calpurnius Piso's elegiac poems on the constellations, Pliny observes that it gives him all the more pleasure to record it, since, creditable as it was to any young man, it was a rare achievement for one of noble birth ; a remark which shows that comparatively few of the crowd of poets, who recited daily for months together, belonged to distinguished families, and in particular that the *dilettanti* of the upper classes can have had little time or inclination for considerable poetical undertakings. Amongst the consulars of that time, in addition to Pliny and Silius Italicus, Stertinius Avitus, Arruntius Stella and the aged Arrius Antoninus were poetical *dilettanti* ; Rutilius Gallicus also, praefect of the city (died 91-92) was a poet. Vestricius Spurinna, who had filled the highest offices (the consulship two or three times) and had been honoured (probably by Nerva) with a statue in triumphal dress, when 77 years of age, devoted some time daily between his walk and his bath to the composition of lyric poems in Greek and Latin, which according to Pliny were excellent. The knight Titinius Capito, who filled the extremely onerous post of imperial secretary under Domitian, Nerva, and Trajan, was also one of the chief supporters of literature, the patron of poets and literary men ; he attended the recitations of others, recited himself, and wrote remarkable poems on great men. The freedman Parthenius, Domitian's head chamberlain, whose influence was still considerable under Nerva, was according to Martial a favourite of Apollo and the Muses ; ' who drank more freely from their spring than he ? ' Unfortunately, he had not sufficient leisure for poetry. From the examples of Pollius Felix of Puteoli, Pomponius Bassulus of Aeclanum, Caninius Rufus of Comum, we may assume that

poetical dilettantism was general amongst the higher classes in the towns of Italy. At that time it was not merely one of the symptoms of the intellectual purification of immature youth, or of morbid development ; poetry continued to be the life-long companion of a large number of educated men. It was practised not merely to ennoble and adorn the intellectual life, but also since it was prized as an essential element of culture ; hence skill in managing poetical form was also regarded as a proof of superior education. Since even men of the class represented by Petronius's Trimalchio thought it incumbent on them to produce poems of their own, so as to appear well brought up, we can all the more easily understand how it was that clever poets, who preferred money to fame, sometimes found purchasers for their verses.

At the beginning of the second century, poetry was so important a factor in education that even prosaic natures like Pliny's could not escape its influence ; the reign of Hadrian saw a great and sudden change, whereby prose regained its former ascendancy to such an extent that poetry gradually ceased to be the chief field of the literary efforts of *dilettanti* and artists, and even men of poetical gifts like Apuleius devoted themselves by preference to prose. The chief cause of this change, as already observed, was the new Greek 'sophistic'.

This new art of Greek elocution, whose professors were called by the old name of sophists, began to develop after the end of the first century. The importance which it acquired, the large number of able men whom it attracted, and the general, passionate and almost incredible admiration which it called forth in the Greek world, prove that it did not merely correspond completely to the taste of the age, but also filled a keenly felt want in intellectual life in a manner that satisfied the majority of educated men. The insatiable craving for some new intellectual amusement and an impressionability to art, survived with undiminished vigour in the declining nation ; but the sound and unadulterated taste for real art, which during the centuries of the intellectual prime of Greece was formed in all departments by the marvellous abundance of magnificent creations, no longer existed.

The art of the sophists, so completely in harmony with the degenerate taste of later centuries, and apparently in all essen-

tials a revival of the Asiatic mannerism, was a spurious art. It created forms difficult to manage, hard and fast and trifling rules, even to the least details, for 'every kind of style, every form of thought, construction and rhythm'; great importance was also attached to correctness of expression, which it was sought to obtain by study and frequently perverse and pedantic imitation of ancient models, especially Attic. The chief excellence of the sophists, like that of the Meistersingers, consisted to a great extent in the apparent ease with which they surmounted the technical difficulties of their art: 'when Polemo turned a period, he uttered the last member of it with a smile, to show how easy he found it'. The knowledge of the technical rules of the new art of prose, gradually spreading amongst the educated public, sharpened the understanding and increased the admiration of the audience. But the object of special admiration was the art of improvisation, which, however, was not acquired by all the sophists; one of the greatest of them, Herodes Atticus, is said to have prized it more highly than his consular rank and his descent from a consular family. In addition to this there was a studied declamation, which only too often, like the orator's attitude, facial play and gesture, verged upon the theatrical, or closely resembled a musical performance.

But all this, even combined with the still insatiable impressionability of the Greek ear to the charm of oratorical art, is perhaps insufficient to explain the astonishing success of these 'show speeches', whose pretentious artificiality of form always repels us by the absence of real meaning, while their mawkish affectation, stilted unnaturalness, turgidity and bombast only result in a disagreeable caricature of the magnificent old-fashioned eloquence, which they claim to revive and reproduce. The enthusiasm for the sophists and their works, which showed itself in demonstrations of honour of every kind; the crowding of studious young men to the cities, where they settled down as teachers; the esteem in which they were held, which justified their playing the part of censors, advisers and peacemakers; their own almost frenzied idea of the importance and effect of their activity—all would have been impossible, at least to such an extent, had not sophistic offered the national vanity of the Greeks a new satisfaction which they had long been without. The Greeks 'still tried to fancy themselves the great

nation', and were confirmed in their pride at having been the teachers of the Romans by the latter themselves; Greece had now produced a new and brilliant form of culture, and once again set the fashion in the department of literature. But what especially won for sophistic the passionate sympathy of the Greek world, was the fact that its chief task was the glorification of the great past of Greece; the decaying nation knew no greater joy than to see itself mirrored in these reminiscences. The favourite subjects for improvisation with both sophists and their hearers were taken from Greek history. 'The deeds of their forefathers were handed down by history, and could be celebrated. But their speeches on numerous occasions were not so handed down. Consequently, it was possible to suggest what they might have said, and the answers that might have been made; what they would have said, on occasions when they did not speak at all, if they had spoken. Some of these themes were, e.g., Demosthenes after the battle of Chaeronea; how did Demosthenes defend himself against the accusation of Demades, that he had been bribed by the Persian King with fifty talents? a speech to the Greeks after the end of the Peloponnesian war, declaring that all trophies must be destroyed, since it was really a civil war; a consultation of the Lacedaemonians, to decide whether the Spartiate who returned home from Sphacteria without their arms should be allowed to enter the country again; whether Sparta, which was intended by the constitution of Lycurgus to be without walls, should be protected by a wall on the approach of the Persians. . . .' Most of these and similar themes were general favourites, and produced keen competition amongst the sophists. But none of them were so highly thought of as the so-called Median or Attic themes. In the former Darius and Xerxes were introduced, uttering their barbarian boasts against the Greeks; in the latter the deeds and heroes of Marathon and Salamis were celebrated. This is wittily set forth by Lucian, in the ironical advice given by him to a rhetorician. 'Above all do not forget to speak of Marathon and Cynaegirus¹, for this is indispensable; of the navigation of mount Athos and the crossing of the Hellespont; of the sun darkened by the arrows of the Persians; of Xerxes in flight; let Leonidas

¹ Brother of Aeschylus, distinguished for his valour at the battle of Marathon.

be always praised, the words of Othryades ¹ always read and the names of Salamis, Artemisium and Plataea repeated.' In the speech at the funeral of Proaeresius, a famous sophist of the fourth century, it was said, 'O Marathon and Salamis! what a trumpet for your trophies and victories you have lost!'

This new rhetoric strove to obtain sole authority in the domain of the arts of speech. It aimed at supplanting poetry or rather at bringing it within its own province. The mixture of the prosaic and poetical style of speech and expression, the poetical prose, which we discern in nearly all the productions of sophistic at that time and later, appears to have its root in this tendency. But the rhetoricians also believed they could take possession of the subjects of poetry. Festal speeches on gods and heroes, which were called simply 'hymns', and panegyrics on celebrated and influential men of the past and present were regarded as substitutes for the lyrics of the grand style of the past. In the class of 'Descriptions' also the poets were followed. This attempt to create a special rhetorical poetry also brought forth from the soil of the new sophistic its most characteristic production—the Greek love story.

Although this art owed its importance in the Greek world to its essentially national character, it also exercised great influence upon the Roman world. This was due to the traditional respect of the Romans for the authority of the Greeks throughout the domain of intellectual (in particular, literary) life, to their dependence upon the judgment of the Greeks, and to their desire, perhaps at that time more eager than ever before, to appropriate the advantages of Greek education. Just as they had always gone to school amongst the Greeks, ever since they had begun to elevate oratory to the dignity of an art, so at that time they earnestly endeavoured to profit by the latest and most perfect method adopted by the Greeks in the art of representation. Many young men journeyed from Italy and the countries of the west to Athens and other Greek centres of instruction, to obtain the latest educational polish by attending the lectures of the most celebrated teachers.

¹ The only Spartan survivor of the 300 who fought with the same number of Argives for the possession of the border-town Thyrea. He is said to have erected a trophy on the field and written a superscription with his blood.

The latter also made professional tours to Rome and other large towns in the west, where they sometimes made their home for a while. The chair of Greek oratory at Rome was one of the most coveted distinctions.

The importance and reputation of these Greek professors was enhanced by the notice taken of them by the emperors, who loaded them with distinctions and presents; were eager to secure their services as tutors of the heirs presumptive; promoted them to high offices (especially the Greek department of the imperial secretariate); and submitted with politeness, indulgence and patience to their ridiculous and even insolent pretentiousness. On the other hand, also, the entire attitude of the emperors towards the sophists justifies us in assuming that their works were highly and widely respected in the educated circles of Rome, and that the emperors shared this opinion.

Hadrian, the greatest admirer of the Greeks and the most ardent literary *dilettante*, was also a particular friend of the sophists; he is praised by the biographer Philostratus as the best fitted by nature of all the earlier emperors to understand and encourage distinguished talent. Trajan had bestowed upon the celebrated Polemo immunity from dues and taxes during all his journeys by land and sea; Hadrian extended the privilege to his descendants, elected him to the Academy (Museum) of Alexandria,¹ and voluntarily paid a debt of 250,000 *denarii* for him, if we may believe Philostratus, many of whose statements, however, are obviously insipid inventions or ridiculous exaggerations. But it is clear, from the childish way in which the sophists exaggerated their importance and their relation to the emperors, that such stories were generally credited. It is related that Polemo on one occasion rudely ejected Antoninus Pius, Hadrian's successor, and at that time proconsul of Asia, from his house at Smyrna. Hadrian, to protect Polemo against Antoninus's possible vengeance, expressly declared in his will that it was by Polemo's advice that he had adopted Antoninus, who accordingly, on his accession to the throne, bestowed all kinds of honours upon Polemo.

The biographies of Philostratus are full of such stories. While Marcus Aurelius was staying at Smyrna, the sophist

¹ Where learned men were supported at the expense of the State.

Aristides waited for the emperor to summon him, before paying his respects, and made the excuse that he did not wish to interrupt his studies. When Smyrna was subsequently destroyed by an earthquake, Aristides' *Lament over Smyrna* (still extant, a mere string of exclamations) induced the emperor to rebuild the city. The beautiful passage, 'The evening winds blow only over a wilderness' is said to have moved Marcus Aurelius to tears. Although it is impossible to decide what is false and what is true in Philostratus, how much is misrepresentation, exaggeration or pure imagination, it is impossible to doubt the extraordinary affability of the emperors to the sophists during the second (and part of the third) century, or the interest taken by them in their art; this alone would be sufficient to justify us in assuming that the same interest was shown by the entire educated world of Rome, which is confirmed beyond suspicion by further evidence.

One of the founders of the new art, the Assyrian Isacus, made his appearance in Rome shortly before the year 100. The impression produced by his powerful flow of language is shown by the description of the younger Pliny. 'The great fame of Isacus had already preceded him here. He possesses the utmost readiness, copiousness, and abundance of language. He always speaks extempore, and his lectures are as finished as though he had spent a long time over their written composition. His style is Greek, or rather the genuine Attic. His exordiums are terse, elegant, attractive, and occasionally impressive and majestic. He suggests several subjects for discussion, allows his audience their choice, sometimes even to name which side he shall take, rises, arranges himself and begins. At once he has everything almost equally at command. Recondite meanings of words are suggested to you, and words—what words they are, exquisitely chosen and polished! These extempore speeches of his show the wideness of his reading, and how much practice he has had in composition. His preface is to the point, his narrative lucid, his summing-up forcible, his rhetorical ornament imposing. In a word, he teaches, entertains and affects you. His reflections (enthymemes) are frequent, his syllogisms also are frequent, condensed and carefully finished. He repeats from a long way back what he had previously delivered extempore, without missing a single word. This marvellous faculty he has

acquired by dint of great application and practice, for night and day he does nothing, hears nothing, says nothing else. He has passed his sixtieth year and is still only a rhetorician' (Melmoth). After this description we may literally believe the statements of Philostratus, that the enmity of the two sophists Favorinus and Polemo was kept up by the fact that consuls and consuls' sons took sides in the quarrel; that the sophist Hadrianus excited such admiration that knights and senators crowded into the Athenaeum to hear him, even those who knew no Greek.

The scanty fragments of Roman literature in the second century after Hadrian show clearly enough that the great effects of sophistical rhetoric, promoted energetically by the lectures of the Greek professors at Rome, were not without influence on literary effort in the educated Roman world. Perhaps the very reason of the scantiness of these fragments is that many Romans, dazzled by the charm of the new Greek prose, were led to write in Greek instead of in Latin. Marcus Aurelius undoubtedly chose the first language as the result of his study of the works of the Greek philosophers in the original; but one of the most unmistakable symptoms of the influence of the Greek sophists on the literary circles of the Roman world is the fact that Favorinus of Arelate (Arles) and Claudius Aelianus of Rome (or Praeneste) equally desired to shine as stylists not in their mother tongue but in Greek; and in fact they are included amongst the most prominent Greek sophists. We only possess the works of three Roman prose writers of this period. One of these, Aulus Gellius, who was content to offer the public nothing more than a collection of learned and amusing miscellanea, hardly deserves to be called a literary man, although his studied elegance, especially in narrative, shows that he imitated contemporary Greek models. His great friend Herodes, 'famous for his graceful intellect and Greek eloquence', had published similar learned collections. Fronto, the admirer of Polemo, tried his hand at several of the forms in which the sophists were accustomed to display their art, such as a mincing narrative style, and especially letters, some written in his own name, others in the name and character of persons of the most different position and class. Some of his extant letters are in Greek. His eulogies of dust, smoke and idleness are an attempt to discuss injurious, contemptible

and useless things and qualities in the paradoxical manner of the sophists.

Lastly, Apuleius, who, as he himself says, had thoroughly familiarized himself with Greek culture at Athens, made it his life's task to do for Latin prose what the sophists had done for Greek. The combination of philosophy and eloquence, to which he chiefly owed his reputation among contemporaries and posterity, was not uncommon in the Greek sophists. Like them, he journeyed from place to place, delivering lectures prepared in advance (a carefully elaborated collection of brilliant passages and introductions has been preserved); like them, he made use of his art in the courts. Even his chief work, the *Metamorphoses* or *The Golden Ass*, is nothing but a sophistical show-piece; for the sophists also made use of this form, in order to display the advantages of the art of treating various subjects in prose. Similarly, in the *Metamorphoses*, the exposition of the art was the end, the subject was only the means. Like the Greek romances, that of Apuleius consists only of a loosely-connected series of scenes and adventures of all kinds, which afford the author an opportunity of exhibiting his art, now in comic or tragic, indecent or horrible stories, now in descriptions of scenes from nature and of works of art, now in dialogues and speeches.

The attempt of Apuleius to transplant the art of the Greek sophists into the soil of Roman literature is the most striking proof of the extraordinary influence exercised by the new Greek art over the educated western world; but at the same time all his works show how the ascendancy of this form lessened the previous importance of poetry. No one will dispute that Apuleius possessed natural poetical gifts to a higher degree than the majority of the post-Augustan poets whose works are known to us. The choice of a popular story (*Cupid and Psyche*) as a subject and the affection with which he handles it show an appreciation, certainly rare at the time, of the wild flowers of poetry, which the poetical horticulturists and their admirers in their arrogance pretended to ignore. Certainly, Apuleius also tried his hand at poems of all kinds—epics, lyrics, comedies, tragedies, satires and riddles; but he sought and acquired his reputation in prose alone. A hundred or fifty years earlier he would most probably have been distinguished as a poet; but as the prevailing tendency of former times

had been strong enough to entice even sober pedants like Pliny into the paths of poetry, so now it was the art of prose that irresistibly attracted talent and even succeeded in detaching it from the sphere which suited it so admirably. Nevertheless, Apuleius showed himself unusually successful in maintaining the double part of a poetical rhetorician and a rhetorical poet.

With the renascence of ancient culture, the poetry of the Augustan and post-Augustan age regained the high esteem it had enjoyed in antiquity. While Homer, Pindar, Aeschylus, Sophocles and Theocritus continued for centuries to be little known and still less understood, Virgil, Horace, Ovid and Juvenal were generally reckoned as the highest models. But the restoration of the authority and influence of Roman poetry over education in general reintroduced many phenomena, the result of the attitude of the educated world of later antiquity to poetry. At first humanism re-established the intimate connexion of poetry with science and learning ; its study was regarded as an important, nay, an indispensable means of education, and skill in the management of its forms and expressions as the finest flower of a noble education ; the humanists were with justice called simply 'poets' by both friends and enemies. Melanchthon, in a letter to Micyllus (1526), says : ' No one who has not practised poetry can form a correct judgment in any department of science ; and prose writers, who have no flavour of the poetic art, are wanting in vigour '. The humanists considered poetry as an art that could be learnt and acquired, like any other, by industry and practice. At the same time poetry resumed its mission of adorning the life of the privileged and of investing all its important moments with a greater solemnity. Poetry continued to be a regular subject of instruction at the universities, and was frequently the life-long companion, a decorous amusement and recreation, of those who had received a superior education. Even occasional poetry, both official and non-official, maintained an importance which is hardly intelligible at the present day. It was not till after the middle of the eighteenth century that the great intellectual revolution took place, which set before poetry (and art in general) as its aim the release of the human soul from the sombre empire of passion. This mighty movement, which caused so powerful a reaction from artificiality and conven-

tionalism of form has rendered us capable of understanding the Greeks, Shakespeare and popular poetry ; it has also, in consequence of the complete change of the attitude of the educated world towards poetry, created a less favourable estimate of the Roman poets, not so pronounced, however, amongst the Romance as amongst the Germanic peoples.

CHAPTER II

RELIGION

I THE BELIEF IN GODS (POLYTHEISM).

WE possess two different and in many respects even contradictory authorities for the state of religion in the ancient world during the first centuries of the Christian era : literature and monuments (especially inscriptional stones). The literature was chiefly the work of unbelievers or indifferentists, or of those who strove to spiritualize, purify, or transform the popular beliefs by reflection and interpretation. The monuments, on the other hand, to a great extent at least, had their origin in those classes of society which were little affected by literature and its prevailing tendencies, and felt no need, or indeed were not capable, of expressing their convictions on such matters ; thus, in the majority of cases, they are witnesses of a positive belief in a system of polytheism, of a faith that is free from doubt and subtlety alike, naïve and ill-considered. Should the modern world ever perish like the ancient, and should future generations attempt to form an idea of the religion of our time from remains of modern civilization as fragmentary as those of antiquity, they would obtain quite a different (and in some respects contradictory) impression from our literary remains than from gravestones, votive tablets, and other ecclesiastical monuments. If, then, it would only be possible in our case to arrive at an approximately correct idea by utilizing two mutually complementary classes of evidence, this is equally true of the period of antiquity under consideration. While its heathen literature affords us a glimpse of the activity of the forces which were working in the heart of paganism itself for its dissolution and decomposition, the monuments breathe a spirit of belief which for centuries was able to resist all destructive influences. But

inasmuch as the literature of the period, both Christian and pagan, has been utilized almost exclusively, or at least far more extensively (especially by theological writers) than the monuments, the latter have never received all the attention they deserve.

Even literature has not been made use of impartially ; its irreligious side has been chiefly taken into account, without any adequate consideration of the extent to which not only belief, but also superstition, are needs of the masses which peremptorily demand satisfaction. Even the literary authorities only partly confirm the prevalent idea, that paganism was already in a condition of utter decay and complete dissolution, at the time of the birth of Christianity.

Certainly, during the last century before the Christian era, many complaints (perhaps not so many as in the nineteenth century) of a diminished fear of God, of unbelief and religious indifference, are made by Greek and Roman writers, who expressly attributed the decay of religion to the theories of an 'insane creed', propagated by the schools of Greek philosophy. In fact, the Roman literature of that period and of the first century after Christ is dominated by tendencies partly deviating from the old belief, and partly directly hostile to it. The necessity for popular belief and a state religion was not only readily admitted by the educated classes on the ground of expediency ; they themselves set the example of respect for religion and all religious institutions. Cicero, in a speech delivered in the senate (*De Haruspicum Responsis*), declared that, with all his fondness for literary studies, he would have nothing to do with such literature as alienated men's minds from religious belief ; we owe, says he, our world-wide victories to piety, religion, and the knowledge that everything is directed by the will of the gods. In particular it was recognized that the masses, by reason of the crudeness of their morals and lack of education, were in need of religion. It is impossible, says Strabo, to lead the mass of women and the common people generally to piety, holiness and faith simply by philosophical teaching ; the fear of God is also required, not omitting legends and miraculous stories. The existence of gods has its uses, says Ovid with cynical frankness ; since this is so, let us believe in them and continue to sacrifice to them. Epictetus blames those who by thoughtless expressions of

doubt as to the existence of the gods destroy the seeds of virtue in youthful minds and rob many of what has preserved them from crime. Further, statesmen under the empire were specially emphatic in declaring that those who despised the gods were people who respected no one else.

Such a confession undoubtedly implied that a large number of educated men thought there was no need of popular belief in its traditional form, of which, as a matter of fact, they frequently spoke with indifference, frivolity or contempt. Certainly, this free-thinking was often only a mask; misfortune or danger tore it from the scoffer's face, who then turned eagerly to religion for assistance. It was also no uncommon occurrence for absolute unbelievers to cling the more obstinately to an isolated superstition; e.g. Sulla, who plundered the temple at Delphi, always carried about with him a little image of Apollo, which he frequently kissed, and to which he addressed fervent prayers in moments of danger. Of course many educated men were believers, and Juvenal even expresses the opinion that in his time there was no man who despised the gods.

Yet we also find (in Lucretius) a passionate expression of hatred of religion. To him it appeared a gigantic spectre, towering from earth to heaven, beneath whose heavy foot human life lay prostrate on earth, while its hideous face looked down threateningly from on high. But at last a Greek (Epicurus) boldly defied the terror. He threw open the portals of nature, penetrated far beyond the flaming walls of the universe into the infinite, and as a conqueror brought back the knowledge of the causes of all existence to mankind. Thus he has overthrown religion, but by his victory has exalted us to heaven. Let it not be thought that the acceptance of this doctrine leads to sin and godlessness; on the contrary, it is religion itself that has more frequently given birth to godless and unholy acts. The poet reminds us how Agamemnon sacrificed his own daughter Iphigenia to appease the wrath of the gods, and concludes his touching description of the death of the innocent maiden with the exclamation: 'So great the evils to which religion could prompt!'

But the school of Epicurus, to say nothing of the philosophically educated generally, was by no means so hostile to popular religion as Lucretius. No system taught atheism,

the advocates of which were hardly ever numerous. Scepticism only disputed that the existence of the divinity could be proved ; Epicureanism taught the existence of countless and eternal gods, living in a state of supreme felicity, and only denied their solicitude for the world and humanity ; but they no more abstained from worship on principle than the sceptics. The deity needs no adoration of ours, says the Epicurean Philodemus, but it is natural for us to render him this homage, chiefly by lofty ideas, but also by following in every case the custom of our fathers. In accordance with custom, says the sceptic Sextus, we affirm that there are gods who exercise supervision over human affairs, and we pay them reverence. The majority of educated men, who belonged to no definite school, but were directly or indirectly affected by philosophical influences, were more or less tolerant of the popular beliefs, although they might themselves have held monotheistic, pantheistic or fatalistic opinions, embraced a purified polytheism, or abandoned the traditional belief without having been able to find another to replace it.

Outside philosophical circles proper, the religious views current in the educated Roman world of the first century A.D. fluctuated between belief in the existence of the popular gods and a providence of which they were the agents (although the entire legendary tradition was rejected) on the one hand, and an absolute negation of these gods on the other. The former appears to have been the point of view, e.g. of Tacitus. In discussing the Jewish religion, he expresses the most decided antipathy to all that tended to neglect of the hereditary worship and to contempt of the gods. He believed that they not only carried out the unalterable laws of nature, but also directly interfered with the course of events, and announced the future by omens. Quintilian was one of that very numerous class which combined polytheistic views, the result of habit and education, with monotheistic, neither possessing the energy to define its convictions with clearness and precision, nor feeling the need of so doing. In his case the idea of animated nature, of ' the god, who is the father and creator of the world ', thrust belief in the ' immortal gods ' into the background ; but he firmly believed in a Providence, and also apparently in the prediction of the future by oracles and signs.

The elder Pliny is the most decided in his negation of the

popular belief. Thinking that he ought not to pass over, in his description of the Cosmos, 'the incessantly discussed question of the essence of the divinity', he has recorded the answers most commonly given at the time. So far as he himself is concerned, God and nature are inseparable; he regards nature as 'the mother of all things', who so often reveals herself to man in chance, which one might be tempted to designate as the deity to whom discoveries and progress are chiefly due. But reason leads us to regard as the real divinity the 'sacred, boundless and eternal' Cosmos, which is at the same time 'the work of nature and nature herself'; the soul and guiding principle of the world being the sun. Consequently it is only weakness that makes men inquire into the image and form of the divinity. Whoever the divinity may be (if indeed one exists outside nature), and wherever he may dwell, he must be all strength, all mind. It is even more foolish to believe in innumerable gods and to deify human qualities, such as concord, chastity, hope, honour and clemency; mankind, weak and weary, conscious of its own infirmity, has split up the divinity, so that each man may worship that aspect of him of which he chiefly stands in need. Hence we find the same gods worshipped under different names among different peoples, and an infinite number of gods amongst the same peoples, even diseases and evils, such as fever and orphanage, being worshipped from fear. Now since in addition there exists a belief in tutelary gods and goddesses of all individual men and women, there would seem to be more gods than human beings. Mythology is nothing but childish drivel; it is the height of impudence to attribute to the gods adultery, strife and hatred, and to believe in divinities of theft and crime. Revelation of the divinity consists in man working for humanity, and this is the path of eternal glory in which the heroes of ancient Rome formerly walked, and in which, following in the footsteps of the divinity, Vespasian and his sons still walk, lending aid to the exhausted world. It is a very ancient custom to show gratitude to the benefactors of humanity by elevating them to the rank of gods. As a rule the names of the gods, like those of the stars, are borrowed from men; for how could there be a list of celestial names? Can it be believed that the supreme power, whatever it be, takes thought for human affairs? would it not

be degraded by so melancholy and complicated a task ? How can we decide whether it be more profitable for the human race to hold this belief or not, when we see that some take no heed of the gods, while others live in awe of them or are the slaves of disgraceful superstition ? To make the idea of the divinity still more uncertain, mankind has invented a power intermediate between two opposite conceptions of it. This is Fortune, the ever-shifting, wandering, inconstant, uncertain, changing, generally regarded as blind, the patroness of the unworthy ; consequently, chance¹ itself is honoured as a goddess. Others reject even this principle, and assign all events to their constellations, and believe that the decrees of the divinity are issued irrevocably once for all. This view has begun to gain ground, and is eagerly approved of by a large number of persons, both learned and unlearned. Hence belief in countless portents embarrasses mankind, deprived of insight into the future, and the only thing certain is, that there is nothing certain, and that no creature exists that is more arrogant and at the same time more pitiable than man. Other creatures know no wants but those which kindly nature of itself supplies, and never think of death. But undoubtedly belief in the guidance of human affairs by the gods is beneficial to society, as also the conviction that evil deeds are infallibly punished, even if tardily, owing to the numerous claims upon the deity ; and that man cannot have been created next to God in order to be degraded to the level of the brutes. But even God cannot do everything ; herein lies a special comfort for man in his imperfect state. Even if he so desired, he cannot inflict death upon himself, the greatest blessing that nature has bestowed upon man amidst the many evils of life ; he cannot grant mortals immortality, or recall the dead to life ; he cannot bring it to pass that one who has lived has not lived, or that one who has filled offices has not filled them ; he has no power generally over the past except to cause it to be forgotten ; and (to use a less serious illustration) he cannot make twice ten not twenty, and the like. Hence the might of nature is indisputably proved, and is shown to be that which we call God. Such are the opinions of Pliny.

If the negation of the popular belief in most cases was directly or indirectly an effect of philosophical influences, there

¹ Reading *Fors* for *Sors*.

were also philosophical tendencies with which it was not merely completely reconcilable, but which even served to support it. Stoicism, which perhaps exercised a wider influence than any other system at that time, endeavoured to reconcile faith and philosophy in its theology, and to justify the popular religion scientifically by distinguishing the highest God, the creator and autocrat of subordinate gods, the divine power considered as a unity pervading the All, from their countless manifestations and their effects, and further assumed 'demons' as beings intermediate between gods and men. Everything, says Epictetus, is full of gods and demons. The offensive aspects of legendary tradition were removed by ingenious allegorical interpretations. In addition, Stoic theology recognized continuous revelations of the divine powers in the form of oracles, portents and the like ; it may therefore be assumed that a large number of the followers of the Stoa adhered more or less strictly to the traditional belief, and that educated men like Marcus Aurelius, who would not live in a world without gods, preferred this school to all others, since it offered a solution of the conflict between faith and reason.

Consequently, even in the first century, those who had received a philosophical education were not altogether hostile to the popular religion. And although the literature of the period, like that of the eighteenth century, is dominated by tendencies hostile to belief, they did retain their influence beyond the century. The tide of the anti-Christian tendencies of the eighteenth century, after it had risen to its greatest height, sank rapidly and was succeeded by a powerful ebb, which irresistibly carried along with it a great part of the educated world. Similarly, in the Graeco-Roman world, we find the predominating tendencies of the literature of the first century succeeded by a strong reaction in the direction of positive belief, which gained the upper hand and affected the same circles ; at the same time, belief itself frequently degenerated in many respects into crass superstition, a yearning for the miraculous, pietism and fanaticism.

The development of the theory of 'demons', also adopted by the Stoics and eminently characteristic of the religious tendencies of the period, by the Platonists after the first century, is the most striking proof of the need of bringing the popular belief into harmony with a purer theology—a need

more deeply and generally felt by the educated classes than ever before. The idea of this 'intermediate kingdom' of demons, founded upon the old Orphico-Pythagorean tradition, was developed in such a manner that philosophers who believed 'accepted the substitution of demons for popular gods, in all cases in which anything was asserted of the latter which was considered irreconcilable with the pure idea of God, while not desirous of absolutely denying it on that account'.

Although this offered the widest scope to imagination, the Platonists of the second century are completely in agreement upon all the essential points of demonology, which they regarded with marked favour ; evidently the theory had already gained a kind of dogmatic authority amongst the believers of the educated world. Plutarch says : Those who have discovered the existence of a race of demons, beings intermediate between gods and men, who unite both and keep up the connexion between them, have solved more and greater difficulties by this doctrine (whether it originates from the school of Zoroaster, from Orpheus, from Egypt or Phrygia) than Plato by his theory of matter. According to Plutarch's view, any of the three lower classes of intelligent beings, in proportion as they attain perfection, can rise to the next higher, and finally to the highest class ; the souls of the best men can become heroes, the heroes demons, and individual demons (such as Isis and Osiris) gods. For in the triple order of powers that are the agents of Providence the demons come last. The highest power is the intellect and will of the original divinity, creator and orderer of the universe from the beginning ; next to him, the gods of heaven, the general directors of human affairs ; and, lastly, the demons, special 'guardians and overseers'. Differing from other Platonists, Plutarch regards the demons as not necessarily immortal ; he relates as an undoubted fact, personally vouched for by a trustworthy authority, how the news of the death of the great Pan was received by his fellow-demons with loud lamentations ; the learned men at the court of Tiberius interpreted this as referring to Pan, the son of Hermes and Penelope. The demons are capable of likes and dislikes, and also liable to be affected by evil ; the traditional stories of abduction, wandering, concealment, banishment and menial service that are told of the gods, the sufferings of Isis and Osiris and the like, in reality

do not refer to the gods, but to the demons. The latter are called by the name of the gods with whom they are associated, and are thus confounded with them ; some, however, have retained their real name. The evil and malignant demons rejoice in gloomy, mournful rites, and if these are accorded them they abstain from further mischief ; the good and kindly, as Plato has already taught, act as messengers and interpreters, who carry upwards to the gods the prayers and wishes of mankind, and bring down to earth oracles and divine blessings. Consequently the demons often descend from the regions of the moon to administer oracles, to take part in the celebration of the highest mysteries, to punish crimes, to bring deliverance in war and perils by sea ; if in so doing they allow themselves to be influenced by anger, partiality or jealousy, they are punished by being hurled down to earth again and transferred to human bodies.

Quite in the same sense Apuleius and Maximus of Tyre represent the demons as mediators between the world of gods and men. According to the former, their bodies are neither earthy nor purely ethereal, but something between the two. Hence it is only exceptionally and of their own will that they are visible to men, like the Homeric Minerva to Achilles. The poets truly represent these demons as lovers and haters of men, whom they favour or injure. Hence they feel pity, indignation, joy and sorrow, and are subject to all human emotions generally, all of which are quite incompatible with the eternally unchangeable tranquillity of the gods of heaven. Apuleius also explains differences of cult and sacrifice by differences of 'sensual' impressionability. In accordance with their nature, they delight in daily or nightly, public or secret, cheerful or gloomy sacrifices and rites ; thus the Egyptian demons take pleasure in dirges, the Greek in dances, the barbarian in noisy music. Hence the great diversity in the forms of religious worship in different lands : processions, mysteries, sacerdotal acts, prayers of those offering sacrifice, images and attributes of the gods, position and usages of temples, blood and colour of the victims. All these have their importance according to the custom of each country, and we often learn by dreams, prophecies and oracles that the deities (i.e. the demons) are wrath if anything in their worship is neglected through carelessness or arrogance.

With the exception of a few downright atheists, says Maximus of Tyre, all mankind is united in belief in one God, the king and father of all, and in many gods, his children and fellow-rulers ; the latter are not 30,000 in number, as Hesiod says, but as numerous as the natures of the stars in heaven, or as the demoniacal essences in aether. These divine beings, some visible, others invisible, share the sovereignty of the highest god ; those most akin to him gather round his gates as domestics and companions of his table, and serve him as messengers ; others are subservient to these ; others again play a still more subordinate part. Thus a continuous hierarchy of superhuman beings keeps up the connexion between the human and the divine, and the subordinate gods (the demons) act as interpreters and mediators between human weakness and divine sovereignty. 'It is they who appear to men, speak to them, associate with them, and render them the assistance which human nature always needs from heaven.' 'They heal sicknesses, give advice in trouble, reveal what is hidden, give help in work and guidance on the road ; some exercise their power in the towns, others in the country, some on land, others on sea ; others are protecting spirits of individuals ; some are terrible, others benevolent to man, fond of civil life or war ; the natures of demons are as numerous as the natures of men.' To these belong in particular human souls separated from the body, who are unwilling to abandon their earthly desires and occupations even in a higher existence ; thus Asclepius still practises the healing art, Heracles performs deeds of might, Dionysus continues his revels, Amphilochous prophesies, the Dioscuri journey on sea, Minos administers justice, Achilles arms himself. Maximus declares that he himself has seen the Dioscuri, like shining stars, guiding a storm-tossed ship, and that Asclepius appeared to him, not in a dream, but when he was awake. This makes it easy to understand how opponents of Christianity like Celsus refused to see any difference between the demons and angels of Christian and Jewish belief. Thus the theory of demons enabled the pious to hold firmly by the popular belief in its widest extent, without coming into collision with the demands of reason, and even in its literal sense, without having recourse to the violent and artificially allegorical interpretations of the Stoics, which were regarded with suspicion by the strictly

orthodox. In this roundabout way a large number of educated people returned to the 'legends and marvellous stories which seemed to have been finally disposed of by criticism, and, according to Strabo, were only necessary for the masses and the female sex. The search for and discovery of such a compromise between the popular religion and a more rational theology presupposes a widespread, indestructible attachment to the gods amongst the philosophically educated, an earnest longing to find satisfaction in the positive belief of former times which no abstraction, however sublime, could afford.

This is fully confirmed by the general impression produced by Greek and Roman literature in the second century, in which the religious standpoint of the educated world is reflected. Amongst Roman writers, Juvenal and the younger Pliny seem to have followed the Stoics most closely, both in general and in their religious views in particular; Pliny's strong belief in dreams and prognostics corroborates this. We also know that both took part in religious worship; Juvenal, in fulfilment of a vow, offered a dedication to Ceres Helvina, who was worshipped in his native town Aquinum; Pliny had a temple built. Tacitus struggled against grievous doubts, although (as already noticed) he never entirely broke away from religious belief. Suetonius' childish faith in portents and miracles leaves no doubt as to the firmness of his belief in the gods. In the case of Gellius, to judge from his general intellectual tendencies and those of his teachers in Greece, it may at least be considered probable that he strictly adhered to tradition in the matter of belief; Fronto, who when Faustina was ill prayed every morning to the gods and asked and received from them in dreams suggestions for curing the gout, undoubtedly did so. The *Self-Contemplations* of Marcus Aurelius breathe a spirit of genuine piety; the writings of Apuleius are pervaded by a mystic religious bliss; Aelian endeavoured by his own works to propagate his orthodoxy and infatuation for miracles, with which was combined a passionate hatred of unbelief.

But the Greek literature of the second century, far more than the Roman, bears the stamp of a period whose intellectual conditions were characterized by a newly awakened religious life. Amongst the Greek writers of this time, with the exception of Lucian, only Galen, with his pantheism founded on

Stoic ideas, stands aloof from the popular belief ; love, he says for example, is a purely human affection, and is not brought about by a little youthful demon with burning torches. Dio of Prusa is far nearer to the popular belief with his undoubting faith in the divinity (and apparently in individual gods) and a providence exercised by him ; he was even convinced that those who held reprehensible opinions on divine things were of necessity worthless and abandoned creatures. The pantheism of Epictetus also accepted polytheism, and his pupil Arrian appears to have adhered to the popular religion. All the other writers take their stand on a distinctly positive belief in the gods, however different in form and conception in each individual case. Plutarch did not consider it advisable to inquire into reasons for belief in the gods ; the old belief inherited from their fathers was a sufficient foundation for piety ; should it be shaken, its stability would be endangered. Further, there was hardly any limit to his belief in miracles, although he warns people against excessive credibility, and attempts a semi-rationalistic explanation of such marvels as the sweating, sighing and bleeding of images of the gods, and their speaking with human voice. Yet he asserts that divine nature is so entirely different from human, that it is not unreasonable to expect it to perform what is impossible for man. Pausanias' simple and orthodox faith, certainly sincere, even if deliberately adopted and artificially maintained ; Artemidorus' unshakable belief in miracles ; Maximus of Tyre's crass supernaturalism ; Aristides' enthusiasm, almost amounting to religious fanaticism—all agree in belief in a providence wonderfully exercised by numerous individual gods. Only a widespread blind belief and childish superstition could call forth the anti-religious writings of Lucian, whose indefatigable and repeated attacks could not be considered as merely 'a fight with shadows'. Still less does the fact that Lucian was not subjected to persecution allow us to infer a general indifference to the religion which he ridiculed. Although his ridicule no doubt deeply wounded the religious feeling of the orthodox, it could not appear so deserving of condemnation to them as the mockery of a religion based upon revelation must appear to those who believe in it. In paganism there were not only no dogmas, but not even a church, which might have interfered to protect the threatened faith against its

aggressors. Certainly Parny's *Guerre des Dieux*, which surpasses Lucian's *Dialogues of the Gods* both in wit and in cynical mockery of all that is most sacred, appeared (1799) in France before the restoration of Catholicism, but no attempt was subsequently made to suppress it; its author became a member of the *Académie française* in 1803, and died in 1814 without having been subjected to persecution.

The emperors of the second century also were evidently under the influence of the prevailing intellectual tendency, and on their part encouraged it by their example and their earnest solicitude for religion. Pliny praises Trajan because he did not, like Domitian, claim to be honoured like a god, but only entered the temples of the gods to worship them. Hadrian, even in the opinion of a man of such exaggerated pretensions in this respect as Pausanias, showed great zeal in his veneration for the gods. Antoninus Pius never allowed a sacrifice to be performed by a deputy; a memorial set up in his honour in 143 by senate and people is dedicated to him 'by reason of his unusual and scrupulous conscientiousness in regard to the usages of the state religion'. Marcus Aurelius strove in every respect to follow the example of his predecessor, especially his piety and freedom from superstition, that he might be able to meet death with an equally clear conscience. He himself, who did not care to live in a world without gods, appears to have recognized the gods of all nations as equally powerful and equally worthy of reverence. When the war against the Marcomanni broke out he summoned priests from all countries to Rome and ordered them to perform foreign rites; during the war, by direction of an oracle of Alexander of Abonuteichos, two lions were thrown alive into the Danube by his orders. He was so extravagant in offering sacrifice that a message from the white oxen was sent to him: 'If thou shouldst conquer, we are lost!'

The nature of the newly awakened religious life of the second century must here be illustrated by a few specially characteristic phenomena, which will enable us to recognize to what an extent religious belief was strengthened. Claudius Aelianus of Praeneste, about the beginning of the third century, wrote two works in Greek on *Providence* and *Divine Manifestations*, the spirit of which may be gathered from numerous fragments. He endeavoured to prove 'that those

who assert that the deity does not exercise providence on earth are more foolish than children' by numerous stories of miracles, oracles and other direct revelations of divine power, especially miraculous rewards bestowed upon pious believers, or terrible and miraculous punishments of atheists and unbelievers. In these narratives he frequently apostrophizes those who despise religion: 'What do you say to this, you who think that Providence gropes blindly about, or is nothing but a myth?' Philosophers hostile to religion are by turns objects of pity and execration: 'O Xenophanes, Diagoras, Hippo, Epicurus and company, and all other miserable wretches hated of the gods, be ye accursed!'

A few specimens will give an idea how the insipid and unctuous language affects the pious simplicity of the good old days. 'Euphronius was a miserable fellow, who delighted in the gossip of Epicurus, which taught him atheism and wickedness.' This man had a severe attack of pneumonia, and, suffering greatly, at first called in the aid of a physician. But the art of the physician could do nothing to arrest the disease. When Euphronius began to fear the worst, his friends removed him to the temple of Asclepius. After he had fallen asleep there, it seemed to him that one of the priests told him that there was only one way of salvation and one remedy for the ills which oppressed him; he must burn the writings of Epicurus, knead the ashes of these godless, sinful and effeminate books with moist wax, smear his belly and breast therewith, and tie bandages round them. He told all that he had heard to his nearest relatives, who were full of joy, because he had not been rejected with contempt by the god. Thus the atheist was converted and was ever afterwards a model of piety for others. This book contained numerous instances of wonderful cures of both pious and godless men, accompanied by edifying remarks. 'Aristarchus of Tegea, the tragic poet, fell ill and was cured by Asclepius, who commanded him to bring a thank-offering. The poet brought the god the play named after him. But how can the gods demand and accept a reward for restoring a man to health? In their love and kindness they grant us the greatest blessings for nothing; they allow us to see the sun and to share the all-sufficing brightness of so mighty a god without reward; they give us the use of water and the countless productions and varied

assistance of fire to aid us in our work, and the vital nourishment of air. Consequently their only wish is that we should not be unmindful or ungrateful even in less important matters, and thereby, in fact, they make us better.'

The following story of a game-cock of Tanagra, which had been injured in one foot, may serve to show to what childish credulity this mania for miracles could lead. 'The cock, in my opinion impelled by Asclepius, came hopping on one leg to his master, and in the morning when a hymn of praise was being sung to the god he took a place in the choir as if it had been assigned him by the leader, and joined in the singing as well as he could, in perfect harmony with the rest. Standing on one leg, he held out the other, injured and mutilated, as if to show what he had suffered. Then he sang to his saviour with all his might and begged him to restore the use of his foot.' Having been healed in accordance with a revelation of the god, 'he flapped his wings, strutted about, lifted up his head, shook his crest like a proud warrior, and showed that Providence also watched over the brute creation'. In contrast with the stories of salvation as the result of faith, we find examples of the terrible consequences of unbelief and sin against the gods. A man, who 'with longing eyes' desired to look upon certain mysteries without having been initiated, climbed to the top of a stone, fell down from it and died. Another unhappy wretch, enervated by the doctrines of Epicurus, forced his way into the sanctuary of the temple at Eleusis, which no one but the hierophant might enter; as a punishment he was smitten by a fearful malady, and endured such dreadful torments that he longed to tear his accursed soul from his body. Sulla, who destroyed the temple of Athena at Alalcomenae, was slowly eaten by worms ('according to others, by lice'). Lastly, a Sculptor, 'who had eyes for gain only, not for piety', having received a sum of money to execute the statue of a god, produced a second-rate work, small and unsightly, in marble of inferior quality; he was afterwards punished in body, 'as an example to all and a warning never to do the like again for the sake of profit'.

Aelian was also the author of a *History of Animals*, in which 'the unerring instinct of the lower animals as a purer manifestation of nature is held up to mankind as a moral example'. Elephants worship the sun, stretching out their trunks to it,

like hands, when it rises ; but men doubt whether there are gods, or, if they exist, whether they have any care for us. The mice on an island in the Black Sea sacred to Heracles touch nothing which is dedicated to him ; when the grapes intended for his offerings are ripe they leave the island to escape the temptation of nibbling them, and do not return till the vintage is over. Hippo, Diagoras, Herostratus and the other enemies of religion would certainly no more spare these grapes than anything else which is dedicated to the gods. In another work Aelian praises the barbarians, who have not become alienated from the faith by excessive education like the Greeks ; amongst the Indians, Celts and Egyptians there are no atheists like Euhemerus, Epicurus, and Diagoras.

If the writings of Aelian acquaint us with the most extreme and unbending, indeed fanatical, orthodoxy of the pagan world, the confessions of the rhetorician Publius Aelius Aristides of Asia Minor, a man ranked by his contemporaries and posterity amongst the greatest intellects of his time, afford remarkable evidence of the intensity which religious exaltation could attain, when subject to special influences. Aristides, who was born about the year 129, came of a wealthy and distinguished family, and was the son of a priest of Zeus ; ailing from his youth, he early devoted himself with passionate eagerness to study. The nervous irritability of his delicate nature was fostered and heightened by excessive work and the excitement inseparable from the profession of sophist, which was more than any other adapted to develop most strongly his natural vanity and ambition. About 152 he was attacked by an illness, which lasted about twenty years, of which he has given a detailed account in the *Sacred Orations*, composed after his recovery (about 175). During this illness he developed a spirit of enthusiastic piety, which in course of time became concentrated upon a more and more exclusive veneration for the healing god Asclepius, compared with whom he regarded the rest of the gods as insignificant. Having frequented his temples and the society of his priests for years in the endeavour to find a cure for his disease, he thought of nothing else, whether awake or sleeping ; for, in accordance with the general belief, the god gave advice in dreams to those who sought his aid and passed the night in his temple. From that time the centre of Aristides' entire existence was his

dreams, which the god had commanded him to set down in writing. For Aristides the fulfilment of this command was a sacred duty ; when he was too weak to write, he dictated to others. Of course he followed all the instructions, even the most absurd, which he believed to have been given him in dreams, whereby he probably only aggravated his complaint ; he confesses that he grew weaker and weaker. Sometimes he imagined himself neither asleep nor awake, but between the two, in which condition he was corporeally conscious of the proximity of the god ; his hair stood on end, his eyes filled with tears of delight, and his heart swelled with pride—a state of mind which no one could describe, which the initiated alone know and understand. Amongst other things, the god ordered him to bathe in the river during the winter, in spite of frost and the north wind. After his bath he felt a wonderful relief : ‘ his temperature was even and natural ; a gentle warmth invigorated his entire body ; he had an indescribable feeling of comfort, in which everything gave way to the sensations of the moment ; he saw nothing, although his eyes were open ; he was absolutely with God ’. However terrible his sufferings, he regarded them as nothing in comparison with the honour of which the god had deemed him worthy ; any one who rightly estimated it would consider that he deserved to be congratulated rather than commiserated.

Although the religious extravagance of Aristides is most intimately connected with his exaggerated pride, his statements remind us in more than one respect of the confessions of Christian pietists. We may refer to his continual self-contemplation, his self-exaltation and self-deception, his fixed idea that he was the recipient of special favour and that he was one of the god’s elect, and the spiritual presumption which was the inevitable result. In a dream he saw the image of the god with three heads, entirely surrounded by a flame of fire (the heads excepted). The god signed to all the other worshippers to withdraw, but ordered him to remain. The enraptured Aristides exclaimed, ‘ O thou who hast no like ’, meaning the god ; who replied : ‘ It is thou that I call ! ’ ‘ These words, O lord Asclepius, are better than all human life ; all my sickness, all my gratitude are nothing to them ; they give me power to do what I will.’ In another passage he says : ‘ I also was one of those upon whom the grace of the

god bestowed, not once but many times, a new life in different forms, and who therefore regard sickness as salutary.' He would not exchange what the god had granted him for all the so-called happiness of mankind.

Convinced that he was one of the god's elect, he saw the hand of the divinity in everything, and special dispensations of providence and miraculous happenings in every-day events. He believed that the god accompanied him at every step, summoned, dispatched or detained him, gave him commands and commissions, or forbade him to do this or that. When Smyrna was destroyed by an earthquake, he writes to the two emperors that it was the god that drove him forth from the city and conducted him to a place of safety. It was the god who, contrary to all expectation, saved his old nurse Philumenē, whom Aristides dearly loved, on numerous occasions, once from a serious illness. After the death of another Philumenē, the daughter of his foster-sister Kallitychē, it was revealed to him in a dream that she had sacrificed body and soul for him. Her brother Hermias also, the dearest of his wards, 'so to speak nearly died for him'; he died, as Aristides afterwards learnt, on the very day on which he recovered from an attack of the great epidemic (subsequently communicated to the west by the soldiers of Verus). 'Thus my life hitherto was a gift from the gods, by whose divine aid I afterwards received a new life, as compensation for the old.' At that time 'the saviour (Asclepius) and lady Athene had visibly preserved him'; the latter had appeared to him in the form of the statue of Phidias, a sweet perfume was wafted from her *aegis*, he alone saw her, and called out to two friends and his nurse, who were present; they thought he was mad until they recognized the power emanating from the goddess and heard her words, as he had done. Monks of the middle ages, who read the discourses of Aristides, expressed in marginal notes their indignation at the folly, nay, the insanity of the man, 'who had a reputation for wisdom', and yet could abandon himself to such childish fancies.

The religious reaction against the influences of criticism and philosophy, the complete restoration of a positive belief in the gods in the minds of the educated, is proved by the phenomena already described. The fact itself shows that the lamentations over the supposed decay of belief were only caused by

the superficial and strictly limited tendencies of the age, which were driven back by powerful counter-tendencies. But there is nothing to show that the tendencies hostile to religion, even when strongest, ever spread beyond the narrow limits of educated circles. To all appearance they never made a deeper impression on the masses than the anti-Christian literature of the eighteenth century on the Christian belief of the European peoples in general.

The monotheistic, pantheistic and atheistic views of the world, so eloquently pleaded by their supporters in the literature of the first century, left the belief of the people in the old gods firmly rooted in the spiritual life of millions, untouched or at least unshaken. Despite all the alterations and developments, all the losses, disturbances and amplifications which affected religion, it held its ground and ever renewed itself in its two main forms. The first, prevalent in eastern lands, had developed within the Greek world ; the second, that spread over north and west as far as the influence of Roman civilization extended, had its origin in a mixture and fusion of Greek and Italian elements that it took centuries to complete. In both forms belief in the gods maintained itself for nearly five hundred years against Christianity, by which it was finally overwhelmed. So protracted a resistance is alone sufficient to prove the still unweakened vitality of the old belief. This vitality is equally manifest in the adoption and assimilation of numerous heterogeneous, even opposing religious elements, which, however, were unable to alter its character or to bring about its dissolution or decomposition. Lastly, by its continued creative productivity polytheism showed that it was still a living force.

Undoubtedly the adoption *en masse* of heterogeneous religious elements has been generally regarded hitherto as a symptom and cause of the decay of Graeco-Roman religion. Such a view, however, would only be justified if it could be proved that the belief in the old gods had been abolished, shaken, or essentially changed by the worship of new, foreign deities. No such effect is perceptible. There is no more reason to maintain that the mere increase in the number of the divinities of a polytheistic system presupposes a decline of faith or a weakening of its intensity, than that the fresh canonizations of the Catholic Church were due to a disappear-

ance of belief in the old saints, or that they were in any way prejudicial to it. Certainly the contrast between Oriental and Graeco-Roman cults is so profound, that a union of the two is difficult to understand. To our way of thinking, the former, as compared with the latter, appear strange and singular, and in some respects monstrous; and the contrast between the religious ideas on which cults and usages are founded in the two cases seems even greater. Gloomy, melancholy and mysterious ceremonies, extravagant ecstasy, self-renunciation and unlimited devotion to the deity, self-sacrifice and expiation as conditions of purification and consecration—all these elements were originally as foreign to Greek and Roman belief as they were most deeply rooted in all Oriental religions. Most sharply contrasted with this, and characteristic of Greek and Roman faith and cult, is the fixed limitation of the idea of God, the clear view of the world of gods, the relation of believers to the divinity, free from all excess, confidential and strictly regulated, the general accessibility, unpretentious simplicity, and cheerfulness of the religious services. And yet Greek and Roman believers never found these profound contrasts an absolute hindrance to amalgamation. It is well known that Oriental elements made their way into Greek religion at a very early date; into Rome at least after the second Punic war. If such was the result of a superficial contact of nations, their intimate union and fusion in the world-wide empire of Rome must of necessity have resulted in a mixture of gods in the widest extent, unaccompanied, however, by any alteration in the nature and intensity of religious belief. The world of gods, from the first to the last days of paganism, was and continued to be a domain only very imperfectly known to believers, since the light of revelation had never been thrown upon it; the belief that it could contain the most varied figures and manifestations was the more natural, since one of the essential attributes of the deity was the power of assuming any form at will. With this unlimited power of expansion in ancient polytheism was combined the tendency, already emphasized to a surprising extent in Herodotus, to recognize native gods in foreign ones. This tendency so completely dominated pious believers that it only allowed them to perceive what was really or apparently similar in the different religions, and completely blinded them to the sharpest and most glaring contrasts.

It was ever characteristic of ancient polytheism to endeavour to supplement its own imperfect knowledge of God by the cults of foreign nations ; in Greece, as in Rome, entirely heterogeneous cults were adopted at times when the idea of a diminution of the power of religious belief cannot be entertained. The fact that this was less frequently the case in earlier antiquity is clearly not to be explained by a stronger national belief at that time, but by the more restricted intercourse between nations. As such intercourse developed, the exchange of cults proportionately increased and multiplied. The ancient world and its polytheism entered upon their last phase with the establishment of the universal empire of Rome. The incessant wanderings and movements, the continual ebb and flow of the inhabitants of this enormous expanse of territory, brought about an unexampled and promiscuous intermixture of races and nations with their religions and cults. From the Thames to Mount Atlas, from the Atlantic to the Euphrates, all the provinces contained worshippers of Isis and Osiris, Baal, Astarte and Mithras, who deliberately or by their example spread the worship of their gods ; and in this manner these and other Asiatic nature divinities, under different names and with different forms of ritual, gained countless proselytes. Memorials have been found relating to the cult of the so-called Jupiter of Dolichē in Commagēnē, a sun-god identical with Bel, worshipped at Palmyra, in Dacia, Pannonia, Noricum and Raetia, Germany and Gaul, Britain, Numidia and Dalmatia ; the largest number is in Italy (twenty-nine, of which twenty-one were found in Rome, where in the second and third century this god had a sanctuary on the Aventine and another on the Esquiline). Throughout the Roman empire the cults of Egyptian divinities were most widely spread ; they made their way to the East (where their monuments are most numerous, especially in the Crimea) directly from Egypt, to the west and north by way of Italy (especially Aquileia, where a district was called after Isis and Osiris). Even in the Rhine lands they are frequently mentioned on monuments. A figure of Isis in Jura limestone, most probably belonging to the first century, made into a romanesque capital in the church of St. Ursula at Cologne, perhaps came from a chapel of the goddess in that city. Egyptian monuments of all kinds, especially statuettes of Apis, Ushebtis (little models of de-

ceased persons in the form of mummies), and scarabs found there or in the neighbourhood, may have been set up in this or other sanctuaries, in order to give them an appearance of genuineness, without any real appreciation of their actual significance. Altars of Isis and Serapis have come to light in different places ; the gravestone of an Egyptian named Horus, son of Pabek, who served in the Roman fleet, at Cologne. Chnodomar, King of the Alemanni (defeated by the Emperor Julian in 357) gave his son Agenarich the name of Serapio because, when detained as a hostage in Gaul, he had been initiated into 'Greek secrets' (i.e. the mysteries of Isis). These cults penetrated into the most remote mountain valleys ; in the Non valley in the southern Tirol, during the festivals of Isis and Serapis, the mourning of the goddess for her lost spouse was represented. 18

If there can be no doubt that in many individual cases the new cults drove the old into the background, such local or individual preference for certain divinities could no more than at any other time effect any permanent alteration in religious belief as a whole. Even individuals who, as a rule, did not aspire to a comprehensive worship of the entire world of gods, but confined themselves more or less exclusively to certain particular divinities, could very well combine the national and foreign cults without prejudice to the former. Domitian was a worshipper of Isis and Serapis, to whom he built temples at Rome ; according to Pliny, even at his table his guests were struck by 'practices due to foreign superstition'. Nevertheless he insisted that no violation of the traditional worship should go unpunished ; and Martial says that during his reign the honour of 'the ancient temples' was preserved, although the emperor himself displayed a 'superstitious veneration' for Minerva before all other divinities.

The constant change in religious conditions was accompanied by a similar change in the idea of superstition, by which was understood an erroneous belief chiefly founded upon an exaggerated awe of God, but especially idolatry and the worship of foreign divinities not considered worthy of recognition by the state. Hence the idea of superstition must have been at all times not only relative, but infinitely varied, according to each individual conception of it. The worship of the Egyptian divinities was forbidden by the senate in 58

B.C. as a 'disgraceful superstition', and their altars were destroyed; but the prohibition had no more effect than the repeated interference (in 53 and 48) with the same worship, which at that time had already made its way to the Capital, or the banishment of the deities from Rome by Agrippa in 21 B.C. and the persecution of their votaries under Tiberius in 19 A.D. The fact that they had ever been considered inferior to the Roman divinities was gradually forgotten. Minucius Felix speaks of their cult and that of Serapis as 'a cult that was formerly Egyptian, but is now Roman.'

Like the Egyptian, many other Oriental cults, which had been at first generally despised as superstitious, were gradually accepted by increasing numbers on a footing of equality with the national cults, as handed down by tradition from time immemorial. The time necessary for naturalization no doubt depended in each individual case on the most various, and in part incalculable, influences; but first and foremost on the intimacy, continuity, and extent of the relations between the votaries of the two religions. The cult of the Persian Mithras, the god of light, with which the Romans first became acquainted in the war against the pirates, was already in existence in the reign of Tiberius, but did not come into vogue until after the time of Hadrian and the Antonines. Thus it probably took about the same time as the Egyptian cults (known to the Romans about 150 years earlier) to obtain its widest recognition. Mithras monuments have been found in large numbers from the mouth of the Danube to the north of Britain and on the borders of the Sahara, the largest and most interesting of them in Germany. His cult may not have enjoyed such esteem as that of the Egyptian divinities, but Origen certainly exaggerates when he calls it obscure in comparison.

Many cults may have been for a longer time looked upon as superstitious because their practices appeared particularly strange and singular, repulsive or ridiculous. Plutarch, who regarded all the peculiarities of the Egyptian worship as worthy of reverence, despised a number of Asiatic religious customs as superstitious, especially rolling in mire, keeping the sabbath, prostration, and other 'ridiculous exercises and tortures, speeches and gestures, the result of fear of the gods, juggleries and enchantments, vagabondage, drum-beating,

impure purifications, dirty mortifications, barbarous and illegal punishments and outrages in the temples'. The fact that long familiarity with the Egyptian cults had removed the foreign atmosphere which still surrounded others, essentially contributed to this difference of opinion ; to all appearance the conception of a foreign cult as a contemptible superstition or a venerable religion depended upon the length of time it had been known. According to Suetonius, Augustus showed the greatest reverence for the old and recognized foreign cults (such as the Eleusinian mysteries), but treated the rest with contempt. But if Suetonius includes the Jewish faith amongst the cults despised by him, he is in error. Augustus (so also Livia) not only sent valuable dedicatory gifts for the temple at Jerusalem, but instituted the sacrifice of a daily burnt offering in his name, consisting of two rams and a bull, the discontinuance of which before the outbreak of the Jewish war was the first act of open revolt against Rome.

Further, the judgment passed upon foreign cults may have been affected to a certain extent by the relative importance of the people who professed them. Enlightened Romans, at least, could have had no hesitation in despising the cult of a remote, unknown and barbarous people. A veteran, who entertained Augustus at Bononia, was asked by the prince whether it was true that the first person who had plundered the temple of the goddess Anaitis (worshipped in Armenia, Cappadocia and Media) had been struck blind and died a paralytic. The veteran replied that he himself was the guilty person, that all his fortune came from the plunder of the temple, and that Augustus had just dined on one of the legs of the goddess. The increasing admixture of nationalities in the Roman Empire continually extended the sphere of influence of foreign cults, and a much smaller proportion of them were regarded as mere superstitions by the orthodox. Although this admixture of gods did not reach its height until the third century, it had already made great progress about the middle of the second century. Hadrian, who showed the greatest respect for Roman and Greek cults, 'despised foreign cults' ; no definite statement is made, but the Egyptian certainly cannot be included. During the reign of Marcus Aurelius, however, who, at the time of the general alarm caused by the Marcomannic War, summoned priests from all countries

and ordered them to perform foreign rites and all kinds of expiatory ceremonies in the city of Rome, the boundary line between foreign superstition and the national religion, both in Italy and Greece, was practically obliterated.

Certainly the ever increasing medley of the 'crowd of gods' excited the mockery of unbelievers more and more. Lucian frequently makes the mixed society of the world of gods the object of his satire. At a meeting of the gods, Hermes is ordered by Zeus to arrange the gods according to the artistic merit and intrinsic value of their statues. Thus Bendis, Anubis, Atys, Mithras and an Asiatic moon-god are allotted the highest places, statues of gold being preferred to those of marble; while, on the other hand, Atys and Sabazius, 'doubtful and alien gods', are placed at the end of the table at a banquet, by the side of Pan and the Corybantes. On another occasion the gods are discussing the claims of a number of candidates for admission to their company. Momus comes forward to speak and gives his opinion of the oriental divinities. He declares that Mithras, with his Median caftan and tiara, has no place in Olympus, he does not even know Greek and does not understand when his health is drunk. Still less ought the Egyptians to be tolerated; the dog-headed, barking Anubis in his linen garment, the oracle-giving bull Apis, the ibises, apes and goats. Momus accordingly makes the following proposal: Seeing that many unauthorized strangers, both Greeks and barbarians, have forced their way into the company of the gods, that the supply of ambrosia and nectar has begun to fail, that the great demand for them has sent the price up to a *mina* a jar, that strange gods shamelessly push themselves forward and turn the old gods out of their places, let a commission of seven fully authorized gods be appointed to investigate the claims of each of their colleagues. Zeus does not put the proposal to the vote, foreseeing that the majority would be against it, but at once declares it carried, and instructs all the gods to provide themselves with the necessary certificates for the coming examination, such as the names of their parents, a statement of their nationality, and the manner in which they have been admitted amongst the gods, and so forth.

It is often believed that the feeling which prompted this satire, the feeling that the admixture of absolutely hetero-

geneous cults was contradictory and even absurd, must have been widespread, at least among educated circles, at the time ; but there is no proof of this, nor does the state of religious affairs throughout the empire justify this assumption. The impression made upon us coincides entirely with that of Lucian and his like, simply because their attitude towards these phenomena, like our own, was one of complete impartiality ; they regarded Greek and barbarian gods alike as equally unreal, and they were able to criticize these monstrous productions of the domain of mythology with entire and absolute freedom. But this was the feeling and judgment of unbelievers only, who to all appearance formed only a minority even amongst the educated.

But the clearest proof that even the most highly-educated were little shaken in their national belief by the admixture of gods is to be found in the religious opinions of Plutarch. Even he, the priest of the Pythian Apollo, was as sincere a worshipper of the Egyptian gods as of the Greek. In the treatise *On Isis and Osiris*, addressed to a highly-educated priestess of Isis at Delphi, he declares that the gods are everywhere the same, ministering forces of a supreme world-ruling power, known by different names and worshipped in different ways by different peoples. Thus, Isis and her fellow-divinities have been known from time immemorial to all men, although some have only recently learnt to call them by their Egyptian names ; when Hesiod names Eros, Ge, and Tartarus as the first things after Chaos, he appears to have meant Osiris, Isis and Typhon. The origin of the theory, that the world is ruled neither by blind chance nor by one supreme intelligence alone, but by many powers compounded of good and evil, is unknown and lost in obscurity ; but its high antiquity and the similarity of the traditional account amongst philosophers, poets, theologians and legislators, in mysteries and ritual, among barbarians and Hellenes, is a weighty testimony in favour of its truth. Osiris and Isis are good powers, Typhon an evil one ; as to this all are agreed, but theological speculations have arrived at the most different results in regard to their real and proper nature. Some explain Osiris as the Nile, others as the principle of moisture generally, others as Bacchus, others again as the lunar world, the kindly, fructifying, moist light. According to Plutarch, no one of these inter-

pretations by itself is correct, but all must be taken together to arrive at the truth. The enigmas of Egyptian theology, which he believed to be indicated by the rows of sphinxes before the temples, did not discourage him, but all the more provoked him to investigate their true meaning ; such investigation should be undertaken in a pious and philosophical spirit, since nothing is more agreeable to the divinity than that man should attain to a correct knowledge of his nature. Thus he became intimately acquainted with the most repulsive Egyptian legends and the most singular customs of the country, especially animal worship ; he also discovered in the Greek cult customs analogous to the festivals of lamentation, and a profound symbolism in the form and ornaments of the *sistrum* (rattle) so generally used in religious ceremonies in Egypt. But though absorbed in the consideration of the monstrosities of Egyptian belief and cult, Plutarch's attitude towards the national divinities was not in the least affected ; for him they continued to be not only living, but the same as they had ever been. His belief in them was certainly different from that of Herodotus, but equally robust and sincere.

If educated men could find room in their conscience for foreign by the side of national gods, without injury or alteration of the belief in the latter, this must have been still more the case with the masses, who were even less conscious of any absurdity in the simultaneous worship of the most heterogeneous divinities. So indestructible was the vitality of the old Graeco-Roman gods, that their forms, however blended or obscured, still remained the same, and their personality was in no way affected. For this reason, belief in them had such firm hold on the souls of men, since it was attached by so many roots to the state religion, to art and poetry, to school, and to civilization generally, from which it ever drew fresh nourishment. Pausanias, for instance, says that the multitude believes what it has heard from childhood in choruses and tragedies.

And further : of all the gods in the world they were the most human, and the human heart felt most irresistibly attracted to them. They were not transformed in the imagination of believers into barbarian gods, but the latter borrowed more or less of the personality of the Graeco-Roman gods, in many instances even their names. Mithras and Elagabalus

of Emesa became Sol (the sun-god); Astarte of Carthage sometimes 'the heavenly virgin', sometimes 'the heavenly Juno'; the gods of Heliopolis and Dolichē, Jupiter. Similarly, in Palestine and the neighbouring districts, the gods of Phoenicia, Philistia and other countries received the name and form of Greek gods: Marnas of Gaza (a god of the heights, who bestowed rain and fertility) was identified by the western settlers with Zeus; Aumu the Syrian with Helios; Dusaris, the Nabataean born of a virgin, with Dionysus. The Roman inhabitants of the originally Phoenician countries of Mauretania and Numidia worshipped the cruel Moloch even in public, apparently up to the second century, and in secret (according to Tertullian) sacrificed children to him under the name of 'Saturnus, the sublime giver of fruits', or 'Saturnus the invincible god'.

If, then, Graeco-Roman polytheism was still vigorous enough to assimilate the ancient and venerable gods of the old civilized countries of the East, this assimilation could not have presented the least difficulty when dealing with the rude and obscure gods of semi- or entirely barbarous countries. Numerous memorials in Britain, Germany, Pannonia, Gaul, Spain and Africa show that the Roman settlers, officials, merchants or soldiers zealously took part in the cults of the local deities. Augustus also, during a stay in Gaul, vowed and built a temple to the wind-god Circius, the lord and sender of storms, which, while they caused devastation, also purified the air, especially from the mistral of Provence. One characteristic example may here be mentioned. A Roman governor of eastern Mauretania offers thanks in an inscription for the annihilation of a native tribe, the carrying away of its families into captivity and the extensive plunder, not to a Graeco-Roman god, but to 'the native Moorish gods, the preservers'. These cults rarely won recognition beyond the bounds of their province or district, although no doubt retained or adopted by many individuals outside the same; thus Caracalla prayed to Apollo Grannus, in addition to Aesculapius and Serapis, to restore him to health.

If the merchants settled outside their home, especially the Syrians, who were to be found everywhere in such large numbers, acted above all as missionaries of oriental cults,

the soldiers, who everywhere held fast by the cults of their native lands in their garrisons, including the veterans in the military colonies, chiefly contributed to the spread of all cults foreign to the Greeks and Romans. A legate of Numidia and consul-designate, a native of Dalmatia, in 167 erected in the temple of Aesculapius at Lambaesis a statue of his native god Medaurus (on horseback, brandishing a lance). A veteran in another town of Numidia (Thubursicum) commends his son to Noreia, a native goddess of Noricum, the birthplace of the mother who had pre-deceased her son. . . In every garrison fellow-countrymen assembled together to worship the gods of their home. Thus, in the third century, the Thracians serving in the imperial guard at Rome appear to have had a special chapel for their native gods, Heron or Heros, Asclepius Zimidrenus, and others. Similarly, the Celtic guardsmen in Rome continued to sacrifice to Arduinna and Camulus, but especially to the 'mothers' and 'wives' (*matres, matronae*) of their home, supposed to be three in number, protecting goddesses of house and family, and also of whole communities and peoples, who bestowed prosperity, abundance and fertility. All their memorials in Rome, the majority of those in Britain, and a considerable number in Germany, are due to soldiers, simple legionary soldiers or veterans, rarely centurions and equestrian officers; the 'mothers', as is shown by the inscriptions of those who were not soldiers, were divinities of the common people. It is true that the Romans living in the provinces were in a measure content to worship these barbarian gods, without troubling about their name or nature (such as the 'mothers' and the kindred Suleviae). Thus they adored 'the great god of the Numidians' and 'the Moorish gods' (amongst whom were included princes of old times worshipped with divine honours); or they invoked them under the names by which they were usually known, such as Auzius, Bacax, Aulisua, whose names appear on the monuments of north Africa, or Laburus, Lato-bius, Harmogius and others, known from inscriptional stones of Noricum and Pannonia. Frequently, however, it was thought that under these barbarous forms were concealed native gods, whose names were then used side by side with the foreign-sounding names unpronounceable by Roman lips, or were simply substituted for them; thus Caesar calls

the chief Celtic gods, Teutates, Hesus and Taranis, respectively Mercury, Mars and Jupiter. Grannus of Alsace and the Rhine lands was identified by the Romans with Apollo; Belutucader and Cocid of Cumberland, Leherennus and Albiorix of southern France, and many other Celtic local gods, with Mars; Ataecina or Adaegina of Turobriga in the south of Spain, with Proserpina; Sulis, worshipped near the baths at Bath, with Minerva; Arduinna of the Ardennes and Abnoba of the Black Forest with Diana, and so forth. These Celtic divinities could not possibly have been identified with Graeco-Roman equivalents, if believers had ceased to regard the latter as real and living personalities.

The more a province became romanized, the more the native gods were not only driven out by the Roman but also transmuted into the latter. In Spain especially both these phenomena occurred. 'In the Iberian district, which even later remained tolerably free from immigration, in the west and north-west (Lusitania, Callaecia or Gallaecia, Asturia) the native gods with their singular names, chiefly ending in *icus*- and *-ecus* (Endovellicus, Caecus Vagodamaegus), maintained their ground in their old seats even under the empire. But throughout the south (Baetica) not a single votive stone has been found, which might not just as well have been set up in Italy; the same holds good of the east and north-east (Tarraconensis), except that isolated traces of the Celtic gods occur on the upper Douro.' The worship of non-Roman divinities persisted in the southern province of Gaul much longer than in southern Spain: 'in the great commercial city of Arelate (Arles) certainly the only dedications refer to Italian gods, but at Fréjus, Aix, Nîmes and in the coast-districts generally, the old Celtic divinities were worshipped in imperial times as much as in the interior of the country. In the Iberian portion of Aquitania, also, numerous traces occur of the native cult, entirely different from the Celtic.' Certainly, the barbarian gods sometimes differed so greatly from the Graeco-Roman that identification was impossible; such were some of the local Belgian divinities, as Cernunnus squatting with legs tucked under him, with a stag growing out of his head, or the goddess of Compiègne, with birds at the breast, or the three-headed god of Rheims.

However, faith could not only assimilate strange divinities

but could also create new ones, and this creative power is the most unmistakable proof of its undiminished energy and vitality. Not regarding the divine control of which he was so deeply conscious every day and every hour at every step, as a single united whole, but feeling the necessity of breaking up the infinite divinity into an infinite number of individualities, the believer elevated important phenomena and effects, which profoundly affected human life, into divine personalities.

d The belief in a goddess of corn (Annona) and her cult do not seem to go farther back than the early empire, when the existence and safety of the eternal city depended upon the regularity and sufficiency of the supplies of grain from over sea. It was felt that it must be some divinity who gathered together the immense stores of Africa and Egypt, conveyed them safely across the sea, heaped them up mountains high in the storehouses of Rome, and, year in year out, provided daily bread for hundreds of thousands. On coins she first appears as a subordinate of Ceres, later as a separate goddess. 'Holy Annona' was certainly often invoked in fervent prayer, chiefly by those for whom in Rome the administration of the corn supply and the industries connected with it, and in the provinces the corn trade itself, provided occupation and a means of livelihood. A dedication to the holy Annona found in Rome is the work of a 'permanent measurer to the venerable corporation of wheat-flour bakers'; according to an inscription found at Rusicade (Philippeville), an export harbour of grain-bearing Numidia with state storehouses, intended for supplying Rome, a rich man had two statues set up, one 'of the genius of our native city', another 'of Annona of the holy city' (Rome).

Above all, the old Roman belief in *genii* involved a continual and unlimited increase of divine beings, as is sufficiently shown by the persistent vitality of this belief, and consequently of belief generally. The frame of mind which formed the basis of the latter continued to fill nature and existence with countless divine powers, whose mission it was to control and preserve, to generate and give life, to help and protect; these were the *genii*, whose favourite form was believed to be that of a snake. Every individual, every house and every family, every country, every city and province, legions, cohorts, centuries, corporations, guilds and unions—all had their

genius. But the feeling of piety, which saw 'in everything the trace of a god' and the hand of a divinity in every beneficent act and dispensation of providence, peopled every space with divine beings—wells, mountains, deserts, markets, palaces, warehouses, baths, archives and theatres. Every one who frequented these places paid homage to the genius or the 'guardian power (*tutela*) whether god or goddess'. The merchant, whose business took him to remote frontier lands, sacrificed there 'to the genius of the Roman people and trade'; the traveller in unknown and inhospitable countries 'to the god who invented roads and paths'. In the houses of Rome and other cities, as late as the fifth century, an image of the patron divinity, with a lighted candle or ever-burning lamp in front of it, was to be seen in the vestibule behind the door; the cult of the domestic gods (Lar, Genius, Penates), in spite of the prohibition issued against it, lasted far on into Christian times, during which angels soon took the place of genii. These minor divinities repeatedly proved their power to help within a definite sphere, and thus received special names and a more clearly defined personality; thus one of Trimalchio's guests, all belonging to the commercial class, swears by the holy 'Holdfast' (*Occupo*), and the Lares of the master of the house bear the names 'Profit', 'Good Luck', 'Gain' (*Cerdo*, *Felicio*, *Lucro*).

A necessary result of the change of the republic into a monarchy was that the genius of the reigning emperor took its place by the side of the genius of the Roman people, whose worship dated from very early times (at least as early as 218 B.C.). This appeared so natural and necessary that Augustus had no hesitation in undertaking the regulation of this cult himself. It was unavoidable that the idea of the imperial genius, worshipped as the tutelary deity of the people, should be confounded in the popular belief with the person of the emperor, who thus himself came to be regarded as the tutelary and controlling god. But although the belief in genii was not without influence on the deification of the emperor, the real home of the belief in the superhuman nature of the monarch was the East; together with the monarchy, it was transplanted from the Greek states of the East into the West.

From time immemorial distinguished men of merit in Greece had been venerated after their death as heroes (demi-

gods),—the founders of towns and colonies, the heroes of the Persian wars, the liberators of their fatherland (Harmodius and Aristogiton of Athens, Timoleon of Syracuse), also poets (Aeschylus, Sophocles), philosophers (Anaxagoras) and victors in the Olympic games. Occasionally, this elevation to the rank of heroes in course of time led to actual deification ; thus in Plutarch's time Lycurgus had a sanctuary in Sparta, in which sacrifice was offered to him 'as to a god'. Under Roman rule also, cities bestowed the honours of heroes upon prominent men after their death ; thus Mytilene honoured Theophanes, who had obtained from Pompey the privileges of a free state for the city, and Tarsus Athenodorus the meritorious Stoic, the teacher of Augustus. If in these and similar cases the choice of this manner of expressing gratitude was prompted by flattery and servility, there is no doubt that many (such as Apollonius of Tyana) were venerated after death owing to a sincere belief in their superhuman nature. How common the idea of the elevation of glorified spirits to a divine or semi-divine existence had become amongst the Romans is shown by Cicero's intention to build a temple to his daughter Tullia, who had died at the age of thirty-two. The Carpocratians, a gnostic sect of the first half of the second century, who revered Jesus together with the Greek philosophers as a model of supreme human purification, erected a temple in Cephalaria to Epiphanes, the seventeen-year-old son of their founder, after his death.

After the time of the Peloponnesian War, however, living persons also were worshipped as gods in Greece, the first known instance being Lysander, to whom Greek cities in Asia erected altars, offered sacrifice and sang paeans. Even the basest flattery would not have thought of this kind of homage had not the ancient Greeks, who were unable to imagine gods and men separated by an impassable gulf, been prone to see a being of a higher kind in every personality, which apparently or in reality was superior to the ordinary run of humanity. Nor was this way of looking at things entirely foreign to the Romans ; as a general rule, at meals libations were poured to Marius, the conqueror of the Cimbri and Teutones, as if he had been a god. The belief in the divinity of individuals also occurs outside the Græco-Roman world. Amongst the Getae the prophet Decaeneus or Dicineus,

the adviser of King Boerebistes (Burvista ; 60-50 B.C.), who dwelt in a cave on a sacred mountain, was regarded as a god ; Strabo calls him an impostor. The Boian Mariccus, who in 69 A.D. undertook to liberate Gaul from the Roman yoke, declared himself a god and found thousands to believe him.

But the cult of living heroes and persons in authority was not firmly established until after the time of Alexander the Great, whose personality, subjected to oriental influences, practically obliterated the distinction between gods and men, in the princely houses which shared his inheritance. In Egypt, where, as in Persia, it had long been held that the king was a god or at least the son of a god, Ptolemy Philadelphus first introduced the cult of the living ruler for state reasons ; in the Seleucid empire it was of prime importance, whereas the Attalidae appear to have formally abandoned it.

After the Romans began to interfere with the oriental elements in the cities of Asia Minor, the cult of the goddess Roma, to whom the inhabitants of Smyrna had erected a temple as early as 195 B.C., made its appearance side by side with the cult of the ruling prince, which attained its highest development in the kingdoms of the Diadochi. With this cult of Roma were associated the divine honours bestowed upon Roman governors and generals, such as Titus Quintius Flamininus, 'the liberator of Greece', in whose time they appeared a perfectly natural expression of enthusiastic gratitude. In the last days of the republic the dedication of temples (probably in common with the goddess Roma or other divinities) had become quite a usual manner of showing homage for Roman proconsuls.

Consequently, if the Romans had been for a long time accustomed to regard apotheosis as no excessive honour even for the living, the claim of the new monarchs to it appeared a matter of course ; and if the deification of the living was kept within certain limits, this was due to the self-restraint of the ruler, not to any want of deference on the part of his subjects. What could have been more in conformity with the belief in divine natures in human form than to regard the all-powerful rulers of the universe, 'the vicegerents of the gods upon earth', so immeasurably exalted above so many millions, as 'present and corporeal gods', and their death as an elevation to that higher world to which they

belonged ? If the apotheosis of the emperors was as a rule a work of the conscious hypocrisy of servility, it at least corresponded in certain cases to the popular belief. The 'translation' of Caesar to the gods, says Suetonius, was not only the result of a decree of the Senate, but in accordance with the belief of the multitude ; a comet, which was visible for the next seven days, was supposed to be his soul taken up into heaven. After the death of Marcus Aurelius, all orders and classes of the people, irrespective of sex or age, paid him divine honours ; any one who did not keep his image in his house was considered impious, and even in Diocletian's time his statue frequently occupied a place between the Penates ; many prophecies, confirmed by the event, were believed to have been delivered by him in visions. Thus there can be no doubt that this good and gentle and universally beloved monarch was really regarded as a god by the people. In the domestic chapel of Alexander Severus, where a religious service was held every morning, not only the souls of the holy (including Apollonius of Tyana, Orpheus, Abraham and Christ), but also the best of the deified emperors, were worshipped.

It is easy to understand, however, that this belief in a real deification of men was repugnant even to those who in other respects were staunchly orthodox. Pausanias says that in his time men were no longer changed into gods, as formerly Heracles, the Dioscuri, Amphiaraus, except in words, and in order to flatter power. He probably had in mind the apotheosis of Antinous, for which, however, an oriental model was not wanting. Thus, at Alexandria, Belesticha, 'a foreign woman of the town', received the honours of divinity and a temple as 'Aphrodite Belesticha' from her royal lover (Ptolemy II Philadelphus). No doubt, generally speaking, the cult of Antinous was observed 'in order to flatter power' ; but the belief of the next generation in the divinity of the beautiful, melancholy looking youth was sincere (as appears from Athenagoras, *c.* 177), and lasted at least till the third century. Celsus had compared the worship of Christ with that of Antinous, and Origen, who rejects this comparison as entirely inadmissible, had no doubt that in reality a demon under the name of Antinous haunted his temple. 'If one were to investigate, in a spirit of truth and impartiality, the

stories relating to Antinous, he would find that it was due to the magical arts and rites of the Egyptians that there was even the appearance of his performing anything in the city which bears his name, and that, too, only after his decease—an effect which is said to have been produced in other temples by the Egyptians and those who are skilled in the arts which they practise. For they set up in certain places demons claiming prophetic or healing power, which frequently torture those who seem to have committed any mistake about ordinary kinds of food or other religious precepts. Of this nature is the being that is considered to be a god in Antinoöpolis in Egypt, whose virtues are the lying inventions of some who live by the gain derived therefrom ; while others, deceived by the demon placed there, and others again convicted of a weak conscience, actually think that they are paying a divine penalty inflicted by Antinous. Of such a nature also are the mysteries which they perform and the seeming predictions which they utter. Far different from such are those of Jesus.' ¹

Further, the cult of the emperors was on the whole nothing more than the expression of absolute devotion, which the despot could demand from his subjects, at least so far as the recognition of a divine nature in a human personality was in no way repugnant to religious belief. If Christians have never committed the folly of worshipping a king as a god, the reason is not that the difference between ruler and ruled was less, the feeling of self-respect greater, or servility less resourceful in inventing degrading acts of homage (rather, the contrary was the case in the Byzantine empire and in France under Louis XIV and Napoleon I). Christian dogma forbade such an act of folly, which pagan belief encouraged, and only allowed the ruler to be recognized as the representative of God upon earth. The Roman imperial cult was a form, the essentially political importance of which no thinking man could mistake, while its external accomplishment left religious life properly so-called untouched, and was quite incapable of shaking belief. To the believer, that which is sacred does not cease to be so because he has seen it misused or desecrated in individual cases ; rather, like Pausanias,

¹ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, iii. 36, Eng. trans. by F. Crombie in Clark's *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, xxiii. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.)

he promptly holds up the abuse to ridicule and contempt, only to cling the more firmly to what is venerable and precious in his belief.

The best proof, however, of the strength and vitality of polytheism is the fact that it was able to hold its ground for centuries against Christianity, and further, in a certain sense to compel Christians to recognize its truth. For it never occurred to Christians in general to deny the real existence of the pagan gods ; they did not even dispute their superhuman attributes nor the miracles performed by them. Of course, it was only natural that they should look upon them as powers of darkness, demons, fallen or lost angels and their descendants, or sinful souls, permitted by God to injure and lead men astray. Consequently, even those who carried on the war of extermination against polytheism were so inextricably mixed up with it that they could not bring themselves to deny its reality. The authority of this belief must have been general and most firmly established in men's conscience, if its most irreconcilable opponents were unable to withdraw themselves completely from its influence.

But, seeing that so many direct and incontestable proofs of the universality and strength of polytheism are ready to hand, all such indirect evidence may be dispensed with. The stronger a belief is, and the more deeply it is rooted in the conscience, the more eagerly does it seek and the more certainly does it find throughout nature and life confirmation of the existence and action of the powers believed in ; it recognizes the hand of the divinity where unbelief sees only chance or natural effects of natural causes. Its most passionate demand is for facts and phenomena, which demonstrate beyond doubt the divine power to overrule the laws of nature, and this demand of necessity always secures its own satisfaction ; the miracle is the favourite child of faith. Now, if the belief in miracles is an infallible test of the intensity of belief in the higher power, which is assumed to be the author of the miracle, there can be no doubt that, in the first centuries of the Christian era, a belief in the gods of tradition and cult, entirely positive and unaffected by scepticism, was common in all strata of society. The strength of this belief varied, being of course strongest in least educated circles.

The old belief in anthropomorphism, powerfully supported

by the impression produced by the everywhere present and life-like images of the gods, made it possible for the believer to recognize the corporeal presence of the god himself in the author of a miracle performed before his eyes ; and the fact that such was the case at the time of which we are speaking is established beyond all doubt by the well-known incident of the apostles at Lystra. How certain must these men have been of the existence and close proximity of their gods, who saw in the author of the miraculous cure of the lame man and in his companion, not messengers from heaven but very gods, and were at once filled with the conviction that the gods had come down to them in the likeness of men. ' And they called Barnabas, Jupiter ; and Paul, Mercurius, because he was the chief speaker. Then the priest of Jupiter, which was before their city, brought oxen and garlands unto the gates, and would have done sacrifice with the people '. And the apostles ' scarce restrained the people, that they had not done sacrifice unto them '. Here then was a faith still living, as firm as a rock and as childlike as that of the ancient Athenians who, imagining the beautiful woman clothed in complete armour, by whom Pisistratus was accompanied on his return, to be Athene in person, worshipped her as a goddess ; Herodotus cannot find words to express his amazement at such unheard of simplicity. A parallel is to be found in the faith which in our own days makes the Italian peasant recognize the mother of God herself in a young, beautiful and madonna-like benefactress.

It may be admitted that belief was perhaps blindest and the propensity to self-deception most common in the heart of anterior Asia, as is expressly attested by Lucian in the case of Paphlagonia. Undoubtedly superstitious beliefs and prejudices were always stronger in the East than in the West. But if the believer was only rarely convinced of the actual presence of the divinity, he saw everywhere the wonders worked by him, his enthusiasm was continually re-kindled, and even sceptics were carried away by the sincere and universal belief in miracles. The miracles wrought in the year 71 at Alexandria, ' indicating the favour of heaven and an undoubted affection of the gods for Vespasian ' are described by Tacitus and other historians in perfect good faith. A blind man and a paralytic, having been inspired by Serapis

in a dream, implored Vespasian to touch them and so restore the use of their limbs. Vespasian finally decided to do as they asked publicly before the people. 'The hand immediately resumed its functions, and the light of day again shone upon the blind man. These two facts are attested by eye-witnesses at the present day, when there is no longer any advantage to be gained by falsehood'. Vespasian afterwards went unattended to the temple of Serapis to learn what the future had in store for him. There he saw a man named Basilides, although it was subsequently ascertained that he was many miles away at that moment. Vespasian recognized in his name an omen of his impending greatness. No one who believed these miracles could doubt the power and greatness of the god, to whom they were attributed by the voice of the people.

This miracle belongs to a period when the idea of appealing to miracles as great and convincing as the Christian certainly cannot be attributed to the heathen. But when the struggle of the two religions for the empire of humanity had begun, the mania for miracles necessarily became greater on both sides the longer the conflict lasted and the more furious it became. We may assume that, about the end of the second century, the need was already felt of setting up a rival to the founder of Christianity in the person of a prophet of the old gods, equally superhuman and equally capable of working miracles. This was probably the purpose of Philostratus' romance of Apollonius of Tyana, composed at the command of the empress Julia Domna. The birth of Apollonius is as marvellous as his end and his reappearance on earth, to convince a young man who disbelieved in immortality. Among the miracles performed by him are the casting out of demons and the raising of a man from the dead. His knowledge of the future and of hidden secrets borders on omniscience. The emperor Alexander Severus (as already observed) worshipped him in his domestic chapel together with Christ. The anti-Christian neo-Platonist Hierocles (under Diocletian) put him above Christ, whose acts he declared had been embellished by the fictions of the apostles, whereas those of Apollonius were attested by unimpeachable witnesses. Apollonius' reputation was great, not only among pagans, but also among Christians of the succeeding centuries.

In a Christian collection of 'oracular responses of Hellenic gods', composed about 474-91, it is declared that only Moses, Hermes Trismegistus and Apollonius were like God. The pious Jansenist Tillemont (died 1698) believed that the devil, fearing the destruction of his kingdom, had caused Apollonius to be born about the same time as Jesus; Bayle in his lexicon (1741) calls him 'the ape of the son of God'.

Not only did heathens and Christians meet miracles with miracles, but they must frequently have laid claim to the same miracle, although only one instance is reported. During the war against the Quadi (173-4) in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, the Roman army, overcome by the heat of the blazing sun, found itself surrounded by a superior force, and threatened with annihilation. Then suddenly thick clouds gathered together, rain fell in torrents, and a fearful storm wrought havoc and confusion in the ranks of the enemy; the Romans were saved and gained the victory. The effect of this event was overwhelming; according to the custom of the time it was immortalized by pictorial representation, was generally regarded as a miracle, the memory of which lasted till the last days of antiquity, and for centuries afterwards was appealed to by both Christians and pagans as a proof of the truth of their respective faiths. A picture, which Themistius had seen, represented the emperor himself appealing to Jupiter for aid with uplifted hands, while the soldiers caught the rain in their helmets; the scene on the column of Marcus Aurelius, which has hitherto been generally regarded as a representation of this event, cannot possibly be meant. The marvellous deliverance of the army appears to have been generally attributed to the emperor's prayer to Jupiter; others, however, asserted that it was really due to the art of an Egyptian magician Arnuphis, a member of his suite, who had drawn down rain from heaven by calling upon the gods, especially Hermes. But according to the account of a Christian contemporary, the miracle had been wrought by the prayers of the Christian soldiers of the twelfth legion. Tertullian also (197) refers to the Christian version as well known, and appeals to a letter of Marcus Aurelius in support of it.

Amongst the miracles, which the Platonist Celsus in his work against Christianity adduces as a proof of the existence

of the gods, he gives special prominence to oracles, prognostics and portents, by which they announced the future or issued warnings and exhortations, and which convinced the faithful not only of the existence of the gods, but also of their solicitude for mankind. 'What need is there to collect all the oracular responses, which have been delivered with a divine voice by priests and priestesses, as well as by others, whether men or women, who were under a divine influence? all the wonderful things that have been heard issuing from the inner sanctuary? all the revelations that have been made to those who consulted the sacrificial victims? and all the knowledge that has been conveyed to men by other signs and prodigies? To some the gods have appeared in visible forms. The world is full of such instances. How many cities have been built in obedience to commands received from oracles: how often, in the same way, delivered from disease and famine! Or again, how many cities, from disregard or forgetfulness of these oracles, have perished miserably! How many colonies have been established and made to flourish by following their orders! How many princes and private persons have, from this cause, had prosperity or adversity! How many, who mourned over their childlessness, have obtained the blessing they asked for! How many have turned away from themselves the anger of demons! How many, who were maimed in their limbs, have had them restored! And again, how many have met with summary punishment for showing want of reverence to the temples—some being instantly seized with madness, others openly confessing their crimes, others having put an end to their lives, and others having become the victims of incurable maladies! Yea, some have been slain by a terrible voice issuing from the inner sanctuary' (Origen, *Contra Celsum*, viii. 45, Crombie's trans. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.)

The belief in wonderful signs and announcements of the future, of which at that time 'the whole world was full', to all appearance was the most general form of belief in miracles, at least in the last days of antiquity. Many philosophers and others who had received a philosophical education also professed it. Certainly it was rejected by Epicureans, Cynics and Aristotelians and controverted by Academicians; but Platonists, Pythagoreans and Stoics only clung to it the more firmly, and this belief formed part and parcel of the theology

of the last-named in particular. 'The belief in an extraordinary care of God for individual man was too comforting an idea for them to renounce; they not only appealed to divination as the strongest proof of the existence of gods and the government of providence, but they also drew the converse conclusion, that, if there be gods, there must also be divination, since the benevolence of the gods would not allow them to refuse to mankind so inestimable a gift' (Zeller, *Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics*, Eng. trans., p. 372). This belief then, which in fact necessarily presupposed a belief in the gods and providence, with which it stood or fell, was extremely common amongst the educated at that time.

It is true that Livy declares that prodigies were neither publicly made known nor recorded in historical works owing to the indifference which caused the general disbelief of his time in marvellous presages sent by the gods. But this indifference cannot have lasted long, for all the historians of the imperial period without exception record such wonders; in time prodigies even became an object of special interest to believers, which explains the origin of the collection of all the signs and wonders observed in Italy, compiled from Livy by a certain Julius Obsequens (of uncertain date).

Tacitus, who maintained a critical attitude towards the belief in signs and wonders, and expressly guarded against the common superstition, which saw an omen in every uncommon event, undoubtedly did not recognize the genuineness of a number of reputed prodigies; nevertheless, he did not doubt that they did occur, and in the later books of his great history of his time he has recorded all those subsequent to the year 51. Consequently, it seems that in his case the belief in such things, although probably always entertained by him, had increased with years. In the second book of the *Histories* (ch. 50), he relates that, on the day of the battle of Bedriacum, a bird, the like of which had never been seen, alighted on the ground near Regium Lepidum, and, undaunted by the throng of men and other birds that circled round it, would not move until Otho had killed himself; then it disappeared. When men came to calculate the time, it was found that the beginning and end of the prodigy exactly coincided with Otho's death. Tacitus expressly adds that, although he considered it beneath his dignity to embellish a serious work with fables, he could not in

this instance refuse to believe what was universally reported.

The regular mention, in Suetonius, Cassius Dio, Herodian and the later imperial biographers, of presages, especially those which announced to a private individual his future accession to the throne, or the death of the emperor, leaves no doubt as to the persistence of this belief, with which the writers must certainly have credited the majority of their readers ; and the narrative frequently shows to what extent it was held by the most prominent men of the time. Augustus, says Suetonius, paid great attention to certain omens, as to the meaning of which he had no doubt. If he put a shoe on the wrong foot, it was a bad sign ; if dew fell when he was starting on a long journey, it was a good sign. Wonderful events also always made a great impression on him ; as, for instance, when a palm tree sprouted from the cracks between the stones in front of his house, and on his arrival at Capri the drooping branches of an old holm-oak revived. Had Livy read in Suetonius the list (culled by him from books and traditions with all the industry of a bee) of all the omens which announced the future greatness of Augustus, his victories and his death, perhaps he would have recalled his complaint of the indifference of his contemporaries to such things. To a faith as robust as this, every event was full of significance ; no marvel was too great or too ridiculous for it. Suetonius seriously relates that Augustus, when a child just beginning to speak, once ordered some frogs on a family estate to cease croaking, which, it was asserted, they immediately did.

Of course different kinds of portents were differently appreciated by believers, and the various methods of divination did not always enjoy the same esteem, but sometimes one, sometimes another, found the greatest favour. But not one of the recognized kinds of divination ever fell entirely into disuse for want of belief. Cicero's crushing ridicule of the art of the *haruspex*¹ and the inspection of entrails might suggest the mistaken view, that this method of divination was too deeply discredited ever to recover its popularity, whereas nothing could be further from the truth. Cicero quotes Cato's remark, that he wondered how one *haruspex* could look at another without laughing, and Hannibal's question to King

¹ The *haruspex* foretold the future from the inspection of the entrails of sacrificial victims.

Prusias (who refused to give battle 'because the entrails forbade it'), whether he had more faith in a slice of veal than in an old general; he further recalls the fact that in the last civil war the exact opposite of what had been foretold nearly always happened. But the mockery of unbelievers no more disturbed the faith of believers than the facts which gave the lie to their belief. As always happens in such cases, they only remembered prophecies, which were, or were supposed to have been, fulfilled; and ample testimony from succeeding centuries confirms the persistence of the belief in the inspection of entrails, and its diffusion even amongst the educated classes.

The fact that Tiberius prohibited the consultation of *haruspices* in secret and without the presence of witnesses assumes a very general use of this form of divination. Claudius' apprehension (in 47) that the oldest science in Italy might become extinct through neglect, can only have referred to the decay of the Etruscan *haruspicina*, not to a general diminution of its employment. The older Pliny also says expressly that large numbers of people firmly believe that animals warn us of danger by their muscular fibres and entrails. On the morning of the day on which the emperor Galba was murdered (January 15, 69), the *haruspex* Umbricius informed him that the entrails of the victim pointed to a dangerous plot and an enemy in the house; Otho, who was standing by, took this as an omen favourable to his undertaking. Epicetetus, who in accordance with the doctrines of his school recognized divine revelations and thoroughly believed in the art which interpreted them, only advises that man should be influenced in his actions not only by divination, but before all by a sense of duty. There would have been no occasion for this advice, had not divination been very generally recognized. It is only fear of the future, he says, that so often drives men to the soothsayers. Trembling with excitement, they approach them with prayers and flattery, as if they could fulfil our wishes: 'Lord, shall I be my father's heir? Lord, have pity on me, restore me to health! But the *augur* or *haruspex* can only foresee impending events, death, danger, sickness or the like. He does not know whether they are really beneficial or injurious to the person concerned'. Herodian says that the brave resistance offered by the city of Aquileia to Maximin was mainly due to the prophecies of its *haruspices*:

‘ for the inhabitants of Italy have most confidence in this kind of divination ’. The estimation in which it was held outside Italy also is shown not only by the remarks of Epictetus, but also by the recognition accorded it by the dream-interpreter Artemidorus, who admitted only a few methods of divination besides his own : astrology, the inspection of victims’ liver (i.e. entrails), and the flight of birds. Further, accidental statements of different dates allow us to conclude that the art of the *haruspex* never lacked supporters amongst the educated. Regulus, notorious during the period from Nero to Domitian as an orator and accuser in cases of *lèse-majesté*, was accustomed in every case to question the *haruspices* as to the result of the trial. According to Juvenal, they had to answer so many questions about the favourite musical *virtuosi* and actors of distinguished women, that they got varicose veins from standing so long on their feet. The emperor Gordian I was greatly skilled in this art, in which Diocletian also had great confidence. Constantine allowed it to be practised in public, but forbade it inside the house on pain of death ; in cases of injury by lightning he ordered it himself (321) for state reasons. According to Ammianus Marcellinus, one of the means for reading the future which providence has bestowed upon mankind is the inspection of entrails ; he says that Julian, while still a professing Christian, was devoted to the art of the *haruspex* and the *augur*, ‘ and everything else practised by the worshippers of the gods from time immemorial ’. Such incidental proofs of the lasting and widespread belief in the art of the *haruspex*, which could be multiplied, justify us in assuming the same in the case of all the other traditional methods of divination.

Among the methods of inquiring into the future, astrology, the favourite science of that age, which enjoyed the highest favour, especially amongst the upper classes, did not necessarily presuppose belief in the gods and a providence exercised by them, although, on the other hand, it by no means excluded it. Of the older members of the Stoic school, which believed in Providence, Panaetius was the only one who rejected it ; he contested the efficacy of prognostics and divination in general. Yet it was only natural that the widespread belief in an inevitable fate, which more than anything else encouraged astrology, should tend to the abandonment of polytheism.

The belief ' which referred all events to their constellations by the laws of nativity ', equally approved of by the educated and ignorant and shared by Seneca, according to which what had been once decided was irrevocably fixed for all time, definitively superannuated the divinity. According to Suetonius, Tiberius showed little interest in the gods and their cult, because he was entirely devoted to astrology, and thoroughly convinced that everything happened in accordance with the decrees of fate.

But oracular predictions also, in which the gods, as it were, in person revealed the future to mankind, since they assumed the direct inspiration of the divinity, were bound more than anything else to strengthen and foster the belief in the latter. In the first centuries of the Christian era these predictions enjoyed a reputation almost as great as in any earlier period ; and the fact that they not only held their ground, but, after a temporary decline, underwent a complete restoration, is a still more indubitable proof of the strength of polytheism. Strabo, who expressly attests the decay and neglect of the Greek oracles in the time of Augustus, was certainly influenced in his statements by the recollection of the splendour of Delphi, which had been extinct for centuries. None the less, to all appearance he gives the correct explanation of the phenomenon—that the Romans were satisfied with the predictions of the Sibylline books and the Etruscan methods of divination (observation of the entrails, the flight of birds, and the heavenly signs). It was a natural result of universal empire, that the non-Roman should everywhere be kept down by the Roman element ; and it was just at that time that the overpowering impression of Roman might and greatness had reached its height in the Greek world. But although this impression was strong enough to divert man's religious needs into new channels, it was by no means strong enough to control them permanently. The old belief was completely restored ; the famous oracular temples were again filled with pilgrims. There ' prophets, full of the god and identified with him, foretold the future, warded off dangers, healed the sick, comforted the sorrowful, helped the unhappy, gave consolation in suffering and relief in distress '. Christian writers declare that with the coming of the Redeemer into the world the power of the false gods had been broken, that the charm by means of

which they had so long given speech to images of wood and stone had lost its power, and that their oracles were dumb, but even they were obliged to confess that the demons in the temples again issued true prophecies and salutary warnings and performed cures. Their object, of course, was to do all the more injury to those whom they turned aside from the search after the true God, by insinuating into their minds ideas of the false one. The foreknowledge of the future possessed by the demons was explained by their being former servants of God who were thus acquainted with his intentions. Even Petrarch, in other respects remarkably free from superstition, believed in the heathen oracles as given by demons.

The greatness of the Roman empire and the incessant mutual intercourse of all its component parts, highly developed by its admirable means of communication, enormously enlarged the area over which the influence of the more respected oracles extended. Pilgrims journeyed from remote barbarian lands to the Greek temples in search of help and counsel, and the responses of the Greek gods were received with awe in countries to which their names had never penetrated before Rome ruled the world. Apparently in the time of Hadrian, a cohort of Tungri in its fixed quarters at Borcovicus (Housesteads in Northumberland) in Britain offered an *ex-voto* 'to the gods and goddesses in accordance with the interpretation of the oracle of Apollo of Claros' (near Colophon), and similarly dedicated inscriptions at Obrovazzo in the north of Dalmatia and at Cuicul in Numidia refer to the response of the same oracle; in these cases we may perhaps assume a joint consultation of this god by troops of different provinces. Anyhow, there can be no doubt that the most famous oracles in all the provinces were consulted in imperial times, a fact confirmed by numerous incidental statements in ancient authorities. To mention only a few instances, Germanicus consulted the oracle of the bull Apis at Memphis in addition to that of Apollo at Claros, Tiberius the 'lot' oracle of Geryones near Patavium, Caligula that of 'the Fortunes' at Antium, Nero that of Delphi, Vespasian that of mount Carmel, Titus that of Venus at Paphos in Cyprus, Caracalla that of Serapis at Alexandria and all the other oracles of repute. Amongst believers, proofs of the omniscience of the oracles were brought forward, stronger even than the answers of the Delphian oracle to the

inquiries of Croesus, as recorded by Herodotus. Plutarch's friend, the learned Demetrius of Tarsus, gives an account of an event of which he was an eye-witness—the conversion of an unbelieving governor of Cilicia by an oracular response. At the suggestion of certain Epicurean scoffers at religion in his suite, he sent a freedman with a sealed tablet, containing the question to which he desired an answer, to the dream-oracle of the demi-god Mopsus. The messenger, who according to custom spent a night in the temple, dreamed that a handsome man approached him and said 'a black one', and then retired. When he informed the governor, he was terrified, fell on his knees, opened the tablet, and showed the question to those who were present: 'Shall I sacrifice a black or a white bull?' Even the Epicureans were disconcerted; the governor offered the sacrifice, and ever afterwards worshipped Mopsus.

Nothing, however, so clearly shows the extent to which the believer in miracles was capable of self-deception, and how readily oracles found admission and acceptance in countries where they had been previously unknown, as Lucian's account of the pretended oracle of Apollo and Aesculapius set up by the false prophet Alexander in his native town of Abonuteichos in Paphlagonia.

Alexander (*c.* 105–*c.* 175), who when a boy was remarkable for his beauty, had been instructed in the art of magic by a physician (a countryman of Apollonius of Tyana), to whom he acted as assistant. Having travelled with a single companion through Bithynia and Macedonia in the character of a magician and soothsayer, he decided to found an oracle of his own in his native place, which appeared specially adapted for the purpose, owing to the wealth and crass superstition of its inhabitants. Tablets of bronze, buried by Alexander in the temple of Apollo at Chalcedon and conveniently discovered again, announced that Apollo and his son Asclepius were coming to Abonuteichos. The inhabitants, highly delighted, at once set about building a temple to Asclepius. After a Sibylline oracle had been circulated to the effect that Alexander, a descendant of Perseus and Asclepius, would make his appearance as a prophet, he entered the town, an imposing and attractive personality, magnificently clad in a white and purple tunic, carrying a sickle in his hand after the manner of Perseus. The god Asclepius was said to have revealed him-

self in the form of a snake. Prompted by Alexander, his fellow townsmen found an empty goose's egg, containing a little snake, in a pool of water which had collected where the foundations of the temple had been dug. Soon afterwards he exhibited a large tame snake which had long been kept in readiness, the rapid growth of the god being looked upon as a matter of course. Appearing with the snake round his neck in a dimly-lighted room, he thrust out from his robe a snake's head made of painted linen, somewhat resembling a human face, the mouth of which could be opened or shut by means of a horsehair attachment inside. Subsequently pipes (a number of cranes' windpipes fastened together) were fixed in the head, through which an assistant could make the god speak; but these 'autophonic'¹ oracles were only given exceptionally and for a high fee. As a rule questions were handed in sealed and given back in the same condition; when opened, the answer of the god was found written inside. The name of the god was Glycon.

The fame of the oracle spread rapidly throughout Asia Minor and Thrace, and during the whole time of its existence (more than twenty years) it was visited by such crowds, that food ran short at Abonuteichos. Lucian estimates the annual income of the prophet at about £3,000 (the fee for the oracle being about 1s.), out of which he had to pay a number of assistants of all kinds; on the other hand, two interpreters of obscure oracular utterances had each to pay him £240 yearly out of their takings. The god frequently promised that the wishes of those who consulted him would be fulfilled, if the prophet interceded for them. It was no uncommon thing for questions to be asked in foreign languages, such as Syrian and Celtic (the language in general use in Galatia), and it was not always easy to find persons who understood them. Occasional blunders in the answers did not injure the prestige of the oracle; it was dangerous to deny its divine nature, for Alexander knew how to rouse the crowd of believers to frenzy against its enemies (especially the Epicureans) with the cry of 'atheists and Christians'. He gained the friendship of the priests of the most famous oracles of Asia Minor by sending on his own visitors to them.

¹ I.e. oracles delivered by the god himself. The word 'autophonic' does not seem to be in use in English, but is adopted for brevity (the Greek is *αὐτόφωνος*).

Alexander also sent emissaries into other provinces to spread the worship of his god, and soon found numerous adherents in Italy and Rome itself. Many of the most highly placed and influential personages put themselves into communication with him. Insidious questions (i.e. such as referred to the emperor or affairs of state) were kept back by Alexander; he thus had the questioners in his power, and they were obliged to pay a high price for his silence. The god-fearing and superstitious Publius Mummius Sisenna Rutilianus (*consul suffectus* about 157) believed in him so blindly, that at the command of the god Glycon, when sixty years of age, he married Alexander's daughter, whose mother was supposed to be the moon-goddess. It was Rutilianus who persuaded the emperor Marcus Aurelius to have two lions thrown into the Danube as an offering certain to ensure victory; the result was that the Romans suffered a severe defeat (under Furius Victorinus, 167-9). When Lucian wanted to prosecute Alexander for an attempt upon his life, and lodged a complaint before Lollianus Avitus, the governor of Bithynia, the latter besought him to abandon the idea, since he could not prosecute the father-in-law of Rutilianus. At that time the terrors of war, combined with the ravages of a widespread epidemic, everywhere increased the need of religion and strengthened belief. On the door of every house an oracular response could be read, supposed to be a certain preventive of the disease, and circulated by Alexander's messengers, who had recommended his assistance against pestilence, fires and earthquakes.

When Alexander died at the age of seventy, his honour, wealth and influence were still undiminished; even after his death, it was believed that his statue in the market-place of Parium in Mysia delivered oracles. Lucian's account, which might be considered exaggerated, is fully confirmed by coins of Abonuteichos with the heads of the emperors Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, exhibiting on the reverse a snake with a human head, some of them inscribed Glycon. The legends of these coins further confirm the statement of Lucian that Alexander persuaded Lucius Verus during his stay in Asia (163-6), to change the name of his native place to 'Ionopolis', which entirely supplanted Abonuteichos and is still preserved in the slightly altered form Ineboli. The above type of coin occurs there till the time of Gallus Tre-

bonianus (251-3), and under Caracalla and Gordian III also in Nicomedia, whither the cult of Glycon must likewise have penetrated. Further evidences of its extension have been found in Dacia (chiefly colonized from Asia Minor), and upper Moesia; perhaps also in Africa. Two inscriptions that have come to light in Dacia (at Carlsburg in Transylvania) are dedicated to the god Glycon, 'by his command', one in Moesia (at Uskub in Turkish Macedonia) 'to Jupiter and Juno, to the serpent and the serpent's wife and Alexander', according to which Alexander appears to have had a female counterpart, in addition to the snake mentioned by Lucian.

The fact that so gross an imposture could be practised so long with such enormous success and without serious opposition, naturally implies an even stronger belief in the recognized oracles, and enables us to estimate their influence. Several of these were dream-oracles, as those of Mopsus and Amphilocheus at Mallus in Cilicia, which announced to Sextus Quintilius Condianus his own and his brother's murder by Commodus in a dream (of Hercules, as a child, strangling the two serpents). But the belief that dreams predicted the future, not only in these sanctuaries but everywhere, was the most general of all forms of belief in portents, which was not even contested by some of those who in other respects utterly refused to believe in prophecy. Aristotle and Democritus admitted the occurrence of prophetic dreams, not, however, as sent by the gods, but as the natural effects of natural causes; the elder Pliny, also, who denied all supernatural revelation of the future, was inclined to the belief in significant dreams. In one of his earlier books he leaves the question undecided, but in a later one he states as an undoubted fact that one of the imperial guard in Rome, who had been attacked by hydrophobia as the result of the bite of a mad dog, was saved by a remedy revealed in a dream to his mother in Spain. Having no idea of his misfortune, she had communicated the purport of the dream to him in a letter, which reached him just in time to save him, when his life was despaired of. When Pliny says that this hitherto unknown remedy, which always proved successful in other cases, had been revealed by 'God', he is referring to the mysterious working of nature, also manifested in the sympathies and antipathies of its forces, certainly not to the providence of a personal divinity.

Now, although the belief in prophetic dreams does not necessarily suppose the belief in the gods and Providence, it may safely be asserted that the one was rarely unaccompanied by the other ; in the majority of cases belief and unbelief were accorded simultaneously to both. To all appearance the theory of Democritus found little favour even amongst the Epicureans, who, generally speaking, not only denied the working of Providence, but also divination, whether by dreams or in any other form. On the other hand, says Origen, all who accepted the doctrine of Providence regarded it as certain that manifestations and phenomena were brought before men's minds in dreams, some of which were of a nature entirely divine, while others revealed the future, sometimes clearly, sometimes in riddles. In sleep, says the spokesman of heathenism in the dialogue of Minucius Felix, we see, hear and recognize the divinity, whom by day we impiously deny, treat with contempt, and insult by perjury. The Stoics, especially, attached the greatest value to this ' special form of consolation derived from a natural oracle ', bestowed by Providence upon mankind ; even Christians believed that dreams that came true were sent not only by God, but also by demons, certainly with the evil intention mentioned above, and with the reservation that those sent by the latter were more frequently deceptive and impure. We shall not be far wrong, then, if we infer a universal and firm belief in the gods and Providence from the universal and firm belief in dreams.

The most superficial acquaintance with the literature (especially historical) of the first centuries of the Christian era is sufficient to establish beyond a doubt the universality of the belief in dreams. An important event is rarely described, without *one* dream at least being mentioned in which it was predicted. The most eminent men were greatly influenced in their actions by dreams, and prompted to all kinds of undertakings ; it was in consequence of a dream that Galen wrote his treatises on mathematics, and Pliny the elder his history of the Roman wars in Germany. Dreams often determined the choice of a man's career ; thus, Galen's father, in consequence of a dream, decided to educate him for the medical profession. Galen himself was frequently guided by dreams in the treatment of his patients, as a rule with the happiest results. Thus, on one occasion, acting on the inspiration of

two unmistakably clear dreams, he made an incision in the veins between the index and middle finger of the right hand, and let the blood flow till it stopped of itself. His belief in the art of divination by the flight of birds was equally strong. Suetonius begged the younger Pliny to procure the adjournment of a case in which he was defendant, since a dream had foretold that the verdict would be against him. Pliny advised him to think over the matter again, since the question was whether Suetonius' dreams signified impending events or the contrary, as in the case of a dream of his own.

Augustus, who paid careful attention not only to his own dreams, but to those of others which had reference to him, was persuaded by a dream to take his stand once every year on a certain day in a certain place, to hold out his hand like a beggar to passers-by, and to accept the copper coins offered to him. Marcus Aurelius offered thanks to the gods for having communicated to him in a dream a prescription for dizziness and blood-spitting. Cassius Dio wrote a book on the dreams and prognostics which foretold the accession of Septimius Severus; the latter, who attached such importance to his dreams that he had one of them represented in bronze, accepted it very graciously. In one of these dreams, he saw himself conducted to a lofty watch-tower, from which he had an extensive view over land and sea; he moved his hands as if he were playing the lute, and harmonious sounds reached his ear. Dio also began his great Roman history 'at the command of the divinity in a dream', and found courage and strength to continue and complete it in fresh dreams, in which Tychē (Fortune), to whom he had devoted himself as the tutelary deity of his life, promised him immortality.

The only dream-book that has survived out of a very extensive, chiefly Greek, literature of the subject, is especially interesting as a proof how generally the interpretation of dreams was recognized as a science, whose representatives endeavoured to develop as rigorous and exact a method of interpretation as possible, based upon the most comprehensive and trustworthy material available. The author of this treatise, Artemidorus of Daldis (as he preferred to call himself rather than from his native city Ephesus, in order that his mother's obscure birthplace might have the glory of having produced a famous man), lived towards the end of the second

century. He wrote in obedience to the repeated command of Apollo, who had appeared to him in a dream in visible form, and at the instigation of Cassius Maximus, a man of senatorial rank and African descent, who was also on friendly terms with Aristides. Artemidorus, who also wrote on the observation of birds and palmistry, regarded the dreams which the gods 'send to the naturally prophetic soul of man' as a practical proof of divine Providence. His chief opponents he considered to be those who believed neither in Providence nor in any kind of divination. His profound respect for the action of the divinity is shown by the warning that, when a man begs the gods to send him dreams, he should neither inquire after what is useless nor pray as if he were addressing instructions to them, and after the dream he should offer a sacrifice and a prayer of thanksgiving. He regarded his mission of interpreting the manifestations of the divinity as a priestly office, and his 'science' as sacred. To its investigation he had devoted his whole life, studied night and day, bought all the dream-books he could find, and during his journeys in Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, and the islands had made the acquaintance of as many professional *confrères* as possible, and had endeavoured to increase his knowledge by experience. His lofty idea of the truth and dignity of his science caused him to disdain all quackery and artifice. He had never endeavoured to produce an effect upon the general public or to win the approval of professional rhetoricians; otherwise it would have been as easy for him as for others to use dazzling and striking language. He always insists upon simple and intelligible explanations of dreams, and rejects all the subtleties and artificialities which impress the vulgar; he even considers them blasphemous, since to a certain extent the intention to deceive is thereby attributed to the gods who send the dreams. The only thing he was proud of was the rigorous accuracy of his interpretation. His book contains numerous proofs of his sincerity and veracity; he also had the satisfaction of knowing that, although malevolent and pedantic critics might censure its incompleteness and insufficient details, no one ventured to assert that it departed from the truth even in the slightest degree. The fewer the traces of anything that can properly be called mystical or fantastical in this book, whose production and circulation is inconceivable without an educated circle

of readers of similar views, and the more consistent, rational and methodical its treatment of the subject—the more striking proof does this afford of the fact that at this period even sobriety of judgment and a certain element of rationalism by no means excluded belief in a divine Providence, which continually manifested itself in miracles.

Of these miracles the most palpable and the most convincing were the cures of diseases by means suggested in dreams ; that is to say, those which faith most readily and most frequently created as continually affording it fresh support. These miracles, of course, took place by preference on the holy ground of the temples of the healing gods Aesculapius, Isis and Serapis, who also wrought other marvels in their sanctuaries. Thus Aristides declares of the inexhaustible ‘sacred well’ in the temple of Aesculapius at Pergamus, that by bathing in it many recovered their eyesight, and were cured of chest complaints, asthma, deformity of the feet ; a dumb man who drank of its water was able to speak ; and in several cases merely drawing water from the well effected a cure. It was by no means uncommon for the god to appear in person to believers. Origen complains because Celsus, who calls the Christians simple for believing in the miracles of Jesus, expects them to believe ‘that a vast number of Hellenes and barbarians (according to their own assertion) have seen and still see Aesculapius, not in a vision, but in person, perform cures, distribute blessings, and predict the future’. Against these assertions Origen appeals to the innumerable witnesses to the miracles of Christ, adding that he himself had seen men delivered from grievous diseases (demoniacal possession, madness), and other evils, ‘which neither men nor demons could heal’, simply by calling upon the name of God and Jesus. The two semi-divine sons of Aesculapius also appeared to many at Epidaurus and other places. In a dedicatory inscription (preserved at Rome) to Pan, giving thanks for recovery from severe illness, it is said that the god appeared visibly to the patient, not in a dream, but in broad daylight.

But of course the greater marvel, the descent of the healing gods in person to those who sought their aid, was also of less frequent occurrence ; as a rule cures were wrought by dreams, not limited to those who had passed the night in temples. In a special section on ‘Prescriptions’ Artemidorus has at-

tempted to reduce this marvel to its true proportions, by divesting it of the embellishments whereby the lively imagination of believers thought to magnify its importance, but which in his opinion were unworthy of the sublime nature of the gods. As to prescriptions, that is, treatment of maladies prescribed in a dream by the gods to men, he says that it is useless to question their efficacy. For many have been healed at Pergamus, Alexandria, and other places by prescriptions, and several believe that they are the source of medical science. But, on the other hand, absurd and ridiculous prescriptions are recorded, which have never been given in dreams, but are mere inventions. Thus, 'biting negroes' are said to have been prescribed to a sick man in a dream (meaning peppercorns, which are black and pungent); to another 'maidens' milk' and 'stars' blood' (meaning dew). Those who imagine such things show that they do not understand the love of the gods for men. The prescriptions really given by the gods in dreams are clear and simple; they prescribe salves and frictions, drinks and foods, called by the names we use ourselves; if ever they clothe a prescription in ambiguous language, the riddle is always easy of solution. For instance, a woman suffering from inflammation of the breast dreamt that she was suckling a sheep; she applied the herb called 'sheep's tongue', and was cured. Thus, it will always be found that the cures prescribed contain absolutely nothing contradictory to rational medicine; and consequently, that divine revelations are in perfect agreement with the certain results of science. For instance, the well-known writer Fronto, who suffered greatly from the gout, prayed the gods to tell him how he might be cured; he dreamt that he was walking outside the city; and as a matter of fact he obtained considerable relief by taking regular walks. Aristides was specially directed by Aesculapius, in a dream, to compose (in prose and verse) and to deliver speeches. As the god in a dream instructed a boxer, who passed the night in the temple, in the devices by which he overthrew a famous opponent, so, says Aristides, 'he has taught me knowledge and songs and subjects for speeches, and even the ideas and manner of expression, as masters teach boys their letters'. Galen mentions that Aesculapius had prescribed the writing of odes, songs and farces to many who were suffering from violent mental excitement; others were

told to ride, hunt, and practise military exercises, definite instructions being given in what cases the remedies were to be used. The patients who had put themselves into the hands of the god at Pergamus, submitted to the severest regulations, which they would never have obeyed on the advice of a physician (e.g. to abstain from drink of any kind for a fortnight). Galen was indebted to Aesculapius for the cure of a dangerous ulcer; and Marcus Aurelius, when setting out against the Marcomanni, left him behind, since the god (presumably in a dream) had pronounced against his accompanying the emperor. The custom of passing the night in the temple (*ἐγκοίμησις*, *incubatio*), still practised in southern Italy and Greece in cases of illness, was adopted by the Christian Church from paganism; the Madonna, the archangel Michael, and different saints and martyrs took the place of the gods and heroes who gave directions in dreams.

During the excavations in the temple of Aesculapius at Epidaurus in 1883-4 two of the six tablets have been found, on which the marvellous cures (of the sick who passed the night in his temple) accomplished by the god are recorded. These records are adapted to the rudest belief in miracles. In addition to cures of the lame, the blind and the dumb, we find the recovery of a woman after being five years pregnant with a boy, who immediately he was born washed himself and walked about with his mother. There are also numerous instances of the conversion of those who denied or doubted the god, and of the punishment of sinners, and of such as did not pay the fee. Besides these marvellous stories written by the priests, which belong to the pre-Roman period, an account given by an educated man of the second century A.D. of his restoration to health has also been found. This person, Marcus Julius Apellas, of Mylasa in Caria, who had been very ill (especially from indigestion) had been told by the god in a dream to repair to Epidaurus. On his journey, he was advised (at Aegina) not to worry so much: in the sanctuary itself he received numerous instructions as to the external and internal remedies to be used, a special diet, and the gymnastic exercises to be practised, amongst which swinging was included; although he was to bathe without the assistance of the bath-attendant, the god did not forget to add that he ought to give him a *drachma* as a tip. When he had prayed the god to cure

him more speedily, it seemed to him that he left the temple with mustard and salt rubbed all over his body, a little boy walked in front of him with a smoking censer, and the priest said, ' You are now cured, but you must pay the fee '. Later he was given a prescription of aniseed and oil for headache. But the patient had no headache. In consequence, however, of studying too hard the blood flew to his head, and he was cured by the prescribed means. ' He ordered me also to write down the remedy. Thankful and restored to health I departed '. Of four tablets found on the site of the temple of Aesculapius at Rome, two contain accounts of cures of blindness by dream-oracles, two of diseases of the breast which had been given up as incurable.

Many thanksgivings for recovery of health on Roman inscriptional stones evidently refer to prescriptions given in dreams. Near Velleia and Placentia there was a sanctuary of Minerva, who was called the ' mindful ' or the ' physician ' (of Cabardiacus), since she rendered help in sickness. Of course she was especially appealed to by the sick of the immediate neighbourhood, several of whose dedications and votive inscriptions have been preserved ; one of them is from the praefect of a cohort in Britain, probably a native of Cabardiacus. A woman thanks the goddess ' for having cured her of a grievous infirmity by a gracious gift of medicine ' ; another fulfils a vow, because her hair had grown again ; a man offers the goddess ' silver ears ', after recovery from an affection of the ear. The same goddess had a temple in Rome, the site of which (in the fifth quarter) has recently been determined by numerous representations of human limbs in clay (likewise offerings from patients who had been cured) found in a subterranean vault attached to it.

Not only the healing gods, but the gods generally, could render aid in sickness, by the sending of dreams or in other ways. Thus, according to an inscription in bad Latin, a slave of the *pontifices* at Rome brings an offering of a white cow to ' the good goddess ' (*Bona Dea*) for the recovery of his eyesight, having been cured, after he had been given up by the physicians, in ten months by the grace of the lady '. For although tradition and belief attributed to each god a special sphere of activity and benevolence, suited to his nature and character, the power of the gods was regarded

as boundless, and capable of being exercised outside its proper limits, wherever the god pleased; every god was looked upon as 'always having the power to render aid of every kind, and was applied to for assistance, where he was near, where he was beneficent, where he was worshipped'.

In all cases in which the believer recognized the action of a higher power, he most naturally and instinctively attributed it to the particular god to whom he had been in the habit of praying from early youth, whose sanctity, authority and reputation were greatest in his own city or country, and whose power he believed he had already experienced. Thus Aristides had heard many persons say that the god Asclepius had saved them during a storm at sea by stretching out his hand to them. Asclepius was the patron deity not only of all those who repaired to his temple, but of all the inhabitants of the country round about Pergamus, and of other localities famous for his cult; such was the great Diana for Ephesus, Serapis for Alexandria, Pan for Panias, Leto for the whole of Lycia, the 'heavenly goddess' of Carthage for North Africa, and so forth. Generally speaking, the god, whether of the highest or inferior rank, who was chiefly worshipped in each country, was its most natural helper in time of need. Pausanias (viii. 37, 8) speaking of a temple of Pan not far from Megalopolis in Arcadia, says: 'This Pan, equally with the most powerful of the gods, possesses the power of accomplishing men's prayers and requiting the wicked as they deserve' (Frazer's translation). At Stratonicea the divinity chiefly worshipped next to Zeus (Panameros or Panemerios) was Hecate. Both had saved the town from the greatest dangers in ancient times; hence (according to a document still extant) the town council resolved that every day thirty boys of good family, clad in white and crowned with wreaths of olive, should sing a hymn of praise to the accompaniment of the *cithara* in the council-house, where their statues had been erected. Beside the gods, heroes were worshipped in all Greek countries, as has been already observed; each district probably had its special protector and helper in time of need, whose sphere of activity, being confined to a small area, was all the more put to the proof and recognized within those limits. However doubtful the claims of these heroes to reverence might originally have

been, if their cults had once gained a footing, they maintained it with remarkable tenacity ; as is shown in the case of Antinous. We do not know whether the worship at Athens (in the second century A.D.) of the physician Aristomachus as the ' physician hero ' existed at a later period. In Lucian's time, sacrifice was still offered to the Scythian Toxaris, who was supposed to have saved Athens from a severe epidemic, and his gravestone cured those suffering from fever. At Chalcis in Euboea, in Plutarch's time, a priest was appointed for Titus Quinctius Flamininus, sacrifice was offered to the latter, and a panegyric in verse sung in his honour. There were temples and priests of Alexander the Great not only in Alexandria, but in many other places. As late as the sixth century the inhabitants of the oasis of Augila in the interior of Marmarica offered sacrifice to him, and a large number of temple slaves was devoted to his service ; Justinian converted them, and built a church of the Virgin Mary for them. In the time of Pausanias, not only was sacrifice offered to the Olympian victor Theagenes as a god in Thasos, but in other places in Greek and barbarian lands his statues were revered and healed sicknesses. Reverence often attached to a special statue of the hero, which was said to have proved its miraculous power. At Alexandria in the Troad there were several statues of the ' hero Neryllinus ' (probably Marcus Suillius Nerullinus, consul in 50, who administered the province of Asia as proconsul about 67-70) ; one of these was supposed to heal sicknesses and deliver oracles ; sacrifice was offered to it, and it was covered with gold and crowned with garlands. Sometimes the belief in the miraculous power of a statue was limited to the inmates of the house where it stood ; small coins and plates of silver, sometimes fastened with wax to its legs, were thankofferings from those who had been cured of fever by its aid ; impious slaves, who attempted to steal these pious gifts, were most cruelly put to death.

A belief which never doubted the repeated and supernatural revelations of the divine power and goodness was of course all the more ready to recognize the ruling hand of Providence in all the events of life which appeared quite natural or accidental to the sober-minded. The miracle, properly so called, was also nothing but one of the manifes-

tations of this power which incessantly interfered with the course of life and nature, although no doubt the most striking and convincing of them. It marked, as it were, the culminating point attained by a hundred-fold gradations of imperceptible transitions; thus, there was nothing fixed about the idea of a miracle, its recognition was subjective, conditioned by the feelings of those who believed in it, and therefore infinitely varied. Since the gods alone could perform miracles, it was from them alone that blessings could come, whether great or small. Epictetus, rebuking the Academicians, who questioned the existence of the gods, says: 'Grateful indeed are men and modest, who, if they do nothing else, are daily eating bread and yet are shameless enough to say, we do not know if there is a Demeter or her daughter Persephonē or a Pluto (the corn deities); not to mention that they are enjoying the night and the day, the seasons of the year, and the stars, and the sea and the land, and the co-operation of mankind, and yet they are not moved in any degree by these things; and do not trouble themselves about the disastrous influence that their doubts may have on the morality of other men' (*Discourses*, ii. 20, 32; chiefly from Long's translation).

Certainly many of the Stoics denied the efficacy of prayer, or, like Marcus Aurelius, advised men to leave themselves in the hands of the gods and only to pray for what was really good. Similarly Juvenal: The gods love man more than he loves himself; they know, when in our blindness we pray for a wife or the birth of a son, what will be the consequence for us if our prayer be granted; if you must ask for something, let it be for a sound mind in a sound body. The younger Pliny says that the gods rejoice more in the innocence of worshippers than in elaborate prayers; the man who enters their temples with a pure heart is more agreeable to them than one who recites a carefully prepared litany.

But such admonitions only confirm the general use of prayer, and no one can doubt that the majority of believers not only addressed themselves to the gods in all their anxieties and undertakings, but also paid them reverence and thanks in regular prayers, and commended themselves and others to their protection. Seneca even combined a belief in Fate with a belief in prayers being granted. The voices of those

offering prayers and vows would not be heard everywhere, if it was not known that the gods not only bestowed benefits of their own free will, but also in answer to prayers. They have left so many things uncertain that the use of prayers and vows may prove beneficial. Persius, like Juvenal, has made the foolish prayers of the majority the subject of a satire. It is not the sculptor, says Martial, but the man who prays that shows the gods as they really are (kind and merciful). Plutarch thought it his special duty to warn men not to believe that the prayer alone is everything; it will not be heard, nor can the help of the gods be expected, unless men help themselves. When the Jews besieged in Jerusalem gave no sign of movement on the Sabbath, even when the Romans were setting up ladders to storm the walls, they were paralysed by the bonds of superstition. God is the hope of courage and strength, not an excuse for cowardice. The pilot on a stormy sea no doubt prays that he may escape, and calls upon the saviour god, but at the same time he guides the helm, lets down the yards, and shortens sail.

The immense number of monuments and inscriptional stones of a religious character, scattered throughout the vast Roman empire, would alone be sufficient to prove, beyond all possible doubt, that during this period the gods were always regarded as the source of all blessings and the averters of all evils and dangers. These monuments attest most emphatically that the belief in an omnipresent Providence, directing the course of the world and human destinies, exercised by the gods who had been worshipped from time immemorial, as well as by those who had only become known in modern or more recent times, continued to flourish in the minds of the various populations and afforded consolation and hope in times of need and affliction of every kind to high and low, to learned and simple alike. A considerable part of these prayers, vows, thanksgivings and offerings of homage and adoration may certainly owe its origin to the outward observance of the forms of the prevailing cults, to the unreflecting force of habit or to conscious hypocrisy, but in most cases these stones afford just as many proofs beyond suspicion of a sincere, naïve and deep-seated belief. A few examples will be sufficient to give a clear idea of the nature of this belief.

In accordance with the essence of polytheism, reverence, prayers and thanks were as a rule addressed not to the whole body of divine powers, but only (as in the cult of the saints) to individual divinities, chosen partly with reference to their sphere of influence and the special efficacy and gifts attributed to them, partly for local and individual reasons. The last cannot, of course, always be indicated with certainty. When a contractor for imperial and state buildings offers thanks to the 'sacred, heavenly good goddess' (*Bona Dea*), for that with her assistance he has successfully carried an arm of the Claudian aqueduct underground, and at the same time shows his gratitude by restoring an old and ruined chapel, the 'good goddess' in this case, as frequently, is regarded as the protectress of the locality or building. On a stone near Coblenz, belonging at the latest to the age of the Antonines, a certain person thanks Mars for deliverance from frightful mental and bodily tortures; the reference here is certainly to a national Celtic divinity.

As a matter of course, thanks and prayers were addressed times without number to the national and local divinities, rather than to those whose sphere of influence embraced the favour solicited. Thus, at Smyrna, on one occasion thanks were offered for deliverance from an epidemic, not to the healing gods but to the river god Meles. A certain person set up a statue or a sanctuary at a cost of 8,000 sesterces (about £70) to the genius of a town in Numidia, on the spot 'where he had experienced the aid of his divine power'. Of course, not only natives but also strangers worshipped the divinity within whose sphere of influence they sojourned, and commended themselves to his or her protection. A Roman merchant, who traded in delicate pottery with Britain, fulfils a vow on the island of Walcheren to the local goddess Nehalennia 'for the preservation of his wares in good condition'. Titus Pomponius Victor, an official of the imperial household, who was stationed as procurator of the imperial domains at Axima in the Graian Alps (on the road from Lemens to Aosta) and probably had to take numerous journeys in connexion with his duties, addresses an elegant thanksgiving prayer in verse to the forest god Silvanus (whose image was enclosed in the hollow of a sacred oak as a natural forest chapel) for the protection hitherto afforded to him;

at the same time he promises to dedicate a thousand large trees to him, if he brings him back safe and sound to Rome with his family.

We have already mentioned the worship of the non-Roman native divinities in the northern and western provinces by Roman settlers or traders. Of the Celtic gods one of the greatest was Belenus, identified with Apollo; he was worshipped in all Celtic districts and even beyond amongst the Romans, as is shown by votive inscriptions found at Autun, Vienne, Venice and Aquileia. When the emperor Maximin (in 238) was besieging Aquileia with all his forces, the courage of the defenders was sustained by confidence in the aid of the native god Belenus; the besiegers also often saw his form hovering over the city. Herodian leaves it in doubt, whether he actually appeared to them or whether it was only an attempt to palliate the shame of their defeat by the fiction of his miraculous assistance. Yet he adds, 'the unexpected result makes anything credible'; and even a conscious fabrication in such a case shows the extent of the belief in the visible assistance of the gods, otherwise it would have had no meaning.

Travellers and wanderers in a foreign land also prayed to the local gods and performed their devotions at every place that was sacred to them. Pious wanderers, says Apuleius, lingered on their journey wherever they found a sacred grove or an altar crowned with flowers, a cave shaded by foliage, an oak hung with horns of sacrificial victims, a beech adorned with their skins, an enclosed hillock, a stump of a tree carved with an axe in the form of a statue, a plot of grass smoking with sacrificial libations, a stone moistened with fragrant essences. If the stranger performed his devotions at these centres of a simply local cult, the divine power which showed its authority in great natural phenomena the more irresistibly called for adoration. A Roman volunteer at Remagen fulfilled his vow 'to Jupiter mightiest and best, to the genius of the place, and to the Rhine', according to a stone set up in the year 190 (not the only one of this kind). But everywhere in a foreign country those who were exposed to the dangers and vicissitudes of the journey were doubly 'mindful of the gods', certainly including the native ones. A stone at Urbisaglia has preserved the memory of a present,

which an imperial freedman, Titus Flavius Maximus, sent from the east 'to the gods and goddesses of Urbssalvia'. On the other hand, at Nemausus (Nîmes) a *primipilus*, a native of Berytus, fulfils his vow to the god of his native place, the Jupiter of Heliopolis, but also to the god Nemausus. For a man always felt most directly called upon to worship the gods in whose neighbourhood he found himself; hence the inscriptions of travellers, commending themselves to the protection and favour of the native divinities, are numerous. The primeval, colossal sanctuaries of Egypt appear to have produced the most overwhelming effect upon the religious feelings of foreign visitors, as is shown by rock-hewn inscriptions on temples, obelisks, *pylones* (gateways), etc., in most places on either side of the Nile. At Talmis (Kalabsheh) in Nubia a number of Roman centurions and soldiers posted there offer homage to the sun-god Mandulis worshipped in that district, in an inscription (year 84) in the forecourt of his temple.

But the gods were, of course, frequently called upon as gods of a special activity, because, and in so far as they manifested it in a certain place. Thus, for example, at Alba Julia (Carlsburg on the Marosch) a Roman veteran fulfils his vow 'after a vision', also in the name of his wife and daughter 'to Aesculapius and Hygiea and the other healing gods and goddesses of this place', in gratitude for the restoration of his eyesight. In many cases the efficiency of the god was limited to a definite locality. Thus, the thanks of patients cured in a bath are naturally addressed to the nymphs of the spring; in many baths votive tablets of Roman visitors have been found, at Ischia for Apollo and 'the nymphs of the nitre-springs'. Other healing springs, near which inscriptions to the nymphs have been found, are e.g. those of Les Fumades (dépt. du Gard), Varasdin-Teplitz, Tüffers near Cilli, Bagnères de Bigorre, Loprésti haspól, and others. A votive tablet found near the hot springs at Vif is dedicated to 'the spirits of the eternal fire'. At the baths of Hercules (as they are still called) in Transylvania, thanks are offered to the 'health-bringing Hercules', as the god who on his wanderings through the world discovered all the hot springs, A hunter, who had been cured of a swelling in the joints (the result of a bite from an Etruscan wild boar) by the baths

or Solfatara near Tivoli, to show his gratitude for being able to mount his horse again, set up an equestrian statue of himself in marble to the goddess of the spring (Lymfa). The nymphs were also thanked for the discovery of new springs (or their divinities were worshipped as 'the new' or 'newly discovered' nymphs), or for the reappearance of a dried-up spring. A magistrate of Lambaesis in Numidia dedicated an altar in token of special rejoicing, because in the year he held office the nymph 'had given our city Lambaesis an abundant supply of water'. An inscription at Auzia in Mauretania announces the offering of a sacrificial gift to the mountain spirit, 'who wards off the violence of the storms from our native town'. Near the old marble quarries of Martignac in the neighbourhood of the Pyrenees a votive tablet records the thanks of two Roman contractors or proprietors 'who first quarried and carried out from them columns 20 feet long', 'to Silvanus and the spirits of the Numidian mountains'. A cavalry officer serving in Britain, who fulfilled his vow to Silvanus, because he had aided him to catch a mighty wild boar, which had escaped all his predecessors, certainly imagined that the forest god had his home in this particular wood. Wood-sawyers and timber-merchants also worshipped him. About the time of Trajan a legate of the seventh legion set up in its standing quarters (? Leon in Asturia or Galicia) a temple to Diana, 'in order that he might be able to hit with the javelin the flying deer, the stag, the bristly boar, and the breed of forest horses', and offered her from the spoils of the chase boars' teeth, stags' horns and a bear's skin. Inscriptions in various places in Spain offer thanks to the goddess of Turobriga for recovery of health, some one in Emerita in Lusitania also appeals to her to punish the thief who has stolen six tunics, two linen overcoats, a shirt, etc. Some one who has lost a ring promises half of it as a present to the god Nodon (in the south-west of Britain), if he recovers it. In a very ungrammatical sentence he adds: 'If amongst those who now have the ring there is any one named Senecianus, do not permit him to enjoy health, until he brings the ring to thy temple'.

Although the number of the gods, who were invoked either in all cases or at least by preference in definite places was exceedingly large, since it was at least equivalent to the

number of the more respected sanctuaries and centres of worship, yet on the other hand every god was everywhere solicited for the assistance or the gift, which he above all other gods was believed to be able to grant. This holds good not only of the greater gods, but also of the inferior and the least important. Even the cult of those countless protecting and auxiliary powers of the old Roman religion, whose action was restricted to definite cases or to certain spheres, and whose functions, according to the Christian belief, were performed by angels, continued to hold its ground under numerous forms. Of course, we cannot expect to find a great amount of evidence for the worship of these very subordinate protecting spirits, who only act at intervals. Yet, as Tertullian assures us that the day on which the child was able to stand on its legs for the first time was always sacred to the goddess Statina, we may assume that others of those divinities, who watched over the most critical moments of human life, still lived on in the popular belief. Waggoners and muleteers still swore by the (originally Celtic) goddess of horses, Epona, whose little chapel was usually in a niche of the main girder which supported the roof of the stable. There her image was crowned on feast days with roses and other flowers ; images representing her, for use in stables, are still in existence. In places where foul or suffocating vapours ascended from the ground (Beneventum, Cremona) worship was offered to the goddess Mefitis.

But, however firmly the people clung to these countless ministering divinities, since their less important but clearly defined activity brought them nearer to a section of the faithful, whose longing for intercourse with the supernatural world they were better able to satisfy than the superior gods, whose omnipotence and majesty rather kept the human heart at a respectful distance ; yet the latter, as most powerful governors of the world and special agents of Providence, still continued to be the most ardently worshipped and the most universally invoked. Everywhere the soldier prayed to father Mars, the mariner to Neptune, the merchant, the tradesman and the careful householder to Mercury, 'the dispenser and preserver of profits', the artist and artisan to Minerva, the countryman to Ceres, women with child to Diana and Lucina ; parted lovers (in Greece at least) to

the god of love ; in one of Plutarch's dialogues one of the speakers tells how his parents, soon after their marriage, which had been long delayed in consequence of a family quarrel, made a pilgrimage to Thespieae, in accordance with a vow each had made to sacrifice to Eros. The more extended their sphere of influence and the more general their worship, the more frequently the gods were appealed to. In the East, the aid of Heracles, the invincible, who overcame all terrors and dangers, was invoked in all perils by land and sea, and in sickness.

Undoubtedly, however, prayers were most commonly addressed to the supreme god, as the thunderer, the lightning hurler, the lord of storms and of the clear sky ; in times of drought, processions of women, barefooted and with dishevelled hair, ascended a hill and prayed to him for rain. On the mountain heights where he was worshipped, as Jupiter of Vesuvius, of the Apennines, etc., he was felt to be less remote from man. At the top of the Great St. Bernard pass, a district whose inhabitants (the Celtic Veragri) in Hannibal's time worshipped the god Poeninus, up to the eleventh century there stood, between the hospice (dedicated to St. Bernard in 926) and the lake (frozen during eight months of the year), in which numerous offerings and coins have been found, the recently discovered temple of Jupiter, from which the mountain was formerly called Mont Joux (mons Jovis). There, 'where the terrors of the mountains confront the wanderer to a far greater extent than on the other passes', in addition to 1,600 coins and numerous other offerings, fifty bronze votive tablets have been found presented by soldiers and other Roman travellers, who fulfilled their vows to Jupiter Poeninus, mightiest and best, for their safe journey and return. But his almighty will not only controlled nature ; he was the 'controller of things human and divine and lord of destinies', and in that capacity guardian, preserver, victor, god of battles and bringer of peace, consummator of every enterprise, saviour in all times of need and danger. Every interest, great or small, public or private, was commended to him ; his omnipotence was revealed in every event. A high official of senatorial rank fulfils his vow to Jupiter in Campania, 'because in this place he has been preserved from imminent danger and has recovered his health' ; a

steward of the distinguished family of the Roscii performs a vow to him as the preserver of the property of this family (in the neighbourhood of Brescia). At Apollonia in Phrygia a Galatian dedicated an altar to him, with two oxen in relief, because he had preserved the life of men and cattle in time of famine, led him back in safety to his native land, and bestowed fame upon his son amongst the Trocmi. An inhabitant of Apulum (Carlsburg on the Marosch) fulfilled his vow 'in return for his own safety and that of his relatives', because he had been delivered from the violence of the Carpi, who in the third century frequently invaded the province of Dacia.

In the Etruscan town of Tuder 'an infamous slave of the commune with frightful cunning' had buried a tablet with the names of all the *decuriones* (town councillors), in order to 'devote' them to the powers of the under-world. But the supreme god had revealed the crime, handed over the perpetrator to punishment, and delivered the town and citizens from the fear of the danger that threatened. In return for this, a freedman specially distinguished by the town made a vow for the prosperity of the town, the town council and the people of Tuder, 'to Jupiter greatest and best, guardian and preserver'.

It would be superfluous to multiply examples taken from Roman inscriptional stones; those already given will suffice to make clear the nature of the belief in a Providence exercised by the gods. The number and variety of these stones, found throughout all parts of the Roman world, justify the assumption that the belief to which they bear witness extended over an equally large area. Even supposing that a considerable number of these memorials may be the work of unbelievers or indifferentists, who desired to support the prevailing forms of cult by recognizing them or at least not opposing them, on the other hand such concessions or compromises could only have been possible in the face of a belief whose predominance was undisputed. Against the fact of this predominance there is no scintilla of evidence in the entire Greek and Roman literature of the period, but much that expressly and irrefutably confirms it. In view of the great progress of Epicureanism, it is certainly credible that the number of those who disbelieved in a Providence was considerable, but it was no more possible then

than at any other time even for the most careful and far-seeing observers to define even approximately the numbers of unbelievers and believers respectively. The vague expressions of authors, who in a general way discuss contemporary religious affairs, add nothing to our knowledge. Statements such as that of Pliny, that some men take no account of the gods and that blind chance is revered as a divinity ; or of Juvenal, that in the opinion of many everything depends upon chance, no one rules the world, but nature herself orders the course of events ; or of Philo the Jew, that many believe that everything in the world moves without superior guidance by virtue of its innate force, and that the laws and customs, the rights and duties of men have been established solely by human intelligence—such statements are only an inaccurate paraphrase of the Epicurean doctrine, which, as endorsing the opinion that chance prevails in human affairs, Tacitus also sets against the Stoic belief in Providence. The widespread belief in an unalterable *Fatum*, attested by him as well as by Pliny, by no means excludes the belief in Providence ; the Stoic school also, as is well-known, succeeded in combining the two. In Plutarch, also, who (in his *De Superstitione*) treated superstition and unbelief as aberrations in opposite directions from true piety, by atheists are chiefly to be understood Epicureans. There is no indication of the numerical relation between them and believers, but if Plutarch, whose religious tendencies were so closely akin to superstition, nevertheless declares atheism to be the less harmful error, we can hardly believe that he feared any peril to religion from its diffusion. Had the spread of the materialistic view of the world been calculated to arouse anxiety and offend the pious, Plutarch would hardly have recognized it as a natural reaction against excessive superstition and handled it so tenderly.

That belief in the gods was general and unbelievers few and far between, is asserted not only by Maximus of Tyre but also by Apuleius : ‘ the ignorant masses, uninitiated into philosophy, void of holiness and true knowledge, destitute of piety, without a share in truth, treat the gods without respect, partly with over-anxious reverence, partly with insolent disdain, some through superstition, others through unbelief, some full of fear, others full of self-complacency.

For most people worship the whole company of gods, dwelling high up in aether, far removed from contact with men, but not in the right way ; all people fear them, but through ignorance ; few deny their existence, and these from godlessness '. According to this, at that time at least the number of atheists and materialists, although in itself considerable, only formed a small minority as compared with the large number of believers. This view is in the main confirmed by Lucian, whose evidence in this case carries all the more weight, since he would undoubtedly have preferred to be able to state the contrary. The gods, uneasy about the future of their cult, are present at a public debate between an Epicurean who denies, and a Stoic who defends the belief in Providence. The latter is disgracefully worsted in argument. Then says Mercury : ' But what is the harm if a few return home with this conviction ? For the number of those who hold the opposite opinion is great—the majority of the Hellenes, the mass of the people, and all barbarians '.

However greatly the number of the gods of the ancient world may have been increased by the admission *en masse* of oriental and barbarian divinities, no alteration took place in the relation of believers to the divinity. The increase and multiplication of divine personalities had rather facilitated than impeded intercourse with the higher world for weak and helpless humanity, which, as Pliny correctly observes, could only grasp the idea of the divinity by breaking it up into an infinite number of individuals. Not only did the belief in a Providence exercised by the gods continue to be indispensable to the vast majority of mankind, but without cessation it demanded and created the miracle ; and it was not women and the multitude alone, as the enlightened Strabo thought, who felt the need of ' legends and miraculous tales '. It is to be hoped that our investigations have sufficiently shown that, throughout the domain of Graeco-Roman civilization, the world of gods, the result of the fusion of the two religions, on the whole maintained its sway, notwithstanding the reputation acquired by new importations, and, in spite of all admixture, re-established its authority over the minds of men.

In conclusion, we have still to consider the question of cult, the influence of which in continually strengthening

and reviving belief must be rated very highly. Even a complete inundation of the West by the religions of the East would never have eradicated the belief in the old gods, so long as their cults, which, most intimately connected with public and private life, consecrated and added solemnity to the most important crises in both, ever claiming attention and captivating the mind, the soul and the imagination in various ways, continued to exist everywhere in the traditional forms. So long as the temples 'dignified by the personal presence of the divinities inhabiting them rather than distinguished by ornament and enriched by gifts', invited men to prayer ; so long as numerous solemnities, festivities, and religious ceremonies of all kinds (sacrifices, processions, and spectacles) continually and most emphatically recalled the power, greatness and glory of the gods and their relation to mankind ; so long was it impossible for human belief to turn aside from the paths prescribed for it by the venerable tradition of so many centuries and approved by countless generations as leading to truth.

Not only is the persistence in late antiquity of all Greek and Roman cults of importance an undisputed fact, but also the retention of obscure and local cults, ceremonies, usages and forms which were no longer intelligible is amply attested in the case of so many different lands that, considering this extremely tenacious vitality of religious tradition, any great or essential diminution of it in the course of centuries appears on the whole inconceivable.

The Roman ritual was preserved, at least in great measure, down to the last days of antiquity, in forms which owed their origin to a period anterior to the beginnings of Roman history, and are based upon those very ancient ideas of the world of gods prevalent in Latium long before the Roman religion was inundated by the Greek. The liturgical hymns, in part unintelligible even to the priests who year by year chanted them according to instructions, contained the invocations of the gods under the names given to them by the oldest settlers on the hills on the bank of the Tiber, now long since obsolete ; year in, year out, a religious ceremony, of equally high antiquity, was performed by the priests with the same punctilious accuracy. The stations (*mansiones*) for the procession of the priests called *Salii*, in which the

ancilia (sacred shields) were deposited for one night, were probably restored after 382. The calendar of Philocalus (compiled in 354 from official sources) still specifies a considerable number of the religious festivals supposed to have been instituted by Numa (i.e. in existence from time immemorial), as state festivals celebrated in Rome at that time. The oldest cults were just those which survived the longest, 'when the more spiritual worships of historic times had long since fallen victims to the religion of the cross'; for instance, the procession on March 16 and 17 to the twenty-four chapels of the Argei (puppets of rushes or straw), which were hurled into the Tiber on May 13 (customs undoubtedly referring to the incoming and death of the spirit of spring); and the sacrifice of a horse (*October equus*) crowned with loaves (for whose head two of the oldest regions of the city contended) which took place at the harvest thanksgiving (October 15) on the Campus Martius. The equally ancient festival of Lupercalia lasted till 494, the day of its celebration (February 15) being changed by Pope Gelasius I into the festival of the purification of Mary.

But the continuance for a thousand years of forms of cult, unaltered and as it were fossilized, is most clearly shown by the minutes of the *fratres Arvales* (the field-brethren), the only surviving acts of a religious association. This brotherhood, usually composed in imperial times of men of the highest rank and the emperors themselves, celebrated in May a three days' festival in honour of the 'divine goddess' (*Dea Dia*, a very old name for the maternal earth-goddess, dispenser of the blessing of corn) to secure the growth of the seed then beginning to sprout, in her sacred grove of primeval trees as yet untouched by the axe, situated five miles from Rome on the road to Campania. Whenever an iron axe was used within the precincts of the grove; when a tree was blown down, or fell from decay or was struck by lightning; whenever, in fact, any iron implement was brought into it, a propitiatory offering was necessary; the prohibition of the use of iron is to be explained by the fact that at the time to which these ritual laws go back, the metal was unknown. Among the solemnities of the second day of the festival, the priests shut themselves up in the temple and touched certain pots, with fervent prayers and adjurations. The most recent

discoveries in the grove of the Arvales have brought to light potsherds of rudest manufacture, fashioned by hand without the aid of the potter's wheel, which are only found elsewhere in Latium under the peperin (i.e. the lava of the long-extinct volcanoes of the Alban mountain range). 'They were evidently the pots for boiling the grain, at a time when corn, instead of being made into bread, was beaten to a pulp'. Later in the day, the priests, after all who were not members of the college had left the temple, shut themselves up in the sanctuary, tucked up their tunics for the dance, and sang or recited a prayer to Mars and the Lares (or Lases) to avert destruction 'in Latin which must have been obsolete 400 years before Cicero, and was as unintelligible to them as the Kyrie Eleison to the sacristan; for which reason the service-book was handed to each priest beforehand by the attendants'. The text of this litany, contained in a protocol drawn up in 218 during the reign of Heliogabalus (Elagabalus) is the oldest known document in the Latin language. At that time perhaps a thousand years had passed since the 'field-brethren' had invoked Dea Dia for the first time. In the course of these thousand years, the face of the inhabited world was almost entirely changed. The city on the Tiber, once a country village, had become the centre of a world-empire; its morning and noon had passed, its evening was at hand. The occupant of the throne set up by Augustus was a priest of the sun from Syria, a thoroughly despised and frequently humiliated country. And yet still could be heard the ancient chant, the words of which the kings of Rome had once listened to with reverence—

Help us, O Lases!

O Mars, Mars, let not death and destruction overtake so many!

Be sated, O cruel Mars!

In the rest of Italy, also, very ancient local cults held their ground with the same tenacity against all destructive influences; in upper Italy Celtic, in the district of Verona Raetian, in Toscana Etruscan, especially the cult of Nortia, the goddess of destiny, at Volsinii (Bolsena). Juvenal speaks of Nortia as the patron goddess of Sejanus, who was a native of Volsinii, and as late as the fourth century the Volsinian Rufius Festus Avienus (proconsul of Africa 366, of Achaia

372, and a poet of repute) calls himself a worshipper of Nortia. Similarly, other families from Italian towns who had settled in Rome clung to their native cults, the Turpiliani to that of Feronia, chiefly worshipped at Terracina and Soractē, but also at many other places in Italy. The goddess Vacuna, by whose ruined temple in the neighbourhood of his Sabine farm Horace dictated the epistle to his friend Aristius Fuscus, was worshipped at several places in Sabine territory; her most famous sanctuary was a grove in the plain of Rieti, where the Velino flows into the Veline lake. On the other hand, the reputation of other local divinities, like that of the aldermen of small towns, as Tertullian scoffingly remarks, did not extend beyond the outskirts; thus the cult of Delventinus was limited to Casinum, of Numiternus to Atina, of Visidianus to Narnia, of Ancharia to Asculum, of Valentia to Ocriculum, of Hostia to Sutrium. A temple of the goddess Cupra in the town of the same name on the coast of Picenum was restored by Hadrian. Curious festivals, attended by crowds of pilgrims and sightseers from all quarters, and singular usages continued in existence in different places. As late as the time of Marcus Aurelius the priesthood of Diana of Nemi was bestowed upon the man who, after he had broken off a branch from a certain tree in her grove, slew the holder of the office for the time being in a duel; at that time the candidates for this reward of blood were runaway slaves.

The astonishingly numerous and manifold local cults, in great part also dating from remote antiquity, often singular, sometimes barbarous and even horrible, which continued to exist in Greece, are known to us chiefly from Plutarch, Pausanias, and inscriptional monuments. Some characteristic examples will be sufficient to show the superabundance and manysidedness of the Greek cults, and the amazing tenacity with which immemorial traditions held their ground. At Patrae, the festival of Artemis Laphria was celebrated in the following manner. Round the large sacrificial altar green trunks of trees, each sixteen ells long, were planted in a circle within which piles of the driest wood were heaped up. On the first day a magnificent procession took place, in which the maiden priestess of Artemis, on a car drawn by stags, brought up the rear. On the second day the sacrifice took place, to which both the township and individuals vied with each other

in contributing. All the victims were thrown alive on the altar, consisting of edible birds, wild boars, deer, roe, wolves and bears and their cubs ; then the fire was lighted. If a bear or other animal succeeded in getting loose and escaping, it was at once dragged back again, yet no one was ever injured by any of these animals.

In the same town, an image of Dionysus Aesymnetes (‘ president ’) was worshipped ; it was enclosed in a chest which, according to the legend, had been carried away from Troy at the time of its capture. Nine men, chosen by the people from the most distinguished inhabitants, and the same number of women, conducted the service. On a fixed night during the festival, the priest carried the chest out of the temple. Then all the children went out of the city to the river Melichus, their heads crowned with ears of corn. According to the legend, it was in this manner that the children who were sacrificed to Artemis were crowned in olden times. They deposited the crowns at the feet of Artemis, bathed in the river, wreathed their heads with ivy, and then repaired to the temple of Dionysus. Near the river Crathis there was a sanctuary of ‘ the broad-bosomed earth-goddess ’ with a very old image of wood. The priestesses were obliged to live a chaste life, and those appointed to the office must have known only one man. The truth of their declaration was proved by a draught of bull’s blood ; those who failed to stand the ordeal were instantly punished. When several candidates were equally qualified, the selection was decided by lot. At Titanē in Sicyonia there was a temple of Asclepius, much frequented by sick persons who lived in the neighbourhood ; inside the temple precincts stood some old cypress trees. Only the head, hands and feet of the image were to be seen ; the rest of the body was wrapped in a woollen shirt and cloak. A statue of Hygiea (Health) by its side was completely covered with women’s hair, cut off in honour of the goddess, and with strips of Babylonian raiment. Hard by was an altar of the winds, to which the priest offered sacrifice one night in every year, at the same time secretly throwing victims into four pits to assuage the fury of the winds ; he also sang incantations, composed, it was said, by the old enchantress Medea. At Troezen, near the temple of the Muses, there was an altar of Sleep, to whom sacrifice was

offered as well as to the Muses, since this god was said to be their greatest favourite. But the chief object of worship at Troezen was Hippolytus, the son of Theseus, to whom a magnificent temple was erected. The inhabitants denied that he had met his death by being dragged along by his horses ; they asserted that he had been carried up to heaven, where he was to be seen in the constellation Auriga (Charioteer). His priest held office for life, and a yearly festival was celebrated in his honour ; every maiden cut off a lock of her hair before marriage and deposited it in his temple. At the festivals of Dionysus the outward signs of religious frenzy, the eating of raw meat, the strangling and tearing to pieces of snakes by the Bacchantes still continued. The shedding of human blood, obligatory in certain cults, was a survival of human sacrifice. According to the legend credited by Pausanias, the image of Artemis Orthia at Sparta was the very one that Orestes had carried off from the temple at Tauri ; the goddess still required her altar to be sprinkled with human blood, for which purpose youths were still flogged at her altar till they bled. The priestess held the little wooden image of the goddess in her arm ; if the scourgers flogged a boy lightly owing to his beauty or rank, it grew so heavy that she could not carry it. Plutarch says that even in his time many died under the blows ; those who bore the flogging most unflinchingly were distinguished for life by the title of ' conquerors at the altar.' At Alca in Arcadia, during a festival of Dionysus, women were flogged in obedience to an utterance of the Delphic oracle. At Orchomenus in Boeotia, at the Agrionia, the priest of Dionysus, sword in hand, every year pursued the supposed female descendants of the curse-laden daughters of Minyas ; he was at liberty to kill the woman whom he caught, as the priest Zoilus actually did in Plutarch's time. But this pious frenzy brought down the wrath of the gods not only upon Zoilus, who died of a horrible disease, but also upon the city, which was grievously afflicted ; the inhabitants deprived the family of Zoilus of the priesthood, which was subsequently conferred by election. According to Lactantius, human sacrifices were offered to Zeus in Cyprus, until Hadrian forbade them ; even under Marcus Aurelius it was believed that they were secretly offered to Zeus Lycacus in Arcadia. In Rhodes, also, a human victim is said to have been offered to

Cronus every year, usually a criminal deserving of death (as at the festival of Jupiter Latiaris in Rome).

Our knowledge of the state of religion in Greece, down to the end of the second century and even later, as already observed, gives us the impression that the intrusion of new foreign cults no more affected or changed the essential character of the native cults than the introduction of the worship of Adonis, Cybele and Ammon in earlier times. And yet the rites of the Egyptian divinities, Isis, Osiris and Serapis (introduced at least as early as the fourth century B.C.) enjoyed a great popularity and reputation on the Greek continent as well as the islands. About the time of the birth of Christ, the worship of the Syrian Aphrodite and of the Syrian Adad and Atergatis (sun-god and earth-goddess) were associated with these in Delos ; traces of Mithras worship have been found in Athens and Thera ; and Lucian's jokes about the motley crowd of gods makes it probable that many other eastern gods had found a home in Greece. Bendis, Anubis, Mithras and others are present at the discussion concerning Providence. In much-frequented harbours at least, such as Corinth and Rhodes, foreign cults must have been numerous, while in the desolate and unvisited interior the old cults probably maintained a more or less exclusive ascendancy. If it is certain that countless old Roman and Greek cults continued to exist in the times of the theocrasy, it is no less certain that regular participation in religious worship was everywhere so general, that entire omission of the usual sacred rites gave offence or attracted attention as exceptional. The philosopher Demonax was even accused at Athens, since no one ever saw him offer sacrifice and he alone had not been initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries ; yet he knew how to calm the storm that threatened him in the assembly, where many had stones ready to hurl at him. Sicinius Aemilianus of Oea, the accuser of Apuleius, was called Mezentius (the name of the well-known 'despiser of the gods' in Virgil) for his notorious impiety. He had never prayed to a god, never entered a temple ; when he passed a sanctuary, he never so much as showed his respect by kissing his hand. He never even offered a portion of the harvest nor the firstlings of the flock to the gods of the country, who clothed and nourished him ; his property contained no sanctuary, no grove, nor consecrated ground. Those who had visited it

declared that not even a stone was to be seen sprinkled with fragrant essences nor a branch of a tree hung with garlands. Martial commended the sanctuaries on his little property at Nomentum to the care of a certain Marius, to whom he had transferred it; the pines and holm-oaks dedicated to the Fauns, the altars of Jupiter and Silvanus ('often stained with the blood of a lamb or a goat') erected by the inexperienced hand of the bailiff; further, chapels or temples of Diana and Mars and a laurel-grove sacred to Flora. He hoped that Marius, when offering sacrifice, would also commend him to the care of the gods and beg them to grant both what one of them might wish. From youth upwards familiarity with an enormous number of forms of ritual exercised an irresistible influence on Roman life. Children of tender years, says Prudentius (end of the fourth century) tasted the sacrificial meal, saw the smoke-begrimed images of the Lares sprinkled with fragrant essences, their mothers praying anxiously before the statue of the goddess of destiny with the *cornu copiæ* (horn of plenty), and, while still in their nurses' arms, kissed the images of the gods and addressed them in childish prayers.

The universal practice of sacrificing on all joyful occasions is amply attested for all classes of society. Persius ridicules property owners who pray to Mercury for the increase of their live stock, and at the same time diminish it by the frequent sacrifice of heifers. Whenever a senator was promoted to consular rank, 'the fore-court of the palace smoked with the blood of young steers'. During the absence of Augustus from Rome a senator named Rufus, in a moment of intoxication, let slip the joke that all the bulls and calves prayed that he might never return. A similar jest concerning the prayers of the white cows during the campaigns of Marcus Aurelius has already been mentioned. Juvenal offered sacrifice for the deliverance of his friend Catullus from the perils of the sea to the three Capitoline divinities—two lambs and a young ox; had he been rich, he would have substituted a fat steer of noble breed for the ox. The fees paid by the faithful for admission to the temples, for the offering of the sacrifice, and the throwing in of the gift, often made the office of priest a very lucrative one; hence they were farmed on account of the state or community, and even sold by auction in some towns of Asia Minor (in Egypt this was done on account of the emperors as

successors of the Ptolemies). A tariff of the sacrificial fees is still in existence. One of the most remarkable results of the spread of Christianity in the province of Pontus (according to Pliny in his well-known letter to Trajan in the year 112) was that the temples, no doubt those of Amisus and the neighbouring localities in the first place, were almost deserted, the sacred festivals were not celebrated, and there was scarcely any demand for sacrificial victims. However, this state of affairs, which both surprised and disquieted Pliny, was somewhat improved by the measures taken by him against the Christians. We may form some idea of the enormous extent to which animals were used for sacrificial purposes from the statement of Suetonius, that as a result of the general rejoicings at the accession of Caligula more than 160,000 victims were sacrificed in Rome alone in less than three months. Even in the time of Prudentius, the Sacred Way resounded with the bellowing of oxen driven to the Capitol for sacrifice.

But above all, it is clear from the numerous inscriptional stones that have been preserved, that pious believers continued to show their zeal and activity on behalf of their faith by building temples and keeping them in repair, by adorning them with images of the gods, and by gifts, offerings and benefactions of every kind. Even at the time when religion is usually supposed to have been at its lowest ebb, Lucretius wrote: 'that awe is still deep-rooted in the minds of men, which has called forth religious belief and the adoration of the gods; which causes new temples of the gods to be erected over the whole earth, and fills them on festal days with crowds of visitors'. Certainly, it is no proof of a general decline of belief that, during a period of uninterrupted and fearful political convulsions, some of the very numerous temples and sanctuaries in Rome were destroyed and their sites illegally appropriated even by private individuals. If the number of those which needed restoration and were actually restored by Augustus in 28 B.C. was really eighty-two, it is a question whether this number should be considered large or small, in view of the total number of such buildings.

The number of buildings, donations and benefactions given by private individuals for religious purposes was enormous, as is shown by inscriptions from Italy and all the provinces. Some of these, no doubt, owe their origin to other than religi-

ous motives ; but it is equally certain that in most cases these pious offerings and gifts were presented to earn or retain the favour of the gods or to quiet an uneasy conscience ; many, according to the inscriptions, were given 'after a vision' or 'by command' or 'admonition' of the divinity in a dream. According to this evidence, we may assume that a considerable number of the temples throughout the empire were built by private individuals at their own expense, who sometimes in addition assigned a capital sum for the upkeep of the building. In Italy especially—where in Appian's time (i.e. under Antoninus Pius) the wealthiest temples, next to that of Jupiter on the Capitol, were those at Antium and Lanuvium, that of Hercules at Tibur, and that of Diana at Aricia—the well-to-do inhabitants of municipal towns vied with their countrymen who had attained high rank at Rome, and with the patrons and other protectors of their towns, in showing their munificence and attachment to their native place ; above all, by providing it with worthy dwellings for the gods. For example, a certain Publius Lucilius Gamala (who lived from about 117 to 180) built or restored seven temples at Ostia—of Vulcan, of Castor and Pollux, of Venus, of Spes (Hope), of Fortune, of Ceres and of father Tiberinus (the deified personification of the Tiber). Martial's friend Caesius Sabinus built a temple for the nymph of a lake at Sassina. A husband and wife at Assisi built a temple, apparently of Castor and Pollux, and in addition provided the statues. In Malta a private individual spent 110,792½ sesterces (about £1,110) on the erection of a marble temple of Apollo. Great landowners also looked after the country temples on their property ; thus, Pliny repaired a ruined temple of Ceres on one of his estates. In addition to entirely new buildings and the restoration and completion of dilapidated sanctuaries, offerings, repairs of individual parts, and special buildings of all kinds (altars, sacrificial kitchens, pillars and capitals, pediments, floors, ornaments, etc.), donations and benefactions for religious purposes are very frequently mentioned on the inscriptional stones.

Images of the gods, some of them very costly, were especially common in temples. Thus, a priestess of Aeclanum presented a silver statue of Felicitas ; a cavalry officer at Formiae bequeathed 100,000 sesterces (about £1,000) for a silver processional car of Minerva weighing 100 lb. with all

accessories ; probably the temple statue of the goddess was also of precious metal. A woman left directions in her will for the erection of the statue of a god, weighing 100 lb., in a certain temple in her native town, with her name subscribed ; the question then arose, whether her heirs might provide one of bronze or whether they would be compelled to make one of silver or gold. The famous jurist Cervidius Scaevola (tutor of Septimius Severus), in view of the fact that all the offerings in the temple were of silver or bronze, decided that the statue must be of silver. A silver statuette of Mercury at Lambaesis cost 14,000 sesterces (about £140), a silver statue at Hippo Regius more than 51,000, a similar one at Vienne 100,000. Pious believers who were unable to offer such expensive gifts, had the images of divinities at least gilded, entirely or in part, e.g. the feet, but especially the face or beard. Thus at Corfinium 'a servant (female) of the great mother had the great mother repaired and gilded, the hair of Attis gilded and Bel-lona repaired' ; at the same time the priest of Attis had an altar and silver moon made for him.

Further, the images of the gods were provided with articles of clothing, attributes, ornaments and valuables according to the means of the worshipper. In his youth the emperor Galba dreamed that Fortuna stood before his door, seeking admission ; on awaking he found a bronze statue of the goddess on the threshold, which he personally removed to his estate at Tusculum, and all his life showed his reverence for it by monthly supplications and a yearly vigil. Shortly before his death he kept ready a carefully selected necklace of pearls and precious stones to adorn the statue, but finally resolved to offer it to Venus on the Capitol ; whereupon Fortuna appeared to him in a dream and threatened to take back her gifts. As a rule such pious gifts were, of course, intended for temple statues. For instance, in a temple at Puteoli a certain person, prompted by a dream, had a snake (probably that of Aesculapius) made at his own expense. An *augustalis*¹ of Ariminum left instructions in his will for the erection of a statue, apparently of a Bacchant (in a temple of Bacchus) with a golden necklace, a thyrsus, and a silver goblet 2½ lb. in weight. At Reii (Riez in the south of France) a man and his wife, in

¹ The *augustales* were a religious association at Rome, which kept up the worship of the deified emperors.

fulfilment of a vow, offered to Aesculapius, 'to show their gratitude for the surprising effect of the power of the god which they had themselves experienced,' a bronze statue of the god of sleep (they had perhaps been cured of sleeplessness) and some valuables—a gold chain of little snakes and a silver writing tablet. At Acci in Hispania Tarraconensis a grandmother, in honour of her granddaughter, offered Isis a statue or some other offering, weighing $112\frac{3}{4}$ lb. of silver, besides a set of pearls, emeralds and other precious stones for the head, neck and other parts of the body, including, according to the list, two emeralds and two pearls for the ears; two diamond rings for the little finger; a ring with emeralds, various stones and a pearl for the next finger; an emerald ring for the middle finger; eight precious stones cut in the form of a cylinder, for the shoes. Frequently (as at Riez) statues of other gods than those to which they were consecrated were presented to the temples; and donations were given, which had no reference to the cult, but were intended to enhance the beauty and magnificence of the temples, and to increase their stock of treasures. Thus, a citizen of Rhegium bequeathed to the temple of Apollo in his native place a small parchment book with ivory covers, an ivory case, and nineteen pictures.

The fact that gold and silver votive offerings (some of them very valuable) even in second-rate towns of both east and west (such as Ostia) are frequently mentioned; that the gifts of Augustus to five temples in Rome (those of Jupiter Capitolinus, Divus Julius, Apollo, Vesta, and Mars the Avenger) from the spoils of war, reached a total value of about 100,000,000 sesterces (about £1,000,000); that old and damaged temple gifts, used by Hadrian for the construction of a statue at Lanuvium, amounted to 3 lb. of gold and 206 lb. of silver; these and similar considerations would justify the assumption that the Roman empire probably contained not a few temples whose votive offerings were not inferior in number and value to those of the former treasure-chapel of the Casa Santa (Holy-House) at Loreto. Such treasures, in addition to the moneys and valuables frequently deposited in consecrated buildings, needed protection, for which purpose the military posts already mentioned were established near the temples. Those temples, whose divinities, in accordance with resolutions of the senate or imperial decrees, could be appointed heirs, were probably

the wealthiest : such were those of Jupiter on the Capitol, of Apollo at Miletus, of Mars in Gaul (?), of Minerva at Ilium, of Hercules at Gades, of Diana at Ephesus, of the Mother of the Gods from Sipylus at Smyrna, and of the 'heavenly (moon) goddess' at Carthage.

Nor were the priests and temple attendants forgotten. In reference to the clause in a lady's will, desiring her heirs to pay the sum of 10 *denarii* 'to the priest, the caretaker and the other freedmen' of a certain temple, 'on the day of the yearly market instituted by her in the neighbourhood,' Scaevola decided that the payment must be made annually.

There is no doubt that the worship of images, the contemplation of the divinity present in the image, which irresistibly influenced even rebellious and wavering souls, and the possibility of adoring the divinity in person and in some sort holding communication with him face to face, more than anything else in the cult tended to maintain and strengthen belief. Although some philosophers, like Seneca, rejected the worship of images, others, like Maximus of Tyre, insisted, with much reason, that the weakness of human nature, which is as far removed from God as earth is from heaven, needed signs perceptible by the senses in order to grasp the idea of the divinity, and that few could dispense with them. He added that the most worthy of all the different symbols of the divine beings in use amongst different peoples was the human form, as bearing the greatest likeness to God.

We need no evidence to show that the naïve belief of the masses instinctively and unconsciously transformed the image into the god himself, and that each god was split up into as many personalities as there were famous images of him. Similarly, the modern Italian believes in different Madonnas, the modern Greek in different Panagias. Even at the present day in Greece and the south of Italy ancient images of the gods are worshipped as local patron saints ; e.g. a mutilated Ariadne at Monteleone as Santa Venere, who is especially invoked in diseases of women. The removal of a colossal statue of Demeter from Eleusis in 1801 (now at Cambridge), to whose beneficence the blessings of the harvest were attributed, called forth as loud laments as the removal of Ceres from Enna by Verres, an outrage which was regarded throughout Sicily as the cause of the ruin of agriculture. In ancient times the lips, hands

and feet of the images of the gods were perceptibly worn by the frequent osculations of the devout. Suppliants begged the attendant to put them as close to the ear of the image as possible, that they might obtain a better hearing ; they whispered into it prayers and vows which they wished to keep secret ; they attached waxen tablets on which their vows were recorded to the knees of the image, that the god might not forget the object of their desires. But if their prayers were not granted, they cursed and threatened the gods, as the Christians in late times the saints. Paulinus of Nola, quite in accordance with reality, tells how a peasant rudely informs St. Felix that he expects him to recover his two oxen that had been stolen ; ' the martyr was greatly amused at the peasant's uncouthness, and he and the Lord laughed at his abuse '. Similarly, according to Epictetus, farmers, when the weather was bad, and sailors when there was a storm, hurled curses at Jupiter.

But disappointed suppliants, whether in ancient or modern times, were not content with simple curses. Wherever, and in whatever form, image worship has existed or still exists, believers have at all times vented their wrath upon the images of their gods or saints, when their prayers are unheard and their hopes of assistance unfulfilled. The old Arcadians thrashed their god Pan, when they returned from the chase empty-handed ; the Ostiak and the Laplander maltreat their idols and break them to pieces, should misfortune overtake them ; the *lazzarone* of Naples kicks the saints with whom he is dissatisfied ; the Spaniard throws his *virgen* (image of the Virgin) into the water ; the Bavarian peasant flings the wooden image of the Lord on the dung-heap if the hailstorm does not cease. In the south of Italy and Sicily, saints who do not send the longed-for rain in time of drought are frequently bound with cords and thrown into the water. During the Napoleonic campaigns, an old Bavarian battalion made St. Peter run the gauntlet, since he had refused them an easy march. An old Spanish lady of high descent (in 1871) flogged St. Martial (field-marshal of the Spanish army) with her riding whip on the day when the Carlists were obliged to lay down their arms. These examples show that such excesses are the necessary accompaniments of image worship ; and it can only be an accident that only a single instance is recorded of such an outbreak of rage in later antiquity. The manner in which it

is described by Suetonius makes it clear that he saw nothing remarkable in it. When the disquieting reports of the illness of Germanicus were followed by the rumour of his recovery, all the inhabitants, in spite of the lateness of the hour, flocked to the Capitol with lights and sacrificial victims ; the gates of the temple were almost burst open, since the people thought they could not fulfil their vows quickly enough ; on the day of his death, on the other hand, stones were hurled at the temples, altars of the gods thrown down, the domestic *Lares* flung into the streets. In this case, also, we see that the belief in the existence as well as in the power of the gods was such that nothing could shake it.

The extent to which the popular belief, unreflecting and unhesitating, was able to carry out and maintain the identification of the image with the divinity can hardly be determined. What so excited Seneca's indignation, on a chance visit to the Capitol, was partly the antiquated ritual, and partly the childish belief, incomprehensible to him, which saw the divinity himself in the image. And yet the expressions of this belief were hardly more singular or ridiculous than those already mentioned. According to the ancient religious usage, the Capitoline deities were waited upon by different persons ; Jupiter had his lictor, a servant to tell the hours of the day, and another to anoint him. Just as the latter, by waving his arms in the air, represented the operation in dumb show, so the temple attendants of Juno and Minerva moved their hands, as if dressing the goddesses' hair, while others held a mirror in front of them. On the other hand, those ' who called upon the gods to assist them in court, submitted their petitions and laid their case before them ', were evidently suppliants. Seneca also saw women sitting on the Capitol, who (probably in consequence of dreams) believed themselves beloved of Jupiter and awaited his pleasure. These and similar practices, such as the bestowal of offices upon the gods, the clothing of their images in the garb of senators and high officials, the march of the lictors before them with bundles of rods in processions, are not more surprising than their modern parallels. Thus, in Spain, the highest orders are bestowed upon Madonnas ; at Lisbon, on Corpus Christi day, St. George of Cappadocia marches at the head of the Portuguese army accompanied by pages and equerries with led horses ; in Mexico, the holy virgin of Guada-

loupe was appointed field-marshal (with a salary which was paid for fourteen years) of the insurgent army fighting against the Spaniards by its leader Hidalgo ; the holy Virgin dos Dolores was raised by Don Carlos to the same rank (in 1834). Thus, like all image worship in its lowest form, that of the period with which we are concerned had assumed the character of gross idolatry. A ceremony, which down to 1864 took place annually in the church of Santa Maria del Carmine in the *Mercato* at Naples was even more singular than the toilettes of the Capitoline goddesses alluded to by Seneca. On the second day of the Christmas festivities, in presence of the authorities and a great crowd of people, the hair and beard of a figure of the Saviour was solemnly cut ; this was called *far la barba di Gesù*.

Thus, polytheism was still sufficient for the religious needs of mankind in ancient times, while, in order to satisfy the infinite variety of its tendencies, it split up into a number of forms corresponding to the countless stages of development of the spiritual conscience. However great the contrast between the faith of a Plutarch and a Marcus Aurelius and that of the sailors and peasants who cursed Jupiter during bad weather, all had an equally firm belief in the same gods, in their power and solicitude for mankind. The difference between the most divergent forms of belief at that time was no greater than that which existed in Christianity between the highest and lowest conception of the divine.

II. JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY

The expansive power of Polytheism found its limits in the strict and intolerant exclusiveness of the monotheistic religions, with which agreement was impossible. What polytheists regarded as the highest and holiest was condemned by both Judaism and Christianity as horrible, accursed and soul-destroying. All that is holy amongst us, says Tacitus, is unholy amongst the Jews ; what we consider impure is lawful with them. He calls them a people given to superstition, averse from religion. Both Jews and Christians looked upon the gods to whom the heathen prayed as dead idols or evil demons. Greeks and Romans, 'who conceived the divine

fulness of life as a totality, a world, of gods', were incapable of understanding the belief which removes the divinity, solitary and almost incomprehensibly sublime, to an inaccessible distance, and separates him from adoring humanity by an immense gulf that can never be bridged. The heaven of Judaism and Christianity affected them like 'a cold wilderness'; the belief in one god was to them the negation of all that was divine—ungodliness; Christians and atheists were equally hated by the polytheistic heathens and often coupled together as enemies of religion; both Christians and Jews were reproached with hatred of the human race.

We are here only concerned with Judaism and Christianity as contrasted with paganism, and in so far as they acted and reacted upon one another. In the endeavour to obtain a general view of the state of religion under the early empire it is indispensable to indicate their position within the world-wide empire of Rome, and the circumstances which essentially favoured or hindered the progress of their doctrines, although only the most salient points can here be touched upon.

The relation of the two monotheistic religions to polytheism was very different. Although both condemned paganism absolutely and without restriction, yet only Christianity was really hostile to it. Judaism, a religion 'admirably fitted for defence, but never designed for conquest' (Gibbon), preferred isolation to an attempt to propagate its doctrines at the expense of paganism. The Jewish communities, dispersed throughout the empire and yet closely united, certainly had a certain attraction for paganism, but never injured it to such an extent as to imperil its existence; and in spite of occasional friction and conflicts the relations between Judaism and paganism were in the main peaceful.

The spread of Christianity was from the outset most effectively promoted by the dispersion of the Jews throughout the ancient world. This dispersion had begun early, and even in pre-Christian times had made great progress. In a Sibylline oracle (composed towards the end of the second century B.C.) it is asserted that every land and every sea was full of the Jewish people. Strabo says that 'even in Sulla's time a Jewish element had penetrated into every city, and there is hardly a place in the world which has not admitted this people and is not possessed by it'; according to Josephus, there was no

people on earth without a Jewish element. The *Acts of the Apostles* mentions as Jews and akin to Jews, people 'out of every nation under heaven', who heard the apostles speaking with tongues in Jerusalem: Parthians, Medes, Elamites, dwellers in Mesopotamia, Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia, Phrygia, Pamphylia, Egypt, Cyrene, Rome, Crete and Arabia. King Herod Agrippa, in a letter to Caligula, enumerates the countries in which there were Jewish colonies: Egypt, Phoenicia, Syria, Coele-Syria, Pamphylia, Cilicia, most of Asia as far as Bithynia, and the coasts of the inmost bays of the Black Sea; in Europe, Thessaly, Boeotia, Macedonia, Aetolia, Attica, Argos, Corinth, most of the countries (and those the best) of Peloponnesus; of the islands, Euboea, Cyprus, Crete; lastly, the countries beyond the Euphrates, and Libya.

But there is no direct evidence that the Jewish emigration was especially or to any great extent prompted by commercial motives; there is nothing to support this idea, but much to contradict it. The fact that the towns in which Jews are known to have settled were for the most part commercial centres proves nothing, since they offered the most favourable and varied opportunities for every occupation, especially industrial. Further, there is no trace in ancient times of a preference amongst the Jews for the trade which lives on the sale of the work of others; in the sixty-three tractates of the Talmud, which accords an honourable recognition to manual labour and occupation, there is not a word in honour of trade, but many allusions to the dangers of money-making and a wandering life. 'The Jews were always an industrious people. As long as they formed a state agriculture, horticulture and handicraft were their chief occupations. Even in the early centuries of the Christian era and after their dispersion they remained faithful to their old habits; at the beginning of the second century Josephus praises the industry of his compatriots in handicraft and agriculture'. 'In Roman literature and the laws of the emperors there are no indications that the Jews had given themselves up to petty retail trade, or had become a mercantile people at all. Their miserable condition in Rome and the great revolts in Egypt, Cyrene and the Greek islands are arguments to the contrary: a population engaged in trade does not generally have recourse to arms'. How far the

charges (certainly to be received with caution) of avarice, cheating, malice and perfidy, so commonly brought by Christian writers of the fourth and fifth centuries against the Jews, justify us in concluding that they then engaged in commerce to a greater extent than in earlier times, cannot be decided.

Outside the Roman empire, the kingdom of Parthia contained the largest Jewish element. In its Greek towns, of which Seleucia on the Tigris, said to contain 500,000 inhabitants, was the most important commercial centre beyond the Roman frontiers, there were frequent conflicts between the three nations (Greeks, Syrians and Jews) which made up their populations; for example, in the reign of Caligula the Jews were expelled from Seleucia and other cities under the eyes of the Parthian government. They were reckoned by millions in Mesopotamia, Media and Babylonia; Nisibis and Nehardea on the Euphrates were their chief seats, and after the suppression of the last national efforts in Palestine Babylonia became the centre of a new Jewish life, which spread over all parts of the Persian empire. In Palmyra also there were Jews, probably in large numbers; the community which is known to have existed there in the third century A.D. appears to have survived till the middle ages, since Benjamin of Tudela in the twelfth century attests its existence; some pillars and architraves with the inscription 'Hear, O Israel' have been found there. Zenobia and her son Baballath Athenodorus were not ill-disposed to the Jews, as is shown by their confirmation of the right of asylum in a synagogue in lower Egypt (granted by Ptolemy Euergetes I [247-221] or II [146-117]). In Arabia, also, according to the statements of Jewish, Byzantine and Arabian authorities, there are many traces of extensive ramifications of the Jewish movement. The last king of the Jewish Homerites (Himyarites) in south-western Arabia (whose kingdom lasted from 465 to 525 A.D.), Dimnus (Dhu Nowas), was a zealous defender of the faith. Thence Judaism spread to the Aethiopians and Axumites. The formerly independent Jews, who inhabited the island of Iotaba in the Arabian gulf, were subdued by Justinian. The Jewish settlements in Abyssinia appear to be of great antiquity. When Frumentius introduced Christianity there in 315, they are said to have formed half the population.

Within the limits of the Roman empire (Palestine excepted) the Jewish population appears to have been largest in Asia Minor, Phoenicia and Syria. Of the population of Antioch, especially, the Jewish colony settled there by Seleucus Nicator formed a very important contingent, and its chief synagogue is described by Josephus as of remarkable magnificence. As in Alexandria, they enjoyed a certain amount of independence and a privileged position, and the fact that both cities were centres of the Jewish *Diaspora* was an important element in their development. As late as the end of the fourth century, as is proved by the homilies of John Chrysostom against the Jews, their community possessed dangerous powers of attraction for the Christian church. Here they were also visited as physicians. In Damascus 10,000 or 18,000 Jews are said to have been massacred in the Jewish war.

King Antiochus the Great had already transplanted 2,000 Jewish families from Mesopotamia to Asia Minor, which in olden times had been one of the chief seats of the *Diaspora*, to form the nucleus of a brave and trustworthy population for Lydia and Phrygia. One or two of the synagogues of foreign communities in Jerusalem belonged to the Jews from Asia and Cilicia. In Ionia, Ephesus in early times had a numerous Jewish community, which about the middle of the first century B.C. managed to secure various privileges. Inscriptions attest the existence of synagogal communities in Smyrna and Phocaea; the latter honoured the builder (female) of the oratory and surrounding wall of the court of the synagogue with a golden crown and a place of honour. There were also Jewish communities in Caesar's time in Sardes (where they had their own court of justice), in Miletus and Halicarnassus. At Hierapolis in Phrygia payments of fines to the Jewish community for the desecration of graves were instituted, and a certain Publius Aelius Glycon left sums of money to two artisan guilds for the decoration of his grave at Passover and Pentecost. Coins of the reigns of Septimius Severus, Macrinus and Philip, on which Noah is represented in the ark with the raven and the dove with the olive branch, attest the influence of the Jewish community in Apamea (Κιβωτός). In 62 B.C. the praetor, Gnaeus Flaccus, in accordance with his prohibition of the export of gold, publicly sequestered nearly 100 pounds of gold from the tax intended

for the temple at Jerusalem ; and this can hardly have been the whole sum. Smaller sums of the same kind were confiscated in Laodicea, Adramyttium and Pergomus. At Acmonia in Phrygia the Jewish community in the time of Nero honoured different persons who had rendered service in building the synagogue—amongst them Julia Severa, a chief priestess of the imperial cult. About the end of the first century, a certain Ptolemaeus erected a burial ground for the Jews at Tlos in Lycia, as a thankoffering for his son having been raised to the dignity of archon in the community. Paul preached in the Jewish schools at Antioch in Pisidia and Iconium in Lycaonia. The Jews were numerous in Cilicia, whose chief town, Tarsus, was the birthplace of the apostle Paul ; also in Armenia. In the second century A.D. they are said to have immigrated (from Persia) to China : Mohammedan travellers speak of Jews living there in the ninth century ; Marco Polo refers to their influence in China in 1286. According to the statement of a Jesuit in the previous century their descendants remained ' true to their religion, character and customs ' ; and even at the present day they are not extinct.

Of the Greek islands Crete and Melos (where catacombs of a Christian community of the third century have been found) are mentioned as the residences of well-to-do Jewish populations, who, under Augustus, liberally supported a pretender, who gave himself out to be Alexander, who had been murdered by Herod ; the second wife of Josephus was a Jewess from Crete ' of very noble family, whose parents were highly respected in the island '. Caesar permitted religious unions of Jews in Delos and elsewhere ; Jews also lived in Cos and Paros. Euboea and Cyprus are mentioned in the letter of Agrippa ; in the latter island (where the community of Salamis, in particular, is known from the *Acts*) the Jews were numerous, down to the year 116 ; but after the atrocities committed during the insurrection, they were forbidden to enter the island again. In Greece and Macedonia, the communities of Athens, Corinth, Thessalonica, Beroea and Philippi are also known from the *Acts*. Two edicts of Arcadius (397) and the younger Theodosius (412), addressed to the prefect of Illyricum (Dacia and Macedonia), ordered that the Jews in the country should not be disturbed nor their synagogues injured. Before Theodosius II., who banished them from Constantinople, their

synagogue was in the place called Chalcostrateia ('copper-ware market'), so called from their workshops. They also spread over the northern shores of the Black Sea at an early date. In the Crimea, two Jewish communities are known from inscriptions: at Panticapaeum (Kertch) about 81 A.D., and at Gorgippia (Anapa) about 41 A.D.; in the slave emancipation acts of these districts (written in Greek) it is made a condition that those emancipated should remain true to Judaism.

According to Philo, the Jewish population of Egypt amounted to 1,000,000, or more than an eighth of the entire population. They were spread over the whole country as far as the frontier of Aethiopia. Alexander the Great had already settled Jews in Alexandria and bestowed the citizenship upon them. After his death they immigrated in large numbers. They were well treated by most of the Ptolemies. In Philo's time they chiefly resided in two of the five regions of Alexandria (in the east of the city), but many lived scattered in the other three; in all parts of the city their synagogues, surrounded by trees, were to be seen; they also had their own synagogue at Jerusalem. The chief synagogue in Alexandria, in the form of a basilica with double peristyle, was so large that an attendant had to give the signal with a flag when the congregation had to respond 'Amen' during the prayers and reading of the Scriptures. The Alexandrian Jews were chiefly engaged in commerce and navigation; some, however, in the mechanical trades. The administration of the system of the Nile dues (*potamophylacia*) was entrusted to them by the Ptolemies and also by the Roman emperors (at least during the first century. A Jewish community at Athribis in the Delta is known from an inscription of the time of the Ptolemies. According to a papyrus document, belonging to the time of the earlier Ptolemies, found in the *nome* of Arsinoë, the modern Fayyûm, in the village of Phenyris a tax had to be paid 'by the Jews and Hellenes', who formed special groups by the side of the natives. In post-Christian times there was a Jewish street in Oxyrhynchus. In the Thebaid receipts for taxes (second century B.C.) have been found, bearing the names of Jewish tax-farmers. The religious centre of the Egyptian Jews was the temple of Onias (160 B.C.) about 40 kilometres from Memphis; the whole district formed (till 73 A.D.) a small hierarchy.

In the district of Cyrene also, where Ptolemy, son of Lagus, had already established a Jewish settlement, there was a numerous Jewish population, to which one of the five synagogues at Jerusalem belonged. A disturbance was put down by Lucullus. Two thousand of them took part in the attempted revolt under Jonathas in 70 A.D. The community of Berenice, according to an extant decree of honour for a certain Marcus Titius, appears to have had nine chiefs (*archontes*) in the year 13 B.C. During the fearful and widespread revolt of the Jews, which broke out in 116 in Cyrene and Egypt, and at the same time in Cyprus and Mesopotamia, 220,000 are said to have lost their lives in the first two, and 240,000 in the last two countries. The coast-town Boreum on the great Syrtis (Syrtis Major) was for the most part inhabited by Jews; it contained a temple, supposed to have been built by King Solomon and regarded as specially sacred, which was converted by Justinian into a church after they had embraced Christianity. In the province of Africa, where the Jewish community of Carthage seems to have been the largest, the mosaic floor of the synagogue of a town called Naron has recently been discovered, together with Latin inscriptions (of a later period) of those who had it laid down. In west Africa traces of a Jewish community at Sitifi in Mauretania, and of Jewish inhabitants elsewhere (especially at Cirta) are preserved.

The statement of Valerius Maximus that in 139 the praetor, Gnaeus Cornelius Hispallus, expelled from Rome and Italy not only the Chaldaeans but also the Jews, 'who had attempted to taint Roman usages with the rites of Jupiter Sabazius', probably refers to the retinue of the ambassadors sent (140-139) by Judas Maccabaeus to Rome. At that time there were clearly no Jews settled in Italy; the identification of the god of the Jews with Sabazius is to be explained by the fact that the Greek Jews pronounced the name Zebaoth as Sabaoth. Eighty or ninety years later, they formed a considerable element of the population. This was due partly to their removal, after the wars of Pompey and Lucullus, as prisoners *en masse* to Rome, where they were soon set at liberty; partly to the development of more intimate and varied relations between east and west. The accusers of the praetor Flaccus (in 59 B.C.) hoped that their numbers, their perfect union and

their influence would make them valuable allies. The whole region beyond the Tiber was chiefly inhabited by them; probably there was also a synagogue there. The ambassadors of Herod, King of the Jews, to Augustus were supposed to have been accompanied by 8,000 of their co-religionists settled in Rome, and in 19 A.D. 4,000 freedmen of an age to bear arms, 'who were infected by Jewish and Egyptian superstition', were condemned to be deported to Sardinia. Nevertheless, in the year 40 Philo speaks of a community of Jews in Rome, and in the reign of Claudius their numbers had so increased that their expulsion, which was considered advisable owing to the disturbances that broke out amongst them, could only be carried out to a very limited extent; at all events, the apostle Paul found a community of them in Rome. The Roman Jews also had a synagogue in Jerusalem. It is clear from inscriptions that they formed a considerable number (at least seven) of individual, independently organized communities. Each had its own synagogue and council of elders, at the head of which was a president (gerusiarch), its managing officials (archons) being elected partly for life, partly for a fixed term; even minors were eligible for this office. Divine service was under the control of chiefs or rulers of the synagogue (ἀρχισυνάγωγοι), assisted by a servant (ὑπηρέτης, hazzan), the 'father' and 'mother of the synagogue' held honorary positions; the scribes (γραμματεῖς) were not regular officials, and children were eligible for the post. The different communities in Rome had burial grounds in common, five of which are known. The inscriptions are mainly in Greek, some written in an almost unintelligible jargon; some are in Latin, none in Hebrew. The use of Hebrew during these centuries was confined to church matters; the general language of the Jewish *diaspora* was Greek, except in Syria, where Aramaic was spoken. The Roman Jews are occasionally mentioned as miserable vagabonds, beggars and soothsayers. The graves and the general condition of the cemetery discovered by Bosio in 1602 (but since lost sight of) were rude and poor; no fragments of marble or painted work were found except the coarsely painted seven-branched chandelier. On the other hand, in a burial ground on the Appian Way paintings (including even figures from heathen mythology) have been found; their meaning, which is still unsolved, is pro-

bably symbolical. There are also traces of an early Jewish settlement in Portus, probably the birthplace of the Peitan (poeta) Eleazar (beginning of the eighth century), the reputed author of liturgical hymns which are still in use at great festivals in Germany, France and Italy.

In the rest of Italy Puteoli seems to have been a chief seat of the Jews, whence they spread over the cities of Campania. The contents of an earthenware vessel at Pompeii is indicated as *gar(um) cast(imoniale)*, i.e. Kosher fish-sauce (made of fish without scales, in accordance with 'the superstition of the Jews', says Pliny). A wall inscription in a *triclinium* (dining-room), **SODOMA | GOMORA** can only have originated with a Jew or a Christian; a caricature of the judgment of Solomon (perhaps of Alexandrine origin) presupposes acquaintance with Jewish traditions; the names Maria (in a list of slaves) and Martha occur in wall inscriptions. The existence of a community at Capua is proved by the epitaph of a chief of the synagogue; at Venusia by the discovery of Jewish catacombs (of the sixth century), containing the epitaph of a chief physician (*archiater*). During the siege of Naples by Belisarius the Jews offered to supply the city with provisions, and at its capture offered an obstinate and unexpected resistance. Jewish epitaphs have also been found at Tarentum and Fundi. In Apulia and Calabria (the coast formation of which is specially alluded to in a *midrash*), the Jews in the fourth century formed so large a part of the inhabitants, that, according to an imperial decree of the year 398, the communal offices in many towns could not be filled, since the Jews maintained that they were not bound to undertake them. In central and northern Italy, where their settlements are probably as old as in the south, traces of them do not occur till late. In Brixia (Brescia) the epitaph of a 'mother of a synagogue' is proof of the existence of a Jewish community. Theodoric permitted the Jews in Genoa to restore, but not to enlarge their synagogue; he confirmed the rights of the synagogue in Milan, so far as the church was not prejudiced thereby. While he was in Ravenna, a disturbance broke out between Jews and Christians; the latter set fire to the synagogues, but were compelled by the king to restore them. In Bononia (Bologna) the martyrs Agricola and Vitalis were buried in a piece of ground belonging to the Jews amongst their graves; Ambrose had their remains

removed. In Pola also a Jewish epitaph has been preserved ; a Roman epitaph mentions Aquileia as the birthplace of a *gerusiarch*. Gregory the Great (who in his letters also mentions the synagogue at Terracina) writes to the bishop of Luna (in Etruria) not to allow any Jew on his property to own Christian slaves. It is also probable that in early times there were large numbers of Jews in Sicily. The rhetorician Caecilius of Calactē (in the reign of Augustus) was probably a freedman of Jewish origin. They are frequently mentioned in the rescripts of the popes referring to the administration of the estates of the church, which extended over the two Sicilies and Sardinia. According to the letters of Gregory the Great, there were Jewish communities in Palermo, Messina and Agrigentum ; in 594 he had a list drawn up of all the estates on which Jews resided, so that in the case of those who embraced Christianity he might remit a third of the taxes. The deportation under Tiberius led to the establishment of a permanent Jewish colony in Sardinia ; in Cagliari, at least, a Jewish community existed for centuries.

Paul 'intended to visit Spain', which is mentioned in the Mishna and the Talmud, and appears to have carried out his intention ; hence it is probable that Jews lived there at that time. Herodes Antipas, who with his wife, Herodias, was banished to Lugdunum by Caligula in 39, was subsequently removed to Spain, where part of his suite may have settled. With this exception, previous to the council of Illiberis (Elvira ; probably held between 300 and 309), which definitely mentions the Jews, there is only a single trace of them : an epitaph on a Jewish child in Abdera (Adra) in Baetica, which from the form of the letters appears to belong to the beginning of the third century. About 417 there was a considerable Jewish community in Minorca. Sisebut (612-20) was the first to carry out the extremely severe legislation of the Visigoths against the Jews.

From early times, the Jews are also said to have been connected with Gaul. Archelaus, son of Herod, was banished by Augustus to Vienna (Vienne). Amongst the countries said to have been visited by Rabbi Akiba, in order to induce the Jews to take part in the rising of Bar-cocheba, mention is made of Gaul. Hilary of Poitiers (died 366) avoided the greetings of Jews and heretics in the street. In 331, Constan-

tine issued orders to the *decuriones* (members of the senate in municipal towns and colonies) of Cologne, that the Jews, with two or three exceptions (the clergy and officials of the community), should be compelled to undertake the decurionate. The community of Cologne, whose synagogue is first mentioned in 1012, must consequently have been a fairly large one and of some antiquity. Gratian, Valentinian and Theodosius again deprived the Jews of exemption from the decurionate in 383. They do not seem to be mentioned again by Greek and Roman authorities before Apollinaris Sidonius. In the seventh century King Wamba expelled the Jews from Narbo; yet in the ninth they seem to have formed a very wealthy community, which owned the town mills and much land, employed Christian workmen to cultivate the vine, and carried on trade (chiefly with the Arabs in Spain). It is clear from Gregory of Tours' history of the Franks that they were very numerous throughout Gaul in the sixth century, which justifies the conclusion that their settlements there were of high antiquity. When, for instance, in the year 576 the people of Clermont destroyed their synagogue and Bishop Avitus gave them the choice of emigrating or being baptized, more than 500 embraced Christianity; the rest removed to Marseilles. In 582 King Chilperic caused a number of Jews to be baptized at Paris. When King Guntram entered Orleans in 585, the language of the Jews was heard amongst the acclamations of the throng that welcomed him. The only Jewish inscriptions in the Danube countries are two in lower Pannonia.

In England the Jews appear to have been very numerous during the archiepiscopate of Theodore of Canterbury (669-691); hence they must have been settled there at latest after the middle of the seventh century, probably earlier. For lack of information is no proof of the absence of a Jewish population, but rather (after the early middle ages) of its undisturbed existence. Jerome says that they dwelt 'from sea to sea, from the British to the Atlantic Ocean, from west to south, from north to east, all over the world'. They believed that, should the Messiah lead them back to Jerusalem, those of them who were of senatorial or other high rank would come in carriages from Britain, Spain and Gaul, even from its uttermost limits, from the country of the Morini, from the banks of the Rhine.

After the great Jewish war the tax of two *drachmae*, formerly paid to the temple at Jerusalem, had to be given to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus ; this led to vexatious oppression, especially under Domitian ; Nerva treated them more leniently, but did not remit the tax. With this exception, the civil condition of the Jews as such in the Roman empire was not only free from restrictions, but they even enjoyed important privileges. While confirming their fitness to hold offices of state (which at that time was certainly no advantage) Severus and Caracalla expressly exempted them from those which were repugnant to their 'superstition'. Caesar had granted them exemption from military service, a privilege which they must also have enjoyed later. They must have been at least tacitly relieved from participation in the worship of the emperors ; if in this and other respects they had the advantage of the Christians, the reason is that they were still looked upon as a nation, the Christians only as a sect. Augustus, who in the main carried on Caesar's policy of friendliness to the Jews, had ordered that they should not be compelled to appear in a court of law on the Sabbath ; that when distributions of money and corn in Rome fell on a Sabbath, their share should be distributed to them on the following day ; that instead of the oil furnished by the provinces, which they were forbidden to use, a money equivalent should be given to them, a right confirmed to the Jews of Antioch by Vespasian's friend, Mucianus. In addition to the free exercise of their religion, the Jewish communities had the right of administering their own funds, and, to a certain extent at least, jurisdiction over their own members. 'The Jewish ethnarch or patriarch in Palestine, who after the destruction of the Jewish state became the chief of the nation, must have possessed very great authority ; the office was hereditary in the family of Hillel. All the Jewish communities of the dispersion appear to have submitted voluntarily to his jurisdiction. And his powers were so extensive that the fathers of the church were obliged to make serious efforts to show that at the time of Christ the sceptre had already been taken from Judah'. For the Jews he was the chief of the state ; and thus, in spite of the destruction of Jerusalem, they were in a certain sense reconstituted a nation.

If, in spite of all the rights and privileges conceded to them,

we read in Philo that the Jews had to be content with not being treated worse than others, the remark is to be taken as referring to their social position, which certainly on the whole was very unfavourable. This, of course, was chiefly the case in countries where a strong national hatred of them existed ; or it was the direct result of wars and revolts, in which they had shed streams of blood. Thus, the hatred of the Jew expressed by Pliny the elder, Quintilian and Tacitus is to be attributed to the feelings engendered by the Jewish war. But, apart from the wild fanaticism which raged during these despairing struggles, their haughty contempt for all other nations, civilizations and religions, their avoidance of the society of their neighbours, and the manner in which they persistently kept to themselves, were sufficient to make them 'repugnant to all mankind' (I *Thessalonians*, ii, 15, 'contrary to all men', A.V.), and to create the impression that they were a people filled with hatred of humanity. The accusations, exaggerations and fabrications of anti-Jewish writers, chiefly of Egyptian origin, assisted in keeping up the hatred of the Jews, which showed itself in frequent outbursts. According to Tacitus, they taught their proselytes above all to despise the gods, to renounce their fatherland, to disregard parents, children, brothers and sisters. According to Juvenal, Moses taught the Jews not to show any one the way, nor to guide the thirsty traveller to the spring, except he were a Jew. Apion declares that, in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, the Jews every year fattened a Greek, and having solemnly offered him up as a sacrifice on a fixed day in a certain forest, ate his entrails and swore eternal hostility to the Greeks. With hatred of the Jews was associated contempt for their miserable condition, their disgusting uncleanness, their punctilious observance (ridiculed as superstitious) of so many apparently senseless, absurd and singular laws and customs. Next to circumcision, derision was chiefly aroused by their abstinence from pigs' flesh, which the tumultuous rabble attempted to force them to eat (as in the Jew-baiting at Alexandria described by Philo), by their scrupulous observance of the Sabbath as a day of rest, whereby, says Seneca, they lost a seventh part of their life ; and by the minuteness of the arrangements for avoiding any kind of work on that day. Juvenal mentions the baskets filled with hay, in which the food prepared the

day before was kept warm, as indispensable articles of furniture even in the poorest Jewish households. Rabbi Abahu lamented that jokes about the Jews, however feeble, never failed to cause shouts of laughter in the theatres.

On the other hand, the Jews gained friends, partly by the virtues recognized even by their enemies and praised by Josephus in his defence of them written during the reign of Trajan. These were an unchangeable piety, strict obedience to the law, their few wants, charitableness, perfect harmony amongst themselves, contempt of death in war, diligence in the mechanical occupations and in agriculture in time of peace, an unshakable confidence in God. Thus Judaism, as a truly enlightened religion, attracted many of those who were striving to attain a purer knowledge of God ; the rejection of the Greek and Egyptian image worship caused Strabo to regard the Jewish legislator as a true Stoic philosopher. Yet it may be assumed that the number of those was far greater, whose need of belief found fullest satisfaction in Judaism as the only profession of faith which, before the birth and spread of Christianity, offered a dogma depending upon revelation and consequently removed from all doubt ; how often was the unshakable conviction that it was the only true religion heroically attested by its professors. All authorities, whether friendly or hostile to the Jews, are agreed that in all lands there were very many who partly or entirely obeyed the Mosaic law ; the women especially showed themselves ' guiding stars to faith '. ' The customs of this most infamous people ', says Seneca, ' have already gained such influence that they have been introduced into all countries ; they, the conquered, have given laws to their conquerors '. Horace, Ovid, Persius and Juvenal testify that at Rome many abstained from any kind of business on the Sabbath and on the day of the new moon ; that on the former they never travelled, but prayed, lighted up lamps and hung up garlands ; others studied the Mosaic law, attended the synagogues and sent the temple-tax to Jerusalem. ' The great mass of mankind has now for a long time endeavoured to emulate our piety ', says Josephus ; ' there is no state nor province, Greek or barbarian, to which our custom of resting on the Sabbath has not penetrated, and where our fasts and the lighting up of lamps and abstinence from forbidden food are not observed.

They also attempt to imitate the harmony that prevails amongst us, the charitable distribution of our goods, our diligence in our trades and fortitude in enduring suffering for the sake of the law. But the most wonderful thing of all is, that without the bait of pleasure the law has shown itself strong in itself, and has pervaded all peoples, as God himself has traversed the world'. 'All men', says Philo, 'are in subjection to it; it exhorts them to virtue—barbarians, Hellenes, dwellers on the mainland and on the islands, the nations of both east and west, Europeans, Asiatics, the peoples of the whole earth'. The Alexandrian philosopher thought he might venture to hope that one day Judaism would become the religion of the world.

With the exception of the brief period of persecution under Tiberius, conversion to Judaism met with no legalized opposition till the time of Hadrian; and, except for some temporary attempts at suppression, the Jews continued to enjoy without interference the complete religious freedom guaranteed by Caesar and Augustus. In 42, Claudius issued an edict, 'that the Jews throughout the empire should be allowed to observe their ancient customs unhindered. He also warned them not to abuse his kindness, nor to show contempt for the superstitions of other nations, but to be content with the observance of their own laws'. This edict remained in force till later times. Horace attests that the Jews, on their part, made attempts to convert those who held a different belief; it is well known that the Pharisees in particular 'compassed sea and land to make one proselyte' (*Matt.* xxiii. 15). Yet, after the destruction of Jerusalem, the development of an unbending Rabbinism continually widened the gulf between Judaism and paganism; the Babylonian Talmud calls the proselytes a leprosy for Israel. Antoninus Pius, while allowing the Jews to resume the circumcision of their children, which had been forbidden by Hadrian, most strictly forbade the practice in the case of those who were not Jews; since this edict remained in force, the result was that (with few exceptions) no formal conversions to Judaism took place. The proselytes of this later period were no longer 'proselytes of justice' but only the so-called 'fearers of God' (*φοβούμενοι* or *σεβόμενοι τὸν θεόν*), who especially observed the Sabbath and abstained from forbidden food. To the latter class the

majority of the converts from paganism to Judaism, even in the times anterior to Hadrian, probably belonged. Further, the influence of Judaism extended beyond the limits of its own followers and led to the formation of semi-Jewish semi-pagan sects. Such were the 'worshippers of the most high god' (σεβόμενοι θεὸν ὑψιστον) in Tanais in the empire of the Bosphorus at the beginning of the third century, and probably the Hypsistarii in Asia Minor, a sect attacked by the Fathers of the Church in the fourth century.

If the very nature of Judaism, as the religion of a chosen people, set limits to its propagation at the expense of paganism, Christianity, on the other hand, had both the inclination and the strength to break through all the obstacles that barred its extension throughout the world. While the Jews regarded the conversion of unbelievers as at the most a meritorious work, for the Christians the spread of the doctrine of salvation was the highest and most sacred duty. The example of the first apostles continually inspired an ever-increasing number of imitators, who, in accordance with the teaching of the gospel, distributed what they had amongst the poor, and set out to carry the word of God from one people to another, and whose zeal never wearied nor abated even in the midst of the greatest dangers and difficulties. 'The Christians', says Origen, 'were eager to sow the word broadcast throughout the world'. The messengers of the new doctrine visited not only towns, but also villages and farms; they did not even shrink from making their way into the bosom of the family and interposing between blood-relations. Christian slaves were reproached by pagans with converting their masters' wives and children; the more zealous even incited children to disobey their fathers and teachers in order to obtain salvation. Thus, as always happens when some great movement shakes the world and fashions it anew, the ties of nature were only too often torn asunder, hearts were broken, and 'love and loyalty uprooted like an evil weed'.

The toleration exceptionally accorded to the Jewish nation as such, which resulted in a tacit release from all obligations that conflicted with their superstition, including the worship of the gods and of the emperors, could not, in the opinion of the Romans, be granted to a sect which had fallen away from

the faith of its fathers, least of all to the Christian. The attitude of the Roman state towards Christianity was one of self-defence. Since the detachment of the new faith from Judaism, which was materially assisted by the destruction of Jerusalem, its tendency, namely, the complete and uncompromising destruction of the state religion, must have become widely known.

The refusal to worship the emperor, which was one of the fundamental institutions of the empire, was an earlier and more frequent cause of the persecutions of the Christians than the refusal to worship the gods. The first which we hear of took place in the province of Asia, in several cities of which (Pergamus, Smyrna, Ephesus) there were temples for this cult, where the yearly gatherings of the festal associations devoted to it took place. 'It appears that the decision as to the attitude which the state subsequently took up in regard to Christianity, was made under Domitian, even if tradition does not allow us to state definitely in what form this decision, which was really authoritative, was embodied' (C. J. Neumann). The *Revelation of John* (a revision in the reign of Domitian of an older Jewish apocalypse) speaks of the death of the 'faithful martyr' Antipas and other Christians in Pergamus, 'where Satan dwelleth', 'that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast neither his image' (xx. 4).

In accordance with the conception of *majestas* (high treason), refusal to pay homage not only to the emperor as god but also to the national divinities being regarded as an offence against the state, rendered Christians liable to punishment by the criminal law. But only a few emperors and governors until the middle of the third century acted in accordance with this idea. More commonly the extraordinary powers conferred upon the higher authorities (especially provincial governors) for dealing with religious offences, were brought into operation against both proselytes and proselytizers, in order to prevent or at least to check the apostasy of citizens from the national belief. This method of procedure, not forming part of the regular administration of justice and therefore of necessity arbitrary, was in its nature 'dependent upon the individuality of the official and upon the varying mood of the people ;

hence the prevalence of 'an instability, such as is in no way perceptible in other respects in the administration of justice even during this period of decay'.

But the state of public feeling was from the outset hostile to the Christians, and became more so as time went on. They were despised by the educated classes for their humility, their ignorance, their contempt for art and science and everything which refined and adorned life, for their lack of patriotism and their indifference to the most vital interests of state. The masses hated them. Their aloofness from the society of those who were not Christians, the steadfastness with which they clung together, their aversion from all festivities which had anything to do with the cults of paganism, the strictness of their life, which implied censure of any kind of laxity, their threats of eternal damnation for unbelievers, and, generally speaking, everything which served to accentuate the opposition of Christianity to the world—these were alone sufficient to bring upon them the reproach of 'hatred of the human race'. But their 'atheism' made them hated to an even greater degree; their hostility to the national religion, their mockery of what millions held sacred, their abuse of the gods, who for centuries had protected the Roman state and raised it to such greatness, to whose favour every man was indebted for everything that made life worth living. As time went on the adherents of the ancient faith showed an increasing inclination to attribute all public and general misfortune to the wrath of the gods at the decline of their worship, and to hold Christianity and its professors responsible for this wrath. 'Most of the sentences of death pronounced upon martyrs before the reign of Decius, as in the case of the founder of the religion, were due to the blind fanaticism of the masses and the weakness of the governors'. 'If the Tiber has left its bed', says a Christian author, 'if the Nile has not poured its waters over the fields, if the sky gives no rain, if there is an earthquake, if famine or pestilence threatens, the cry immediately arises, *To the lions with the Christians!*' The aged bishop Pothinus ended his life as a martyr at Lyons in the year 177, brutally treated by the mob. 'All thought it would be a grievous crime and an act of impiety not to take part in this wanton violence, for which their gods would punish them'. In course of time the idea gained ground that the entrance of Chris-

tianity into the world was the beginning of a general decay of the human race.

The general and persistent belief in the horrible crimes falsely imputed to the Christians, held not only by the masses but also by the most highly educated, is the surest symptom of the intense and passionate hatred with which the Christians were regarded. No doubt the secrecy of their worship also contributed to this belief. From time immemorial secret religious meetings have aroused the suspicion amongst outsiders, that things take place under the cloak of religion which cannot bear the light. In the old Roman world the impression caused by the great *Bacchanalia* process (185 B.C.) lasted for centuries. At that time a secret worship of Bacchus that had made its way into Rome through Etruria was used as a cloak for the most outrageous excesses and the most abominable crimes; the result of the investigation instituted by the senate was the punishment (chiefly by death) of thousands who had taken part in these orgies. The charges of 'Oedipodean connexions and Thyestean banquets' (i.e. unnatural excesses and ritual murder) were revived against the Christians. Appeal was made to confessions wrung from slaves, women and children under torture, and also to the mutual accusations of Christian parties and sects, who, as a pagan writer observes, accused each other of the most shameful and unmentionable crimes. It may be mentioned that Hippolytus, who claimed the papacy in opposition to Callistus (215-22),¹ in his *Refutation of all Heresies*, reproaches the latter with having taught adultery and murder. Thus belief in the disgraceful orgies and ritual murders of the Christians continually received fresh support; Tacitus had both in mind when he wrote (at the beginning of the reign of Hadrian) that the pernicious superstition of the Christians, which was suppressed by the crucifixion of their founder in Judaea, had broken out anew in Rome, 'the meeting-place of all that is horrible and shameful (*cuncta atrociosa aut pudenda*), which finds ready acceptance there'. That Pliny also conducted his inquiry in a similar spirit is clear from the declaration of the Christians (reported by him to Trajan), that they had met together for a 'harmless' meal. As late as the year 200 it was affirmed and believed

¹ Hippolytus is said to have been the 'anti-pope', as such claimants were called.

that at their initiatory ceremonies a child was sacrificed and eaten with bread dipped in its blood ; that dogs were tied to the candlesticks, which they pulled down when something to eat was thrown to them ; and that the most disgraceful acts were then committed under cover of the darkness.

This mob-frenzy was the chief cause of the so-called persecution of the Christians under Nero. To divert from himself the suspicion of having been the originator of the great fire (July, 64), Nero abandoned 'the Christians, hated for their deeds of shame', to the fury of the people, which clamoured for victims. Those who avowed themselves Christians were seized first¹ ; then, on their information, an immense number of others. If not convicted of incendiarism, they were put to death on the charge of 'their general hatred of the human race' with such fearful tortures that they aroused compassion, 'although they were guilty and deserved the severest punishment' (Tacitus). Wrapped in the skins of wild beasts, they were torn to pieces by dogs or nailed to the cross ; others were set on fire, that the flames might serve to light up the night.² The imperial gardens in which 'Nero's torches' illumined the darkness were in the neighbourhood of St. Peter's Church.

The first general instructions known to us for dealing with the Christian question were drawn up by Trajan in his rescript to the younger Pliny. The latter, when governor of Bithynia and Pontus about the year 112, alarmed at the spread of the new 'superstition', asked for advice, since he had never been present at any judicial proceedings against the Christians. Trajan decided that all who were accused and convicted of being Christians should be punished ; but that any one who recanted and confirmed his renunciation by offering sacrifice to the gods should be pardoned without regard to the past. They were not to be hunted out ; the emperor also disapproved of any notice being taken of anonymous denunciations. Hadrian was the only emperor who allowed the Christians to practise their religion ; he issued orders in a decree to the governor of Asia that the Christians might only be called to account if charged with a non-religious crime, and that in

¹ Rather 'were first brought to trial'.

² Their bodies were smeared with some combustible material, which made them burn like torches.

such a case no mercy should be shown to the false accuser. In general, however, the emperors held to the policy of intervention on information received, and punished when it was unavoidable. The legal position of the Christians was thus always uncertain.

Under Marcus Aurelius their condition became worse. A rescript issued by him about 177, ordering the punishment of such as helped 'to disturb the easily excited minds of the masses by false belief', was taken to refer to the Christians. In different provinces the wrath of the population of the towns burst out against them. We possess the highly interesting report of the communities of Vienne and Lyons to the brethren in Asia and Phrygia on the persecution in the latter town (of which Pothinus the bishop was one of the victims). In Lyons the condemned Christians who were citizens were beheaded, non-citizens were thrown to the wild beasts. Contrary to Trajan's decree, the governors had the Christians hunted out, and according to a contemporary this was a general or at least a frequent practice.

It is easy to understand the reason for a fanatical hatred of the Christians at that time. Never before had the empire been visited by so many dire misfortunes. In 166 German tribes, driven on by the pressure of the nations behind them, had crossed the Danube, overran and devastated the north-east frontier provinces from east Switzerland as far as Hungary and Transylvania, and carried away hundreds of thousands of prisoners; some of their hordes had even penetrated to Italy and Greece. For the first time the empire was out of joint. The severe and costly wars, in which the Romans strained every nerve, lasted nine years before the enemy was finally overpowered. At the same time, since 162 a fearful epidemic, brought in from the east, had penetrated as far as the Rhine and Gaul, devastated the camps of the legions and changed whole tracts of land into deserts. In addition, bad harvests and famine aggravated the sufferings of the people to the utmost. Then, if ever, it seemed reasonable to believe that the gods had withdrawn their favour from the empire they had so long visibly protected; and what more likely to have caused their wrath than the increasing apostasy from the national faith, brought about by the false doctrines of the 'atheists', who shunned the light and were filled with hatred

of mankind? Marcus Aurelius himself must have shared this opinion to some extent. He was not only very devout, but a man of strong faith. He declared that he would not care to live in a world without gods, and he seems to have regarded the gods of all nations as equally powerful and equally deserving of reverence.

Finally, it must be remembered that at that time amongst the Christians themselves a visionary tendency had appeared, which obstinately challenged and resisted the state authority. It was most pronounced in the sect called Montanists, whose founder Montanus in Asia Minor (about 156) claimed to be the paraclete. The Montanists, whose views also spread to the western church, demanded the strictest asceticism and unconditional renunciation of everything earthly, announced the imminence of the end of the world and of the establishment of the millennium, attached excessive value to martyrdom and encouraged men to suffer for their belief. This longing for a martyr's death, disapproved of by moderate-minded Christians, only aroused the scorn and ridicule of the heathen, who advised them to kill themselves to save other people the trouble. When the proconsul Gaius Arrius Antoninus (184-5) vehemently persecuted the Christians in his province of Asia, they crowded before his tribunal (at least in Ephesus) and voluntarily offered their lives. Some of them he ordered to be led away to execution, but dismissed the rest with the words: 'Miserable creatures, if you want to die there are ropes and precipices!' The courage shown by the Christian martyrs in face of death impressed Marcus Aurelius with the idea that it was the result of pride and obstinacy, not of reasoned conviction.

The persecution of that date also demanded victims in Africa, where hitherto no Christian blood had been shed. We possess the protocol of the proceedings taken against three Christian men and women of Scili in Numidia by the proconsul of Africa (July 17, 180). Notwithstanding his obvious efforts to facilitate their return to paganism, the accused persisted in their profession of faith, refused to swear by the *Genius* of the emperor and to offer sacrifice for his safety (although this did not even involve a recognition of his divinity), and declined the offer of thirty days for consideration. They were beheaded on the same day; a *basilica* was sub-

sequently erected over their grave. In Rome itself at that time or a little later the Christians were condemned to forced labour in the Sardinian mines ; they owed their liberation (about the year 190) to Marcia, the mistress of Commodus. Work in the mines was the severest punishment next to the death penalty ; those condemned to it were thereby degraded to the rank of slaves, one side of their head was shaven, they worked in chains, and were liable to corporal chastisement.

Although during the years immediately after the death of Marcus Aurelius the persecution of the Christians still went on, their lot was a happier one, chiefly owing to the influence of Marcia. For nearly seventy years they remained unmolested except during the persecutions under Septimius Severus and the Thracian Maximin. The stories of ritual murders and shameless orgies gradually died out, as Christianity emerged more boldly from its retirement and Christians and pagans came into contact (even through marriage and family relations). A proof of the diminishing hatred of the Christians is that the millenary secular festival of the city of Rome, which was celebrated (in 248) with the greatest solemnity for three days and nights and undoubtedly called forth a great increase of religious feeling, concluded without any hostile demonstrations against the Christians.

If the number of martyrs up to this time was by no means inconsiderable in itself, it cannot be considered large in proportion to the size of the empire and the period of two hundred years during which they met their death (not reckoning the victims of the Neronian persecution, who cannot properly be called martyrs). This is expressly confirmed by Origen, the most learned Christian writer of the period before Constantine, in a treatise written in 248. He says : ' Only a few, whose numbers can easily be counted, have suffered death from time to time for the sake of the faith, and to encourage the rest '. His evidence is the more weighty, since his personal experiences might rather have led him to exaggerate the extent and terrible nature of the persecutions. He himself had survived two of them, and in the first had suffered most cruel treatment. His father, Leonidas, had been condemned (in 202) in Alexandria to death by the sword as a Christian ; he himself, before he was seventeen years of age, longed so violently for a martyr's death that his mother was obliged to

hide his clothes to prevent him leaving the house. When his father was in prison he wrote him an impressive letter on martyrdom, in which he exhorted him not to consider his family: 'See to it that thou dost not change thy opinion for our sakes!'

During the persecution under Maximin the Thracian he issued an *Exhortation to Martyrdom*, in which he most earnestly exhorts them not to sully themselves by a single word, even under threats of death or on the rack. The evidence of Origen as to the small number of martyrs down to the middle of the third century is confirmed (if confirmation were needed) in the passionate *De Mortibus Persecutorum* ('On the Deaths of the Persecutors'), written by Lactantius in 313-4. In this essay Decius (249-51) is made to follow directly upon Nero and Domitian. Lactantius states that the good emperors who succeeded Domitian had not shown themselves hostile to the church, and the fact that he passes over in silence the sufferings and oppressions of the Christians during the period between Domitian and Decius shows that they cannot have left a very deep impression. But even the persecution of Diocletian cannot be compared with the deeds of the Duke of Alba in the Netherlands, where the number of those who suffered death under Charles V for the sake of their faith is estimated by Fra Paolo at 50,000, by Hugo Grotius at 100,000.

Further, it is well known that the religious and missionary zeal of the Christians was rather inflamed than quenched by the persecutions. 'The spread of our doctrine', says Clement of Alexandria, 'since its first proclamation has been hindered by kings and rulers, by governors and administrators of provinces, who all oppose us with all their hired soldiers and a vast multitude of others, seeking as far as possible to exterminate us. And yet it flourishes more and more. It does not perish like a doctrine invented by man; it does not wither like a fragile gift, for no gift that comes from God is fragile. It abides and cannot be hindered in its progress, although it is prophesied that it shall be persecuted to the end'.

Yet in spite of the most glowing missionary zeal, the sublime doctrine of the gospel, too sublime for a great, if not the greatest, part of the heathen world, could never have made such relatively speedy progress without the co-operation of other causes, which had their origin partly in the needs and

weaknesses of human nature in general, partly in the social conditions of the age.

The new doctrine appealed to all mankind ; the promise of salvation was open to all, even the lowest and the most despised. Naturally it found the most favourable soil in the vast multitude of ' the weary and heavy-laden ', the poor and unfortunate. It brought the most joyful message for slaves ; it announced to them their elevation from lowliness, contempt and a position outside the pale of the law to an equality with those who were free. It must have spread with the greatest rapidity amongst this class, and certainly penetrated often enough from the cell of the slave to the house of the master. But above all it afforded unexpected consolation to the despairing and faint-hearted ; it opened a prospect of forgiveness even to the guiltiest. The heathen scoffed at the idea that, while only those who felt themselves free from guilt were invited to other ceremonies of consecration, the Christians promised that the Kingdom of God would admit both sinners and fools—in other words, the unfortunate. In these circumstances the language in which the gospel was proclaimed could only be that of the lower classes. Neither the Greek in which the books of the New Testament are written, nor the Latin in which it first became known to the West, is the written or learned language, but ' the everyday language of the home and family, of the market and the streets, of the workshops, of the country, of the camp '.

The fact that women were very impressionable to the new doctrine also exercised a very considerable influence upon its propagation. Christianity elevated women in the Greek countries, where they held a very inferior position, to the equals and companions of man ; it bestowed upon marriage a new consecration through the more intimate spiritual communion of one and the same belief and hope ; upon virginity a new sanctity ; upon the whole life of woman a higher social value. Women, however, did not always keep within the limits of their position as defined for them in the Christian community. Paul had to censure them for praying and prophesying in Corinth with head uncovered ; he was obliged to admonish them to keep silence in the churches, and to submit themselves to their husbands in accordance with the law.

But what gained the greatest number of converts to Chris-

tianity was the very same thing that made Judaism, with all its exclusiveness, so attractive: the satisfaction of the requirements of belief, sought in vain within the limits of paganism, which only a dogma depending upon revelation and thus completely beyond the reach of scepticism could afford. And further, the mysterious nature of this dogma corresponded in the highest degree 'to the propensity of the human mind, most readily to believe what is secret' (Tacitus). But perhaps nothing so irresistibly impressed men's minds as the promise, never before proclaimed with such unassailable conviction, of a better life beyond the grave, of eternal bliss. In conjunction with this hope of happiness, the fear of the eternal punishments which threatened unbelievers exercised an even more powerful effect, since a belief in the imminence of the millennium was very general amongst the Christians until the middle of the second century.

'Signs and wonders' also, after which believers hankered no less than sceptics and waverers, were of frequent occurrence, and served to confirm both the Christian and the pagan faith. In the name of Jesus, says Irenaeus (Bishop of Lyons 177-202), his disciples, who have received the gift from him, cast out devils; others have foreknowledge of and predict the future; others heal the sick by laying on of hands, and bring back the dead to life. It is impossible to number the gifts which the church has received from God for the whole world, and in the name of Jesus Christ crucified under Pontius Pilate exercises for the benefit of the nations, neither deceiving any nor accepting payment; for as she hath freely received of God, so also she freely ministers (partly from Keble's translation). Arnobius, who (like most people) regarded the miracles performed by Christ as a proof of his divine nature, in repudiating the assertion of pagans that he was a magician, laid special stress on the fact that he was able to heal the sick and bring back the dead to life by his word alone and by the laying on of hands; whereas the heathen gods only prescribed remedies, like physicians, and in thousands of cases were utterly unable to assist the sick. Similarly, Origen asserts that he has seen sick men, 'whom neither men nor demons were able to heal', freed from their sufferings by the simple invocation of God and Jesus. Augustine relates numerous miracles which he had seen himself, including no less than five cases of raising

the dead, and especially many wonderful cures which had taken place near the sepulchral chapels of St. Stephen at Calama and Hippo Regius ; there were no less than seventy written accounts of the miracles wrought near the latter building, which had not yet been built two years. As was later the case in the Germanic north, countless adherents were gained for the new faith by the conviction ' that the god of the Christians was more willing to help than the gods of the heathen, and above all had greater power '. At a horse race in Gaza, in which the horses of a zealous Christian and a zealous heathen took part, ' Christus beat Marnas ' ; the result was that many of the heathen were baptized. A poem by the rhetorician Endelevius (fourth or fifth century) most naïvely admits that conversion to Christianity commended itself by the advantages which the god of the Christians bestows upon those who profess it. Bucolus has lost his flocks by a cattle plague, while those of Tityrus have been spared. ' What god ', asks the former, ' has preserved you from this misfortune ? ' and Tityrus replies, ' The sign of the cross, painted on the animals' foreheads, has kept them safe ; if you wish to obtain the assistance of the true god, it is sufficient to believe '. ' If this is really so ', says Bucolus, ' I will hasten to adopt the true faith and to flee from error '. Aegon, who is present during the dialogue, is ready to do the same, ' for why should I doubt that the same sign that overcomes sickness will also be ever beneficial to men ? ' Augustine's account of the conversion of the chief physician (*archiater*) Dioscorus gives a specimen of the marvellous punishments inflicted upon those who obstinately refused to be converted. Dioscorus, who had been in the habit of scoffing at the Christians, during his daughter's illness implored the mercy of Christ, and vowed to become a Christian if she recovered. His daughter was restored to health, but Dioscorus, who hesitated to fulfil his vow, became blind ; on his repeating it, his sight was restored ; when he again hesitated to make confession of Christianity all his limbs became paralysed, and in addition he was struck dumb. When at last he expressed his willingness to declare himself a Christian, the visitation ceased.

Then the faith of the Christians, firm as a rock and so often heroically attested, filled men's minds with respect for a re-

ligion which had such followers. 'The more we are mown down', says Tertullian, 'the more our number increases. The blood of the Christians is seed. That stubborn obstinacy with which you reproach us becomes a source of instruction. For who is not profoundly affected by the contemplation of it, and incited to inquire what is really at the bottom of it? Who does not embrace our religion when he has finished his inquiry? and who, when he has embraced it, does not desire to suffer himself?' The morality of the Christians extorted the admiration even of their opponents. On the occasion of the inquiry, which in his capacity as governor of Bithynia he felt himself obliged to hold in regard to the Christians (especially in Amisus), Pliny shared the general prejudice, which accused them of shameful deeds at their secret meetings; but after a strict investigation, at which two female slaves were tortured, he could find nothing to accuse them of, except a 'perverse and extravagant superstition'. The accused declared to him that their sole offence or error consisted in the fact that they were in the habit of assembling before sunrise on a certain day, and offering up prayer to Christ as to a god; and that they vowed never to be guilty of theft, robbery or adultery, never to break their word, never to deny that a deposit had been entrusted to them. After this they separated and assembled together again at a harmless meal. Galen was of opinion that the faith of the Christians taught them to act in accordance with the precepts of true philosophy; he especially recognized their contempt of death, their chaste, modest, abstemious, and strictly moral life; and held that some of them were not inferior to true philosophers in their self-control and earnest endeavour to attain virtue.

But the Christian communities certainly contained some impure elements; not all the sinners, whom they admitted in the hope of reformation, were really reformed. This is proved by the reproaches addressed by Paul and an author speaking in his name to the communities at Corinth and Crete, as well as by the fact that 'James found himself obliged to censure the moral abuse of the Pauline doctrine relative to the power of faith, as that which alone brings salvation, and that the *Revelation* had to denounce certain tempters in Pergamus (the Nicolaitans), who not only did not observe the regulations as to food enjoined upon gentile Christians, but even paid no

regard to the prohibition of lewdness'. In fact, it was just this active charity and compassion, shown by the Christians to one another, that was abused by hypocrites, who joined the new community in the hope of assistance and other advantages, especially as in course of time exaggerated rumours of the wealth of the Christian communities penetrated the heathen world. It was declared that 'the brethren' sold their goods and offered the proceeds to the church; that they regarded it as the height of piety to strip their own children in order to enrich the church. Already Paul speaks of wandering Christians, who live upon ('devour') the foreign communities and rob them of their property, and he himself was obliged to vindicate himself before the Corinthians from the reproach of intentional fraud. In the *Teaching of the Apostles*, written about the time of Hadrian, travelling missionaries are instructed not to remain more than two days at most in the same place: 'but if he abide three days, he is a false prophet. And when he departeth let the apostle receive nothing save bread, until he findeth shelter; but if he ask money, he is a false prophet. . . . Yet not every one that speaketh in the spirit is a prophet, but only if he have the ways of the Lord' (Lightfoot's translation). From an anti-Christian standpoint, Lucian has described the sympathy shown to the philosopher Peregrinus Proteus by the Christians of Palestine, when he was cast into prison for having declared his conversion to their faith. After they had done their utmost (but in vain) to secure his release, they sought in every way to alleviate the hardships of his imprisonment. At daybreak old women, widows and orphans gathered round the prison gates. The heads of the community, by bribing the guards, even obtained permission to pass the night in the prison. Food in abundance was taken in, and prayers were offered up at meals. Envoys arrived even from the communities of Asia Minor, to offer consolation, advice and assistance; for in such cases, says Lucian, they show themselves incredibly generous, and give all they possess without hesitation. In this manner Peregrinus secured much money, and his imprisonment was the source of a considerable income to him. For the unfortunate, Lucian proceeds, imagine that an eternal life will be theirs; hence they attach little importance to life on earth and the good things of this world; further, their first lawgiver has

taught them that they are all brothers one of another, from the moment when they have rejected the Hellenic gods and begin to worship their crucified sage and to live in accordance with his laws. Wherefore they despise all earthly blessings alike and regard them as common to all, having adopted these theories without any sort of warranty. If a clever impostor worms his way into their confidence it is easy for him to make fools of these simple people, and to amass wealth in a very short time. Tertullian also censures the excessive attention of the communities to the bodily necessities of those imprisoned for the faith, and Ambrose seriously warns the priests against lavishing their gifts upon unworthy persons, who solicit their assistance under various false pretences.

There is no doubt that false prophets of every kind, impostors as well as enthusiasts and fanatics, found a specially favourable soil in the Christian communities for the propagation of their false doctrines, and thereby acquired influence and reputation. It is equally certain that ambitious men, whose humble position or other disadvantages prevented them from attaining their aims, attempted to play a part in this society which was denied them in political life. From the beginning sectarianism was rife amongst the Christian communities; the church persecuted the sects, and the sects each other, with bitter hatred and passionate accusations, hardly surpassed in violence by the charges brought against the Christians generally by the heathen. Celsus affirmed that the Christians were so split up that they had scarcely anything in common except the name.

The *Refutation of all Heresies* (see p. 189) composed not long before 235 by Hippolytus, a man with strong leanings towards the rigourism of the Montanists, gives an extremely interesting summary of the divisions and antagonisms in the bosom of the Christian communities, chiefly due to differences of opinion in regard to doctrine, and also of the difficulties and discomforts which sometimes resulted from the contact of the Christian with the pagan world. Hippolytus' attack on the head of the Christian community at Rome shows only too clearly what ugly passions were aroused and fostered at that time by religious controversies in the Christian world. His account, which is in many respects characteristic, is in the main as follows.

Callistus was a Christian slave belonging to a freedman named Carpophorus, an official in the palace of the Emperor Commodus, who was also a Christian. Carpophorus entrusted a considerable sum to Callistus, with which he was to found a banking business, the profits of which were to be his, although it was carried on under his master's name. Many widows and brethren deposited their money in it. But Callistus, whose mismanagement had brought him to the verge of bankruptcy, in order to escape rendering an account, fled to the harbour of Portus and took refuge on board a ship just ready to sail. Carpophorus followed him. When Callistus saw his master in the port he sprang into the sea, but was pulled out, taken back to Rome, and sent by Carpophorus to the treadmill (a common punishment of slaves). However, Carpophorus was persuaded to release him, when several of the brethren who were interested in the bank represented to him, with tears in their eyes, that their confidence in him had induced them to entrust their money to Callistus, and that the latter had assured them that he still had a certain sum safely invested. But Callistus, finding himself still unable to meet his engagements, attempted to put an end to his life and at the same time to win the glory of martyrdom. Under pretence of collecting a debt, he made his way into a synagogue on the Sabbath and disturbed the service. The Jews fell upon him and dragged him before the tribunal of the city praefect Fuscianus, who ordered him to be flogged and condemned him to hard labour in the Sardinian mines (the lead mines near Las Antas in the south-west of the island), where there were many other Christians who had been condemned on account of their faith. But Marcia, Commodus' mistress, desirous of performing a good work, ordered bishop Victor (198-9) to give her a list of the martyrs in the island, and secured their release. Callistus, whose name Victor had purposely omitted, persuaded the eunuch Hyacinthus, the bearer of the letter of emancipation, who was Marcia's foster-father and at that time a presbyter in the community, to procure his release from the governor of Sardinia. Victor was greatly displeased, but confined himself to ordering Callistus to take up his abode at Antium, and settled on him a monthly allowance for food. These events took place between 186 and 190.

Zephyrinus (199-217), the successor of Victor, was accord-

ing to Hippolytus a simple, ignorant man, who knew nothing of theological doctrines, but was avaricious and open to bribes. Callistus so ingratiated himself with him that Zephyrinus summoned him to Rome, and appointed him overseer of the great cemetery recently founded by him. Callistus succeeded in making each of the rival parties in the community believe that he was on its side, and in this manner got himself elected bishop. In this capacity he came forward with a false and pernicious doctrine : he asserted the unity of the Father and the Son, founded a school of theology, and promised forgiveness of sins to all who should join it. Many, whose conscience smote them, including those whom Hippolytus had expelled from the community in accordance with the condemnatory sentence, joined this school. Callistus taught that a bishop ought not to be deposed even for a deadly sin ; he appointed bishops, priests and deacons who had been twice and thrice married ; and allowed married clergy to continue in holy orders. The saying, ' Suffer the tares to grow together with the wheat ', he interpreted to mean that sinners should be allowed to remain in the church, whose symbol was the ark of Noah, which contained clean and unclean animals. He showed himself culpably indulgent, especially to women of rank, whom he permitted to live with slaves or men of inferior status, with whom they could not contract a valid marriage without losing their rank. Their repugnance to rearing the children of such marriages led these women to fresh crimes. Thus this impious wretch taught both adultery and murder. During his episcopate also, for the first time, second baptism was attempted by his followers.

There can be no doubt of the substantial truth of the facts here alleged, but it is equally clear that they are collected, explained, and commented upon in a most hostile manner. We shall not discuss how far the doctrine of Callistus, his exercise of spiritual discipline and his ' legitimization of average morality ', admit of a more favourable judgment. But the account given by Hippolytus makes it incomprehensible how he could have been chosen as its head by the community which knew him as a common criminal. Nothing is said of his entry into orders, and probably many other things are omitted which might possibly make such an elevation intelligible, after such a past. Callistus appears to

have become deacon of Pope Zephyrinus ; as such he administered the funds of the community, paid the salaries of the ministers of the church, and distributed alms to widows and orphans. In such a position it must have been difficult for him to avoid causing dissatisfaction ; but he would hardly have been elected bishop had not his (eighteen years) administration been in the main beyond reproach.

A venerable foundation, of great importance for the history of the primitive Christian church, and at the same time the subject of one of the most brilliant archaeological discoveries, is inseparably connected with the name of Callistus. The burial place laid out by him near the Appian way on the property of the Caccilii was to all appearance the first cemetery of the Christian community at Rome recognized by the state ; hitherto burials had taken place on land belonging to individual members, upon whose title of possession the preservation of these burying places depended. This cemetery, ever since called the Cemetery of Callistus, which was the last resting-place of the popes down to Miltiades (died 314) was re-discovered during the nineteenth century by the indefatigable genius and successful exploration of De Rossi.

The narrative of Hippolytus reminds us of what is sometimes forgotten : that the Christian communities could not possibly separate themselves entirely from the world, but that, on the contrary, they were continually called upon to bear their share of the evils and inconveniences of the civilization of the period. It is, of course, only natural that the apologists of the new faith should see only love and harmony in the one, and hatred and mutual persecution in the other. Compare, says Origen, the Christian communities of Athens, Corinth and Alexandria with the pagan communities of the same cities ; the former are meek and peaceful, since their desire is to please God ; the latter, who in no way resemble them, are given to sedition. Even the heads and elders of the communities of God, even the more indolent and less perfect among them, will be found to have made more progress towards virtue than the heads and councillors in the various cities. Yet we can hardly believe that the congregation of Corinth had completely changed since the time when Paul spoke so ill of it. At that time ' debates, envyings, wraths, strifes, backbitings, whisperings, swellings, tumults ' (2 Cor.

xii. 20)—in short, irregularities of every kind—were rife in their assemblies ; and the object of the letter of the so-called Clement of Rome, written towards the end of the first century, is to heal a schism that had arisen amongst them. The writer declares that it is a disgrace to this old and trustworthy community, to resist their elders for the sake of one or two persons. According to the *Shepherd of Hermas* (composed about the middle of the second century), the Roman community at that time also suffered from various moral evils and infirmities. There was no lack of quarrels and enmities, and the writer utters a warning against ambition, arrogance, avarice, adultery, drunkenness and so forth. Bishop Cyprian of Carthage, who suffered martyrdom in 257, says that the persecution (under Decius, which he had escaped by flight) was rather a test instituted by God ; the Christians had deserved to suffer more on account of their sins ; the long days of peace had undermined moral discipline. Amongst the priests there was no piety, amongst the ministers no sincere faith, no mercy in their works, no moral discipline. Men disfigured their beards by art, women rouged their faces, painted their eyes, dyed their hair. He further complains of insatiable avarice, of cunning frauds to deceive the simple, of snares to dupe the brethren, of marriages with unbelievers, of oaths rashly taken and of perjury, of haughty contempt of those set over them, of envenomed insults, of quarrels and obstinate hatred of one another. Many bishops, neglecting their sacred office, became agents (procurators) of secular masters, abandoned their communities, and wandered over foreign provinces in search of gain. While brethren in the community were starving, they went in pursuit of money, seized estates by fraud, and increased their incomes by usury. John Chrysostom says that, since miracles no longer happen, the heathen can only be converted by the example of Christian life ; but this is utterly corrupt, and there is not even a trace of love to be found amongst them. In Augustine, the heathen replies to the Christian who attempts to convert him : ‘ How can you exhort me to become a Christian ? A Christian cheated me, and I have never acted so ; a Christian has sworn falsely to me, and I have never acted so ’. Extreme outbreaks of dissent were certainly repressed during the early centuries by the persecutions that

weighed heavily on the whole Christian world ; later (367), when ecclesiastical disputes at Rome were settled by bloodshed, a kindly and intelligent heathen could express the opinion that no wild animal was as hostile and destructive to man as most of the Christians to one another.

However numerous the causes that contributed to the spread of the Gospel, it is certain that before the middle or end of the second century it had only a few isolated followers amongst the upper classes. Not only did their philosophical training, and a general education intimately connected with polytheism, offer the strongest resistance, but, in addition, the Christian profession of faith led to the most dangerous conflicts with the existing order of things ; and lastly, the renunciation of all earthly interests was naturally most difficult for those who possessed honour, wealth and influence. The poor and lowly, says Lactantius, are more ready to believe than the rich, whose hostility was no doubt in many ways aroused against the socialistic tendencies of Christianity. On the other hand, in the lower strata of society the spread of Christianity, assisted to a remarkable extent by the dispersion of the Jews, must have been very rapid, especially in Rome ; as early as the year 64 the number of Christians there was considerable. The architectural arrangements and the style of the artistic decoration of some of the Christian catacombs in Rome seem to show that they belong to the first century.

In the second century Christianity made far greater progress. The general defection from the popular religion in Bithynia, which emptied the temples and alarmed the younger Pliny, can have been no isolated phenomenon, at least in the eastern provinces. The existence of Christian communities, founded from Asia Minor, in Vienne and Lyons in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, justifies the assumption that the seed of Christianity had sprung up comparatively early also in the centres of civilization in the West. In the second half of this century Christian writers already spoke in very boastful terms of the spread of Christianity. There is no race of men, says Justin (died 166), barbarians, Greeks or whatever they may be called, whether they lead a wandering life in wagons or in tents without any fixed habitation, which does not offer prayer and thanks to the father and creator of the universe

in the name of the crucified Jesus. Irenaeus (bishop of Lyons 177–202) speaks of Christian communities in Germany, Iberia, Gaul, in the East, Egypt and Libya, and in the centre of the world (Rome). The author of a treatise ascribed to Tertullian uses still more high-flown and even threatening language. Addressing the Jews, he asks, ‘For in whom do all the peoples believe, if not in the anointed, who has already come?’ In addition to the countries in which, according to the *Acts*, there were Jewish inhabitants, he mentions Gaetulia, Mauretania, Spain, ‘the districts of Britain untrodden by the Romans, but subject to Christ’, Sarmatia, Germany, and ‘many other distant and unknown lands, provinces and islands’. He declares that Christians nearly everywhere already formed the larger half of the population. ‘Should we lack numbers and resources’, asks Tertullian (about 199), ‘if we chose to display open hostility, instead of merely cherishing revenge in secret? Are the Moors, the Marcomanni, and even the Parthians, and the greatest peoples, who yet are limited to a single country and their own district, more numerous than the population of the entire earth? We are of yesterday; yet we have already filled your whole dominion, cities, islands, fortresses, municipal towns, public places, even the camps, the tribes, the decuries, the palace, the senate, the forum’.

In this language there is no doubt great exaggeration, far more perhaps than would be the case if it were employed at the present day in reference to the proportion of Christians in all the populations of the world. It is also in direct contradiction to the statement of Origen (several decades later), who, exaggerating in the other direction, declares that the Christians were only ‘very few’ in proportion to the entire population of the Roman empire. Statements quite accidentally preserved show that up to 98 some 42, up to 180 some 74, up to 325 more than 550, places contained Christian communities.

But in the Roman empire the Christians not only formed a small minority as late as the third century, but this minority, at least up to the beginning of the century, was drawn almost exclusively from the lowest classes of society. It was a joke amongst the heathen that the Christians could only convert the simple-minded, only slaves, women and children;

that they were rude, uneducated and boorish ; that the members of their communities were chiefly people of no account, artisans and old women. The Christians themselves did not dispute this. Jerome says : the community of Christ is recruited, not from the Lyceum and the Academy, but from the lowest rabble (*de vili plebecula*). It is expressly attested by Christian writers that, even up to the middle of the third century, the new faith counted only few adherents amongst the higher classes. Eusebius says that the peace which the Church enjoyed under Commodus, contributed greatly to its propagation, ' so that several persons in Rome, distinguished for their birth and wealth, turned to salvation with their entire household and family '. Origen (in the reign of Alexander Severus) says that ' at the present day rich men and many high dignitaries, as well as delicate and nobly born ladies, receive the Christian messengers of the word ' ; that is to say, Christianity then obtained successes of which it had not previously been able to boast. According to Tertullian, Severus took under his protection men and women of senatorial rank, who openly professed Christianity ; and, as already observed, the indulgence shown by Callistus to distinguished female proselytes excited indignation in the Roman community. In 258, the emperor Valerian addressed a rescript to the senate, to the effect that Christians of senatorial and equestrian rank should be deprived of their possessions ; if they persisted in their belief, they should be punished with death ; Christian members of the imperial household and court should be condemned to forced labour in chains on the imperial domains. Consequently, from the time of Commodus onwards, the spread of Christianity amongst the upper classes is variously and expressly attested, whereas the reverse is the case in regard to the preceding period.

In complete agreement with this is the fact that, till about the end of the second century, Christians and Christianity are very rarely mentioned in classical literature, and then only casually, and in terms of indifference and contempt. The expressions of Tacitus and the younger Pliny show that, in the time of Trajan, the upper circles in Rome were not sufficiently interested in the new sect to take the trouble to obtain accurate information concerning it. Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius only mention the courage with which the

Christians went to their death. Both of them, however, consider this courage to be the result of obstinacy and familiarity with death, not of intelligent conviction; Marcus Aurelius also declared that it lacked dignity, and that there was even something theatrical about it. It has already been mentioned that Lucian saw nothing in the faith of the Christians but folly and infatuation. Galen, while recognizing the virtue of the Christians, felt nothing but astonishment and contempt for the complete belief of the followers of Moses and Christ in doctrines that were not proved, since he, like all the heathen, had absolutely no idea of a religious dogma. In the diffuse and extremely detailed history of Rome, carried down by Cassius Dio to his own days in the reign of Alexander Severus, no mention is expressly made of the Christians; according to him, the Christians persecuted under Domitian were accused of 'atheism and Jewish practices'; that is, he held the Christians to be a Jewish sect. Herodian does not mention them; and even the compilers of the imperial biographies (called *Scriptores historiae augustae*), some of whom wrote as early as the reign of Constantine, only notice them very seldom and casually. It was not till the middle of the second century that heathen writers began to attack Christianity. Fronto repeated the most ridiculous fabrications of the mob; and even the Platonist Celsus, who had been carefully informed by a Jew concerning the object of the Christian doctrine, in his lengthy treatise against it expressed himself to the effect that the dispute between Jews and Christians, which according to him turned entirely upon the question whether the prophesied saviour had already appeared or not, was nothing but a dispute 'about an ass's shadow'.¹

The only persons of rank in the time before Commodus, whose conversion to Christianity seems probable, are the consul Flavius Clemens, executed in 95, and his wife (or sister) Flavia Domitilla, who was banished to Pontia. On the other hand, the far from clear excerpt from Dio in no way proves that the execution of Acilius Glabrio (consul 91) about the same time was due to his profession of Christianity; according to Suetonius, he was condemned for supposed revolutionary plans.

¹ A proverbial expression = 'about nothing at all'.

The old tradition of personal relations between the philosopher Seneca and the apostle Paul has not as yet been found to have any foundation in fact, although it is very easy to understand how it may have arisen. It was very natural to attribute the many points of agreement with Christian opinions and doctrines in the writings of Seneca to the influence of the apostle, whose two years' captivity in Rome might easily have brought him into contact with the philosopher, especially as the proconsul Junius Gallio (who acquitted Paul when he was brought before his tribunal by the Jews) was Seneca's brother. Tertullian, Lactantius, and Augustine make no mention of the tradition. Lactantius speaks of Seneca as 'ignorant of the true faith'; Augustine considers that his freedom from the superstitions of the heathen, which as a Roman senator he could not publicly announce, was the result of his philosophical studies; that he was astonished at the spread of Judaism (which he hated), because he was ignorant of the purpose of God; that he never mentioned the Christians, to avoid praising them in defiance of the national opinion, or blaming them, perhaps against his own feelings. Jerome had read certain letters (some of which are still extant), said to have been exchanged between the apostle and the philosopher; but they are in reality one of the numerous literary forgeries which were called into existence by the religious zeal of the Christians. An inscription (end of the third or beginning of the fourth century) shows that in a Christian family, which traced back its origin to or at least derived its name from that of the Annaei Senecae, the tradition was highly prized. An epitaph on a tomb at Ostia, set up by a certain Marcus Annaeus Paulus, preserves the memory of his son Marcus Annaeus Paulus Petrus. The names of the apostles were very popular amongst the Christians; the use of the second name and of the two together was unheard of amongst the heathen. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the two Annaei were both Christians.

Finally, if the possibility of personal relations between the apostle and the philosopher cannot be absolutely denied, all previous attempts to make this possibility a certainty must be considered to have completely failed. The agreement (often almost word for word) of the expressions used by Seneca with those of Paul concerning the general sinfulness

of mankind, must have been due to the similar circumstances, experiences and dispositions of both, like everything else in Seneca's writings which approximates to the Christian point of view. But this agreement may also be completely explained by the particular form in which the Stoic philosophy developed, a form which had its foundation in the nature of Stoicism itself, and in the milder representatives of the school (Seneca, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius) very naturally assumed a character sympathetic with Christianity, although no tradition has ever asserted that the two last named borrowed from Christian sources.

Consequently, judging from all that we know of the first centuries of the Christian era, it can hardly be imagined that the pagan world before the time of Septimius (emperor 193-211) and Alexander Severus (emperor 222-35), had the least anticipation of the future historical importance of the new religion, then so little regarded and so contemptuously criticized. What could this crowd of ignorant recluses, men of no importance, avail against the established order of things in an empire whose dominion of the world appeared destined to last for ever? 'Do not the Romans, without the assistance of your god, rule the whole world, including yourselves?' 'Your God', says Celsus, 'has promised his assistance to those who profess their belief in him, and even greater blessings, as you assert. And now, see for yourselves, what he has done for them (the Romans) and what he has done for you. Instead of being rulers of the whole earth, you have not even a clod of earth or a home that you can call your own; if you are found wandering about in secret, you are hunted down and punished with death'. In an empire in which so many religions existed side by side, the idea of a universal religion must have appeared absolutely incomprehensible. 'If it were only possible', says the same author, 'that all the Greeks and barbarians in Asia, Europe and Africa to the ends of the earth could recognize one law! But any one who thinks it possible is utterly devoid of understanding!'

The victory of Christianity was decided by the complete religious freedom guaranteed by Constantine. The victorious faith then immediately began to exercise its power in the suppression of paganism, at a time when the old belief had

not only ceased to offer any advantages, but entailed increasing annoyance and persecution upon its adherents. Had paganism really been for centuries in a state of decay and dissolution, its complete overthrow and the absolute supremacy of Christianity must have followed within a very short space of time. But, as a matter of fact, its death struggle, carried on under the greatest disadvantages, was prolonged for two centuries; and polytheism, utterly powerless and defenceless as it was, still survived, although Christianity ever more and more indefatigably and relentlessly endeavoured to stifle everything in the old faith that still gave signs of life, by the aid of compulsion, robbery, destruction and persecution. This alone is sufficient to prove the great vitality of paganism even in its old age. After Constantine's edicts of toleration Christianity enjoyed the favour and encouragement of the secular authority for a period of seventy years (except for a brief reaction under Julian); and yet, as already observed, it can scarcely have won over half the population of the empire. Nearly all the Roman nobles in the time of Julian were devoted to the old religion, and in the time of Theodosius about half the senators, although at that time and subsequently Christianity had made far greater progress in the towns than in the country. In the course of the fourth century the word *paganus* (countryman) came to mean 'heathen', and Endelevius in the poem quoted above (p. 197) calls Christ the god who is worshipped in the great cities as the only one. Judaism also in the *Diaspora* was chiefly, although not exclusively, a town religion.

But even during the persecution started by Theodosius in 380, which after the fall of the pretender Eugenius, who had been induced to put himself forward by Nicomachus Flavianus, the champion of paganism, was carried on with renewed vigour, the old belief showed remarkable powers of resistance. First in the East, then in the West, temples, chapels and seats of the ancient cults were laid low and reduced to ashes by fire and sword. But if the rural populations, scattered and defenceless as they were, were unable, in spite of their bitter complaints, to prevent the destruction of their sanctuaries, 'on which they placed all their hopes, for men, women and children, for their cattle, crops, and plantations, and the loss of which deprived them of all the joys of life'

(Libanius), in the towns bloody combats only too often took place between the populace and the furious clergy and monks. With the exception of direct compulsory conversion, every kind of violence was employed for the suppression of paganism. All sacrifices, ritual observances, and attendance in the temples were forbidden under threat of the severest penalties ; the priests were deprived of their privileges and banished from the towns ; the temple possessions were confiscated. Yet the repeated insistence upon these regulations and penalties during the fifth and even the sixth century, shows how extremely slow was the process of extirpation, even when the ancient faith seemed to have been deprived of all means of existence. That crime and rapacity combined with draconian legislative severity in the persecution of defenceless paganism, is proved by the repeated exhortations of Augustine, not to plunder the heathen under the cloak of religion, and by an imperial rescript of the year 423. Paganism also at that time had its martyrs, and the abominable murder of the beautiful and virtuous Hypatia at Alexandria in the year 415, shows to what deeds of horror the spirit of fanaticism could drive the Christian mob.

This systematic war of extermination waged against paganism had lasted for a hundred and fifty years, and yet the life of the ancient belief was not completely extinct. In 528 Justinian felt impelled to order a rigorous persecution of the so-called 'Hellenes'. In Constantinople itself numerous adherents of paganism were discovered and arrested amongst patricians, learned men and physicians ; one of them took his own life, the rest embraced Christianity. In 532, Bishop John of Asia, by imperial command, made a tour of the provinces of Caria, Lydia and Phrygia, where he converted and baptized 70,000 souls. Any one found offering sacrifice to idols was to be punished with death. In the West, the advancing flood of barbarism, which swept away at the same time the foundations of paganism and ancient civilization generally, hastened the destruction of the former. Yet it was not until the year 529, when the country population of the neighbourhood was still in the main pagan, that the last temple of Apollo on Monte Casino was converted into a cloister by St. Benedict. In the same year the seven last Athenian philosophers, expelled by an edict of Justinian, emigrated

and sought refuge in Persia with King Chosroes. Gregory the Great (pope 590-604) learnt to his sorrow that all the peasants in Sardinia were idolaters, and sent bishop Victor to convert them; he directed the bishop of Caralis to proceed against idolaters, *haruspices* and soothsayers, who refused to be converted by his preaching; slaves were to receive corporal punishment, free citizens were to be 'brought to repentance' by close confinement. The worship of the old images of the gods was secretly practised (especially in Greece) not only during the middle ages, but in some cases even down to our own days. Under Alexius Comnenus the image of Artemis in Patmos was destroyed by monks; Michael Apostolius, the follower of Gemistius Pletho, about 1465 found in Crete statues of the gods, to which he could address his prayers.

But even so the annihilation of paganism could not be complete. It contained elements which defied all efforts to destroy them, since they were based upon certain imperative necessities of a great portion of mankind; and these elements, under new forms, have found a place in the heart of Christianity itself and thus survived the downfall of the ancient belief. It was not merely the heathen love of festivals which demanded satisfaction also from the new religion and caused the church to allow carousals and merry-makings at the graves of the martyrs, and to compensate the people for the abolition of the pagan festivals by fixing the celebration of Christian festivals on the same days. Above all, it was the profound desire to fill the infinite gulf between humanity and divinity with intermediate beings that re-peopled heaven, now deprived of its gods, with a band of heavenly figures, to whose number there was no limit. Although Augustine rejects the comparison of the worship of saints and martyrs with polytheism, other ecclesiastical writers, such as Basil, assign them exactly the same place in the order of the universe as the later Platonists assigned to demons and heroes, or, like Theodoret, institute comparisons between the two cults, in order to prove that 'the truly divine has been substituted for the false and erroneous'. In Sicily 'the worship of the saints exhibits so complete a survival of polytheism, that it is easy to understand why educated Sicilians even at the present day in all seriousness prefer the monotheism of Islam to Christianity'. But the old gods and heroes have not in

all cases been replaced by holy personalities of the new faith ; here and there they have maintained their ground, like Demeter worshipped at Eleusis, and Santa Venere invoked in southern Italy and Sicily ; or they have been changed into the new personalities, and their myths into Christian legends. Thus, apparently, here and there in Gaul the 'mothers' of Celtic popular belief have become the three holy Maries ; Helios-Aumu, the driver of the chariot of the sun worshipped in the country east of the Jordan, has been transformed into the prophet Elijah ascending to heaven in a chariot drawn by fiery horses ; and Hippolytus, who probably came by a martyr's death in the mines of Sardinia, according to the tradition was torn to pieces by horses—the fate which befel his namesake, the son of Theseus king of Attica.

'Least of all', said Theodoret, 'ought the Greeks to be offended at what takes place at the graves of the martyrs, for it is with them that the libations, expiatory sacrifices, the heroes, the demi-gods, the deified men have originated. Heracles, Asclepius, Dionysus and many others were raised to the rank of gods ; how then can the Christians be reproached for honouring the martyrs as witnesses and servants of God, without making gods of them ? Who deserves it better than they, the champions of mankind, their helpers and protectors, from whom they avert evil and drive away the afflictions with which they are threatened by the demons ? Childless and barren women pray to them that they may become mothers ; he who has received a gift, implores them to preserve it ; those who are starting on a journey, beg them to attend them on the way, those who return safely render to them their thanks ; the votive offerings presented to them, gold and silver models of eyes, feet and hands, are evidence of vows fulfilled. The temples of the gods are destroyed, for the lord of all has introduced his own dead in their place, has driven them out and bestowed their honours upon his own children. In place of the Pandia, Diasia, Dionysia and other festivals, those of Peter, Paul, Thomas, Sergius, Marcellus and other martyrs are celebrated'. The assertion of Theodoret, that these celebrations are accompanied by Christian sobriety and modesty, not by pagan ostentation and sensuality, must be accepted with considerable reserve, as is shown by the evidence of Christian writers.

CHAPTER III

PHILOSOPHY AS A MORAL EDUCATOR

No one who has even a superficial acquaintance with classical literature needs to be reminded that, in antiquity, morality as a whole is most intimately connected with religion; that the gods, as directors of the moral order of the world and executors of its laws, require from men the fulfilment of moral obligations, reward the good and punish the evil. It has been shown that polytheism continued to exist unchanged amongst the masses down to a late period of antiquity; it remains to refute the idea that the anthropomorphism of the Greek religion, which had infected the national faith of the Romans, exercised a demoralizing influence by attributing to the gods human weaknesses and passions and representing them as transgressors of the moral laws. Of course, this was a favourite argument of the Christians in their struggle with paganism. The heathen cannot possibly be virtuous, says Lactantius, even if they are naturally good, since the example of their gods trains them to vice—Jupiter to adultery, Mars to bloodshed, Mercury to fraud, and so forth. Augustine even held the opinion that the evil spirits worshipped by the heathen allowed themselves to be accused of disgraceful deeds which they had never committed, in order to ensnare the minds of men and to drag them to destruction with themselves. But even amongst the adherents of polytheism many looked with suspicion on those ‘stories, which taught men to sin’. Dionysius of Halicarnassus preferred Roman theology to Greek, since the legends in the latter were of little use and only serviceable to the few who understood their real meaning, while, on the other hand, they taught the great mass of mankind, untrained in philosophy, to despise the gods, or to regard as lawful the infamies and crimes attributed to them.

This assertion of Dionysius, in his attack upon the absurdity of the popular belief, is the more easy to understand, since it may be assumed that sophistic, which delighted in showing its skill in defence and even in praise of what was reprehensible, did not disdain to borrow arguments from legend; thus, in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, the 'Unjust Argument' raises the question why, if justice exists, Zeus was not punished for having bound his father with chains. In the *Homilies* of the so-called Clement of Rome a virtuous woman is said to have been seduced by an 'encomium of adultery'; perhaps this was a subject in the rhetorical schools, for practice in the art of making the bad appear good and the wrong right. The defence of adultery, which chiefly relies upon the amours of Jupiter and the other gods (and also the teachings of the philosophers) is followed by a refutation, perhaps also a subject for rhetorical exercises. If we should imitate the gods in their amours, why not in their meals? Cronus devoured his children, Zeus swallowed Metis, Pelops was set on table as a dish before the assembled gods. In fact, it is inconceivable that the acts attributed by legend to the gods could ever have really misled, even in ancient times, the moral consciousness of men of ordinary intellect and moral responsibility; that adulterers, murderers and thieves could ever have seriously attempted to justify their crimes, to themselves and others, by the examples of Jupiter, Mercury and other gods. Amongst the proofs adduced by Ovid in support of the proposition that there is nothing which cannot do harm, if misused, he says that women who are ingenious in discovering excuses for sin, might be led into it by the traditional immoralities of the goddesses: 'Corrupt minds can be led astray by anything'. On this point Seneca expresses himself as if he had no fear whatever of the possibility of a belief in the legends so absolute as to remove all fear of sin from men's minds; and no doubt he is right. For if the unbelieving rejected the popular belief just because of these fables, the rationalists, as always, explained the contradictions between tradition and the demands of reason by artificial (euhemeristic or allegorical) interpretations, or by the assumption that the immoral acts attributed to the gods were really committed by the merely semi-divine demons; while naïve and unreflecting believers were content in such cases to recog-

nize mysteries too deep for human understanding, from which no rules for human action could be derived.

Greek and Roman literature furnishes abundant evidence of the existence of the belief in a moral order of the universe, based upon and maintained by the will of the gods. Against this evidence, appeal is made to certain frivolous jests in comedies and erotic poems, in which amorous swains excuse their cunning devices, their lapses from morality and even deeds of shame, by the example of Jupiter and the other gods. They even quote the monologue of Byblis (in the *Metamorphosis* of Ovid), who attempts to justify her unnatural passion for her brother by the marriages of the gods with their sisters! With equal or even more reason it might be asserted, as was often done to the embarrassment of the ancient Christian apologists, that the sins of the patriarchs and other men after God's own heart in the Old Testament have exercised a demoralizing influence; and an attempt might be made to support the assertion by jokes or coarse expressions of a similar character in modern literature, in which 'the devil appeals to Scripture'; we may mention one of Bürger's poetical trifles, *Frau Schnips*. It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that not only were such offences everywhere severely punished by civil legislation, but that the gods were worshipped and invoked as protectors of the same laws which, according to the legend, they had broken. In particular, was not the Greek Zeus, like the Roman Jupiter, a god of marriage?

In every religion a mistaken idea of the nature and will of the deity may be found. Benjamin Constant, whose remarks upon polytheism generally are also applicable to the polytheism of our period, very rightly observes that the general spirit of religious creeds is often in contradiction to their moral commandments, and that the passions aroused by the former hinder the fulfilment of the latter; that murders are frequently committed in all good faith, in order to please a god, one of whose commandments is, 'Thou shalt not kill'! 'The fables consecrated by a religion are the object of a faith in certain respects mechanical; they sometimes appear to establish themselves permanently in a special compartment of the human brain. Rome traced back its origin to an amour of Mars with Rhea Silvia; none the less, any

vestal who allowed herself to be seduced suffered a fearful punishment'.

The undoubtedly correct view, that the licence which the gods in legend permit themselves in reference to the moral law by no means indicates their indifference to it, is illustrated by Constant by the example of kings, whose private excesses do not affect the laws against excesses committed by their subjects. 'In the Macedonian camp the soldier accused of murder was condemned by Alexander, although he himself was the murderer of Clitus. The gods, like the great ones of the world, have a public and a private character. In the former they are the upholders of morality, in the latter they follow only their own inclinations ; but only in their public character have they anything to do with men'.

'The gods are not the originators, but the guarantors of the moral law. They protect it, but do not alter it ; they do not issue its commandments, but keep them in force. They reward good and punish evil, but their will does not decide what is good and evil ; human actions are meritorious or the reverse in themselves.'

But, although belief in the government of divine powers, respect for their will, hope of their favour and fear of their wrath were always reckoned among the most essential supports of morality throughout antiquity and (as already observed) were recognized as such, they were not, properly speaking, the foundations of morality. The duties of man to the divinity, to humanity and to himself were not proclaimed by the revelations of a higher will, nor by the teaching of a divine prophet ; the heathen had not received the law from without ; as the apostle says, they were a law unto themselves ; and had to depend not only upon their own knowledge of their duties, but also upon their own strength. They had no idea of an absolute truth, founded upon supernatural revelation, and could not understand that faith, and, above all, the subordination of reason to faith, could be meritorious and possess a redeeming and sanctifying virtue. In their opinion the highest task of the thinking mind was the search after truth, to which in the conviction of Christians revelation had set a limit for ever, so that henceforth it was not only superfluous, but even unlawful. The heathen, says Tertullian, are ever

seeking truth, but never find it ; we have no need of curious questioning now that we have Christ Jesus, nor of inquiry now that we have the Gospel. If we believe this, we desire to believe nothing besides. Thou shalt believe ! This, according to Julian the apostate, was the final conclusion of Christian wisdom ; and Galen the physician, who had a high opinion of the morality of the Christians, could not understand their absolute belief (like that of the Jews) in doctrines which had not been proved true. While the messengers of Christianity promised redemption by faith, heathen philosophy proclaimed salvation by knowledge. The knowledge of good and evil, promised (according to *Genesis*) by the tempter, was for it the attainable object of all human aspirations, the foundation to be laid by man's own efforts, on which alone morality could be based. According to Socrates, knowledge is the root of all moral action, ignorance that of all errors ; knowledge can no more exist without virtue than virtue without knowledge. In the same way the Stoics defined virtue as knowledge, vice as ignorance. Consequently, virtue and with it happiness in this life were attainable by knowledge, which enabled man to subject his lower impulses to the divine element in his nature. For paganism knew nothing of human nature being thoroughly bad, of the doctrine of original sin ; even according to the Orphic doctrine it contained the good derived from Dionysus as well as the bad derived from the Titans. Hence, also, the idea of the need of redemption by supernatural grace was foreign to the spirit of the ancients and only found acceptance as their intellect decayed and lost its vigour. No greater contrast can be imagined than that between the self-control of the philosopher unaffected by mysticism, his proud consciousness of his ability to subdue all passions and desires, and the Christian's feeling of dependence, his need of redemption and his absolute subjection to the will of God. Among the cardinal virtues of paganism there was as little room for humility as for the patience which after a blow on one cheek turns the other to the smiter.

For him who knows (i.e. the wise man) the evils which torment humanity have no existence ; or at least they are unable to disturb his happiness, which is self-sufficient and self-contained. Yet, as Socrates said, the whole life of the philoso-

pher is a preparation for death, which had less terror for him than for any other man. By knowledge man is raised above the level of human weakness, withdrawn from the influences of the outer world, and is invulnerable to its attacks. But this happiness consisted not in possession but in renunciation, in the absence of all needs (for which cynicism quite consistently strove), in the abandonment not only of external possessions but also of the most important interests, of the innate feelings and inclinations of human nature which contribute most to happiness. The motto of Epictetus, 'Suffer and renounce!' in a certain sense sums up the practical philosophy, and consequently the theory of happiness, of all philosophical systems. The aim of all knowledge, says Seneca, is to teach us to despise life; only he who is free is happy, says Demonax, and only he is free who hopes for nothing and fears nothing. Epicureanism and Stoicism are at one with Christianity in their seclusion from political life; like the apostle Paul, Epicurus and also Epictetus placed celibacy above marriage; scepticism based happiness upon the knowledge of the impossibility of knowledge, consequently, in reality, upon a renunciation of knowledge.

Ancient philosophy, therefore, overcame the terrors of death not by the hope of celestial happiness, but by the knowledge of the small value of earthly existence. The Christian belief and hope, the love which springs from respect for that which is beneath us, were equally unknown to paganism. It was Christianity that first taught mankind, 'to recognize humility and poverty, mockery and contempt, outrage and misery, suffering and death as divine, and to honour and love even sin and crime as not hindering, but promoting holiness' (Goethe). Such an idea was foreign to the ancient world, although traces of the feeling occur now and again. Plato and Aristotle proposed that sickly and mutilated children should be put to death in the ideal state. Seneca thinks no more of drowning crippled and misshapen children than of drowning mad dogs and unhealthy cattle, which might infect the whole herd. In his opinion, only men of no intelligence can consider the wise man too harsh if, in accordance with the Stoic doctrines, he neither feels compassion nor forgives. The wise man must not allow his serenity of mind to be disturbed by sympathy or other emotions, for this is a weakness of feeble

minds, especially women ; he may dry the tears of those who weep, but not weep with them ; he may help them, but not pity them. In like manner, he may allow gentleness and mercy to prevail, but may not forgive ; for forgiveness is the remission of merited punishment.

In ancient times, man did not feel himself separated from the divinity by an impassable gulf, since his relation to it was not that of a creature to its creator ; and this difference in his relation to the divinity carried with it also a different relation to humanity. The fundamental Christian idea, that all men are created by one creator, children of one father, and consequently united by the bond of brotherhood, possessing equal rights and equally bound to perform the same charitable duties, is a view that was first developed in antiquity outside the domain of Christianity in the time of the Roman universal empire ; but it never became general. In contrast to this absolute equality of all creatures before God, the ancient Greeks and Romans recognized, as founded on justice, the numerous gradations of human existence, the result of political, social and national developments ; and no divine prohibition nor moral law hindered the privileged from asserting his better claims in their full extent against one whose claims were inferior. In the eyes of his fellow, the life of man was not so sacred and inviolable as it was bound to be in the presence of a divinity with whom all life originates, and who has not only not allowed but expressly forbidden his creatures to take each other's lives, a right which belongs to him alone. The position assigned to man by the ancient conception of the order of the universe allowed him, together with greater freedom and independence, far more latitude in the disposal of his own existence or of that of those who were under his protection or authority. Not only had the master the power of life and death over his slaves ; the father had the same power over his children, and it was not till late that it was made a punishable offence to expose them. Opinions were divided as to whether suicide was morally permissible. Plato, who in this respect also shows an approximation to Christianity, denied that it was (following the Pythagoreans) ; man, as the property of the divinity, must not leave the place assigned to him on his own initiative ; Plotinus, however, considered it justifiable in certain circumstances. The Stoics and Cynics not only

declared that it was permissible, but saw in it the highest practical proof of moral freedom.

As for the attitude of the Christians in the early centuries towards the heathen system of ethics, they failed, at least to a great extent, to perceive the sharp and fundamental contrast between 'virtue from justice and virtue from mercy'. Clement of Alexandria, like all Christians who at that time were indebted in the main to Greek philosophy in their education, had no doubt that it also contained truth, whether this truth was borrowed by the philosophers from the Old Testament or brought to them by inferior angels; what was false in it was the result of misunderstandings or was foisted in by false prophets sent by the devil. The relation of philosophy to Christianity was that of the derived to the original, of fragments and parts to the single whole; it was a forerunner of Christ, which trained men for the perfection that was to be embodied in him; as the law was given to the Jews, so philosophy was given to the heathen. Thus, some Jews and heathen were just before God; above all Plato and his teacher Socrates (who in Luther's eyes were godless pagans) spoke in accordance with the spirit of God. Even for Christians philosophy was valuable, nay, indispensable; the Christian writers who disdained it were afraid of it, as children of ghosts, and had formed no opinion of it.

From the middle of the second century B.C., Greek philosophy (as already observed) had begun to make its way to Rome and the West, and, in spite of all attempts to check it, had made constant progress. The multiplication of relations with Greece, the ever-increasing immigration of Greek savants to Rome, the more and more frequent journeys of Romans to Greece, where they frequently stayed for a considerable time, gave a powerful impetus to the introduction of Greek art and science, and of philosophy in particular. When Cicero employed the enforced leisure of his last years (45-43) in rendering accessible to Roman readers in a popular form the most important results of the post-Aristotelian philosophy, he evidently supplied a general want that was keenly felt by his educated countrymen. His philosophical works, which have done so much to introduce the knowledge of Greek philosophy to all succeeding ages, formed the nucleus of the new philo-

sophical literature of Rome. Amongst its best read writers Quintilian reckons (Lucretius excepted) the Stoics Brutus Plautus and Seneca, Cornelius Celsus (the follower of the Sextii, who were closely akin to the Stoics), and the Epicurean Catus, the only addition to whose numbers in the second century A.D., is the Platonist Apuleius.

Now, although after the fall of the Republic the influences favourable to the spread of Greek philosophy in the Roman world increased in number and strength, the old Roman dislike of it, based in the main on the opposition between the practical and the theoretical, between realism and idealism, continued to exist. The view expressed by one of the characters in Ennius, that it was good to 'take a sip of' philosophy, but not to become absorbed in it, was also that of Tacitus and all like-minded Roman statesmen and patriots, who were bound to oppose a speculative system, which led to indifference to the State and its most important interests. Although an acquaintance with the doctrines of philosophy, 'that noble science', was regarded as worthy of commendation; although a salutary influence 'that moderated the passions' was conceded to it; yet, among these circles, over-zealous study of its doctrines was considered reprehensible in a Roman and a senator. Helvidius Priscus, who studied Stoicism 'in order that he might take part in state affairs better equipped against the blows of fortune', and in all relations of life satisfied the highest claims of morality, was according to Tacitus an exception, since the majority only affected 'the higher studies in order to conceal an indolent inactivity under a high-sounding name'. In Tacitus the highly respected Musonius Rufus plays the part of a ridiculous pedant, who parades his knowledge on the most unsuitable occasions; in the year 70 he attempted to influence the legions of Antonius before the gates of Rome by addressing them on the blessings of peace and the evils of war, and with difficulty escaped ill-treatment at the hands of the soldiers. Quintilian also contrasts the 'true citizen and truly wise man, who devotes himself not to idle discussions but to the administration of the state', with the philosophers who hold themselves as far aloof as possible from all the duties of a citizen in general. 'What philosopher', he asks, 'has ever been prominent as a judge or orator? What philosopher has ever interested himself in the manage-

ment of state affairs, for which, however, the majority of them are fond of laying down rules ? ' The younger Pliny praises Titius Aristo as a man inferior in purity, piety, justice, and strength of mind to none of those who make an outward show of philosophy. ' Yet he does not frequent gymnasia and porticoes, nor spend his time and that of others in idle and lengthy discussions, but he always wears the *toga* and is always busy '. Men of this practical turn of mind must have regarded a regular study of philosophy as intolerable in the case of a ruler. Some expressions of the pretender Avidius Cassius afford a specimen of the manner in which the philosophical studies of Marcus Aurelius were criticized by the opponents of philosophy. He calls the emperor ' the disputant ', ' the philosophical old woman ', ' he institutes researches into the nature of the elements, of men's souls, of virtue and justice, and has no heart for affairs of state. You have heard that our philosopher's praefect of the praetorian guard, who was as poor as a beggar three days before his appointment, has suddenly become rich '. When Alexander Severus, on the advice of his mother Mammaca, gave up the study of music and philosophy, he was strengthened in his resolution by the Virgilian verses, quoted to him in place of an oracle, in which it was declared that the Romans were called upon to rule the world, while others might be allowed to carry off the prize in the arts and sciences.

In like manner Nero's mother dissuaded her son from the study of philosophy, to which he had been introduced first by the Stoic Chaeremon and then by Seneca, on the ground that it was ' injurious to one who was destined to rule '. In the circles which took a lively interest in the maintenance of the established order of things, above all in governmental and court circles, philosophy was not so much despised as feared. Caesarism, not without reason, saw in ' ideology ' a danger to itself. The speech in Cassius Dio, in which Maecenas unfolds the principles of imperial policy in presence of Augustus, also contains a warning to the emperor to be on his guard against philosophers, who propagated revolutionary ideas. He must not believe that all real or pretended philosophers were worthy and honest men, since Areus and Athenodorus had proved themselves such ; many wear this mask, in order that they may work incalculable mischief to states and individuals.

In fact, like the murderers of Julius Caesar, many critics of the government, and especially the most prominent leaders of the opposition in the senate in the first century, professed the doctrines of the Stoic school. Amongst them were republicans, such as Paetus Thrasea and Helvidius Priscus, whose aim was political martyrdom, and of those who took part in the Pisonian conspiracy (65) against Nero at least Lucan and Seneca. Besides, the emperors in general were only too ready to listen to insinuations against Stoicism and philosophy. In 62 Rubellius Plautus had been put to death while in exile, a man who, as Tigellinus represented to Nero, 'made a show of imitating the ancient Romans, and had adopted the arrogance of the Stoic school, which formed and produced turbulent spirits ever seeking danger (*negotiorum*)'.¹ Nero was instigated to persecute Thrasea (in 66) by Capito Cossutianus, who represented to him Thrasea's abstention from the deliberations of the senate as an act of rebellion, and Thrasea himself as the head of a faction. He declared that he had partisans, or rather satellites, who, although they did not yet venture to imitate the audacity of his language, reproduced his demeanour and manner; stern and morose, as if constantly reproaching the emperor for his excesses. Either their principles must be adopted, so far as they are preferable, or the leaders and instigators of these innovators must be removed. It is this sect that has produced the Tuberos and the Favoniuses, names hateful even to the old republic. In order to overthrow the monarchy, they make use of liberty as a pretext; when they have overthrown it, they proceed to attack liberty. Helvidius Priscus, Thrasea's son-in-law, who was reported to be in the habit of celebrating, together with his father-in-law, the birthdays of Brutus and Cassius, was banished (for the second time) under Vespasian and put to death in exile. Priscus, who was subsequently reckoned among the celebrated ideal figures of the Stoic school and is mentioned with respect by the younger Pliny and even by Tacitus (in spite of his prejudice against political martyrdom), was condemned by conservative monarchists, like Suetonius and Cassius Dio, who throw the responsibility for his downfall upon himself. According to Suetonius, Vespasian endured Priscus' defiant obstinacy with

¹ i.e. political martyrdom. Others translate 'eager to take part in public affairs'.

extreme patience, tried to prevent his death when it was unfortunately too late, and restrained his wrath, until he had submitted to numerous impertinent remarks, delivered in the manner of a reprimand'. Only fragments and excerpts from Dio's account have been preserved. He certainly attempts to fix the odium of the proceedings against Helvidius and the philosophers upon Vespasian's powerful friend Mucianus, but at the same time declares that Helvidius was seditious and a friend of the mob, that he had always abused the monarchy and praised democracy, acted accordingly and incited others to do the same; as if it were the task of philosophy to throw mud at the government, to stir up the masses, to overthrow the existing order of things and to bring about a revolution. Helvidius imitated Thræsea, but was greatly his inferior. Thræsea's opposition was directed against a Nero, but his words and actions were always temperate; he confined himself to passive resistance. Helvidius, on the other hand, was dissatisfied with a Vespasian and opposed him in public and in private; he sought death and thereby paid the penalty of numerous offences. According to Dio, other Stoics, as well as the Cynic Demetrius (for whom Seneca expresses his admiration), publicly expressed views incompatible with the existing order of things. The result was that (between the years 71 and 75) all the philosophers were expelled from Rome, with the single exception of Musonius Rufus (who had been banished by Nero); Demetrius and a certain Hostilius were deported to islands. In 93, the philosophers were again banished by Domitian, in connexion with the trial of the Stoic Junius Arulenus Rusticus, who in a panegyric on Thræsea had called him a holy man, and of other senators who held the same views: 'this prosecution was directed entirely against the political opposition, wherever it manifested itself in literature and the lecturer's chair, and while the most famous writers were criminally punished, the government expelled the others *en masse* from the capital'.

But after the death of Domitian the whole system of government was changed, and with it the attitude of the emperors towards philosophy, which not only ceased to be regarded as hostile to the government, but was soon encouraged in every way. In a letter written immediately after Domitian's death (96 or 97) Pliny expresses his delight at the glorious revival of

intellectual life in Rome, as attested by numerous and glorious examples, of which it would be sufficient to mention one, the lectures of the Stoic philosopher Euphrates. Pliny also praises Trajan for taking special interest in the education of youth, and for highly honouring teachers of rhetoric and philosophy. 'Studies, which had been punished with exile by a prince, who, conscious of his vices, proscribed, from fear rather than hatred, everything that was opposed to vice, are now fostered and made much of by Trajan. They are full of life and vigour, and have recovered their native land'; Dio of Prusa, who under Domitian had lived in (voluntary) exile, returned after his death. The reign of his former friend Nerva was too short for him to enjoy the benefit of his favour; Trajan, however, is said to have purposely distinguished him, and Dio, in one of his hortatory speeches on the government, declares that the emperor took pleasure in truth and frankness alone, not in flattery and lies. Hadrian, who sought the society of philosophers and of all men of learning, was perhaps the first who appointed public teachers of philosophy in Rome. Antoninus Pius appointed them in all the provinces, and according to his letter to the diet of the province of Asia the immunity from taxation, which in the case of other teachers was limited to a certain number, fixed in accordance with the size of the towns, was to be unrestricted in the case of philosophers, since there were so few of them. The salaries of the learned men summoned to the museum, including the philosophers, continued to be paid to them; at Athens public teachers were appointed by Marcus Aurelius from the four most important schools.

Under this philosopher on the throne philosophy became the fashion, even amongst the women; Stoicism, formerly so persecuted, was now considered a recommendation, and those who wished to get on pretended to adopt it or made a show of it. Among the emperor's philosophical tutors the Stoic Junius Rusticus and the Peripatetic Gnaeus Claudius Severus were influential and highly honoured. The former, a son or grandson of the Junius Rusticus executed by Domitian, was the adviser of Marcus Aurelius in all public and private affairs, and his words had great weight, in time of peace as well as war; the emperor always embraced him before going on to the praefects of the praetorian guard, twice nominated him consul and after his death ordered the senate to erect statues in his honour.

Gnaeus Claudius Severus, a distinguished citizen, had already been consul in 146 ; Marcus Aurelius made his son of the same name (consul 163 and 173) his son-in-law. Of the later emperors Septimius Severus, following the example of Marcus Aurelius, showed especial interest in philosophy, and according to Tertullian allowed philosophers great liberty of speech ; in spite of their attacks upon the emperors they received salaries and the honour of statues. Severus's wife, Julia Domna, also turned her attention to philosophy, after she had quarrelled with him as the result of the intrigues of the favourite Plautianus, and surrounded herself with philosophers.

Further, at the time when philosophy was suspected and persecuted, there was no lack of philosophers who zealously strove to represent themselves and their learning as entirely harmless to the government. Martial's friend and countryman, the advocate Decianus of Emerita, professed himself a follower of Thræsea and Cato ; in other words, he was a Stoic, but shrewd enough not 'to run with bare breast against drawn swords', for which he is commended by Martial. The poet declares he does not want a man who purchases fame by his blood, rashly shed, but one who deserves praise without martyrdom. Seneca in his letters has repeatedly defended philosophy against the reproach of hostility to the government. In a letter, which may have been written about the time when philosophy began to be looked upon with suspicion, he speaks as if it were quite inconceivable that it could ever be so suspected, although his defence itself shows that it had already been attacked on this ground. One must flee from the dangers of the world and find a sure refuge in philosophy, the science which affords protection not only amongst the good but also amongst those who are not utterly bad, like the priest's fillet, which even the worst respect. Never will worthlessness be so powerful, never will there be such a conspiracy against virtue, that the name of philosophy will not continue to be holy and venerable. Further, the philosopher must behave quietly and modestly. If it is asked whether Cato acted in this way, Seneca replies that he expressly disapproves of his participation not only in the civil war but also in the party quarrels that preceded it, as quite useless. He points to the example of the Stoics, who, retiring from political life, in their seclusion exert themselves for the ennoblement

of life and the establishment of the universal rights of man, 'without offence to one who is more powerful'. The wise man will not try to disturb universally adopted customs by his example, nor to attract the attention of the people by the novelty of his manner of life. Certainly, even he cannot be sure of absolute security. In a later letter, on the other hand, the charges against philosophy are refuted as if they had already been brought. 'They appear to me to be wrong, who think that the true followers of philosophy are obstinate and refractory, despisers of the authorities, kings and state administrators'. On the contrary, no one is more grateful to the latter than the philosophers, who have the greatest need of order and quietness in order to pursue their higher aims in life and reverence him who protects them like a father, far more than those restless and ambitious spirits, who have much to thank princes for, but also set a high value on their own services and are never satisfied with their reward. But the sincere and upright man, who has renounced the curia, the forum and political life, in order to occupy himself with higher things, loves those who make it possible for him to do this in safety; he alone bears witness on their behalf without being bribed, and is greatly indebted to them without their knowing it. As he reverences and esteems his teachers, thanks to whose kindness he has escaped the paths of error, so also he honours those under whose protection he is enabled to devote himself to noble pursuits. The benefits of universal peace are shared to a greater extent by those who make a right use of them. Again, in a later letter, he says: One must not make a boast of philosophy, for it has proved a source of danger to many who have practised it with arrogance and disdain: 'it is intended to eradicate your own faults, not to reproach others with theirs. It must not hold aloof from general custom, nor appear to condemn that which it avoids. It is possible to be wise without display or making oneself odious'. The appeal to philosophers to avoid anything out of the way, is often repeated; the very name of philosophy is already hated, even if it is practised with modesty; the more so if any one by making a show of exaggerated asceticism and contempt for the world violates traditional custom; in that case what is intended to excite admiration easily becomes hateful and ridiculous. Philosophy ought not to be used as a sign-board, a man should

even conceal his retirement, to prevent its becoming the subject of conversation and attracting attention.

It thus appears that Seneca by no means attempted only to represent as baseless the apprehensions and charges brought against philosophy by the representatives and uncompromising supporters of the existing political system, the latter of whom must have been very numerous in all circles, since they reckoned amongst them all who desired peace and order at any price as the basis of all material progress. To the mass of the people philosophy, with its high moral claims, its severe condemnation of laxity of morals, its homilies and admonitions, which unceasingly attempted to rouse them from their self-complacent indolence, must have been exceedingly annoying ; and further, the claim of philosophers, that they were better and stood on a higher level than other men, was the more offensive the more strikingly it manifested itself in dress and appearance, manner of life and other externalities. This is the tenor of the complaint against Stoicism addressed by Mucianus to Vespasian according to Cassius Dio. The Stoics, he says, are full of vanity and arrogance. A long beard, uplifted eyebrows, a coarse cloak and bare feet, are thought to entitle a man to pass himself off as wise, manly and just, and to give himself airs, even though he is ignorant of the rudiments of knowledge. They look down upon all other men with contempt, reproach the handsome man with lack of control, the wealthy with avarice, the poor with servility and so forth. Dio of Prusa gives the same reason for the general unpopularity of philosophy in Greece. The philosopher's attire, his cloak without a tunic, his long hair and beard, expose the wearer to sneers, scorn and derision, and even ill-treatment ; for most men suspect philosophers of despising all who are not philosophers, of condemning and secretly ridiculing them because of their ignorance of what really benefits mankind, especially the rich, who are the objects of general envy. Hence most people think it their duty to anticipate the philosophers' ridicule and contempt, to represent them as fools and madmen whenever possible, and thereby at the same time to show that they have reason on their side. In short, the dress which marks every one who wears it as a relentless monitor, a censor and a moralist, is as universally disliked as the schoolmaster's dress by children.

In addition to these antipathies, the half-educated and uneducated masses had a very cogent reason to despise and ridicule the laborious studies on which so high a value was placed. They were completely useless, they brought neither promotion nor reputation, nor as a rule money. Persius, who represents the inflated provincials as despising all higher (Greek) culture, introduces the centurions (who appear to have been the leaders of fashion in other respects in the Italian towns, and everywhere enjoyed amongst the middle and lower classes of society no less authority than they claimed by their consequential and overbearing manner), as expressing their contempt for philosophy as a profession whereby it is impossible to earn one's bread. If any one ventures to praise the freedom enjoyed by the wise man in the presence of those men with swollen legs, a gigantic Fulfennius immediately breaks into a horse-laugh and offers a worn-out 100-*as* piece for a hundred Greeks. 'I,' says another of this unsavoury crew, 'I know all I have any need to know. I don't care to be like your Arcesilases and self-tormenting Solons, stooping their heads, fixing their eyes on the ground, as they stand grumbling to themselves or silently move their lips like madmen, and with lower lip put forward seem to be weighing their words in the balance, deeply pondering over the dreams of some sick dotard, such as, Nothing can come out of nothing, nothing can return to nothing. Is it for this that you look so pale? is it for this that you go without your dinner? The people are amused at them, and muscular youths burst into a horse-laugh again and again, enough to twist their nostrils.' Capitalists and business men also naturally had a profound contempt for philosophers. Trimalchio leaves directions that on his tombstone should be inscribed: 'He began in a small way and became great; he has left 30,000,000 sesterces (about £300,000) and has never listened to a philosopher'.

The learned world also reproached philosophy with being a completely useless and superfluous science, in the name and on the part of a healthy common sense, which then, as at all times, claimed to have long since attained the same end and the same results which speculation endeavoured to reach by painfully circuitous paths, and accordingly denied that it had anything to learn from philosophy. What, in particular, was the use of the numerous artificial systems of moral phil-

osophy, as compared with the simple and incontestable law of morality which is implanted in all men's hearts? Further, which philosophy could be said to teach the truth, since each school declared the doctrines of all other schools to be false?

From this point of view philosophy was attacked especially by those who regarded eloquence as the aim of all educational efforts, who probably in the later days of antiquity formed the majority of the educated classes. This quite natural jealousy between rhetoricians and philosophers, 'the artists of the pure form of speech and the investigators of the inmost nature of things', which was based upon internal antagonism and was continually fostered by external causes, led to incessant and frequently embittered disputes as to the relative value of the two sciences. Pupils were already trained to take part in these struggles. Amongst the 'controversial' themes which were the subject of declamation in the rhetorical schools was the following: A father leaves three sons, an orator, a philosopher and a physician; by his will he appoints as his sole or favoured heir the one who is able to show that he renders most service to the state. Speeches are then delivered in favour of each of the three sciences and against the other two. The complete uselessness of philosophy is shown by its fruits. The question so often asked, whether virtue can be taught, is answered in the negative. The best men, the Fabricii, the Decii, became what they were without philosophy; on the other hand, the greatest criminals had been produced by the philosophical schools, as tyrants and enemies of their country by that of Socrates. But, even granting that wisdom can be acquired by instruction, the method to be adopted will always be uncertain, for all the schools contradict each other. Besides, many philosophers confess that, in spite of all efforts, a truly wise man has never existed. What, therefore, is the use of philosophy? Would it be of service in war or in civil employment? Nothing is to be found in its votaries but hypocrisy, idleness, and arrogance, by which they manage to acquire a certain influence. Their assertion, that they contribute to the diminution of vice, is contradicted by evidence.

That the teachers of eloquence were bound to be, at least in great measure, opponents of philosophy on principle, is obvious. A treatise attributed to Plutarch is directed against them. The elder Seneca's son declares that his father hated

philosophy and prevented his wife from studying it seriously. Quintilian, who strongly maintained the elder Cato's idea, that the orator was 'a morally good man, skilled in speech', affirmed that ethics was properly a branch of oratory; that it had only been separated from it through the fault of the orators who had neglected it, and had been taken possession of by 'feeble minds' and made a speciality by them; the orators must reclaim this branch of oratory as their own. Since the true philosopher can be nothing else but a morally good man, that is, the same as the true orator, a special science of philosophy is superfluous. Quintilian uses every opportunity of expressing his irritation with philosophers, of lashing their servilely painful adherence to the doctrines and expressions of the school, their endless and sophistical investigations, their complicated methods of framing the simplest propositions, their arrogance and hypocrisy, their idleness and avoidance of the world so detrimental to the interests of the state, and at the same time takes delight in exposing the weaknesses of individual schools. Dio of Prusa also, when a rhetorician, had passionately attacked philosophy, to which he subsequently devoted himself.

Fronto expresses his rage in truly comic fashion against philosophy, which had caused his imperial pupil Marcus Aurelius to desert the study of eloquence. This was all the more to be regretted, as Marcus, as Fronto writes to him, had already distinguished himself as a boy by nobility of spirit and dignity of ideas, which only lacked brilliancy of expression; the preparations and efforts necessary to secure the latter had been too laborious for him; he had consequently abandoned the study of eloquence and had suddenly jumped off to philosophy, in which there was 'no introduction to be carefully elaborated, no narrative to be constructed concisely, clearly and skilfully, no arguments to be sought for, in fact nothing of special importance'. Of course, he found matters easier with his teachers of philosophy. He only had to listen to their explanations and nod his head in token that he understood; while others read, he could generally go to sleep; he was obliged to hear frequently and at length that 'firstly, it was thus, and secondly, it was thus', and to have it laboriously proved to him, that it is clear, when it is day, while the sun was shining through the window. Then he could go quietly home,

with nothing to think about or to write out in the evening, nothing to read to his teacher, nothing to repeat from memory ; no expressions to be searched for, no synonyms to be employed as an ornament, no translation from Greek into Latin. What could be gained by a course of study such as that ? ' But, as Fronto says, Marcus would rather converse than be eloquent, and preferred to express himself in whispers and murmurs than in distinct utterances.

Lucian also, in spite of all his ill-humour with the degenerate rhetoric of his time ; in spite of his letter of renunciation addressed to it in his *Bis Accusatus* (' Twice Accused '), written when he was nearly forty years of age ; in spite of his pretended conversion to philosophy, remained at heart a genuine rhetorician, and, like Quintilian, denies the claims of speculation from the standpoint of sound common sense.

According to him, also, philosophy consisted of the practical worldly wisdom, which was not only tied to no system, but was attainable by every thinking man, even if not a philosopher. In general, philosophers were hateful to him, although he made some exceptions (belonging to the most different schools) ; and not only by reason of the contrast between their doctrine and their manner of life. The vanity, folly, unreality and absurdity of all philosophical studies form the subject of the dialogue *Hermotimus*. Hermotimus, who has been absorbed for the last twenty years in the study of Stoicism, never misses a lecture, pores over his books day and night, has no enjoyments, looks pale and thin, hopes in another twenty years to reach his goal ! But he is finally obliged to admit that, in order to be able to assert that any one system of philosophy is the only one that can bestow happiness, it would be necessary first to examine all existing systems, which would take two hundred or at least a hundred years. And what certainty is there that truth is really contained in any one system ? And even if one succeeded in discovering the only true philosophy, how could one be sure of finding the right person to teach it ? And, after all, the efforts of those who study philosophy are not even directed towards its proper aim, the practical demonstration of knowledge in actions, but rather towards miserable ' phrasicles ',¹

¹ Liddell and Scott, s.v. ῥημάτων.

sylogisms, false conclusions, and puzzling questions; their masters' cleverness in confounding others with sophisms is the object of their profound admiration. Instead of striving after the fruit, they work themselves to death for the rind and throw the leaves in each other's faces.

Lastly, Aristides evidently thought that he was fulfilling a sacred duty, imposed upon him by his position in the literary world, when in the struggle between rhetoric and philosophy he threw the whole weight of his authority on the side of the former. In two lengthy discourses *On Rhetoric* he defends it against the accusations of the Platonic Socrates (in the *Gorgias*). Rhetoric is not only (what is there denied) an art, but is indissolubly connected with all the cardinal virtues; it has been invented by wisdom for the sake of justice, and is protected by bravery and virtue; he who knows how a man should speak, also knows how he should act; in short, the art of oratory is the foundation and summary of all moral and intellectual education. Certainly, Aristides declares that he has no intention of attacking philosophy itself; he has associated with the best and greatest philosophers of his time and looks upon them as his instructors. But, as a matter of fact, these conventional commendations conceal a strong dislike, even a certain hatred, of philosophy. Aristides also defends the four great Athenian statesmen, Miltiades, Themistocles, Cimon and Pericles against the accusations of Platonic idealism in an excessively long discourse, in which he empties all the vials of his wrath upon the philosophers of the time. Even if one can put up with such unjust accusations from the great Plato, it is intolerable that utterly worthless individuals should have the audacity to imitate him and even to insult a Demosthenes. Who would endure such men's abuse even of the living, 'men whose grammatical faults outnumber their words, who look down upon others with the contempt which they merit themselves, who test others but never themselves, who praise virtue but do not practise it'? They have never, like the rhetoricians, delivered, imagined or composed a profitable speech, have never contributed to the brilliancy of festivals, have never paid honour to the gods, have never given counsel to cities, have never consoled the afflicted, have never reconciled those at variance, have never admonished the young or any one

else, have never thought of embellishing their speeches. But, creeping into their holes, they excogitate their glorious wisdom, 'ranting to some creature of their brain'¹, reaping ears of corn,² tying ropes of sand', and undoing I know not what web; for the more they gain in wisdom, the more they lose; highly pleased with themselves if they speak evil of rhetoric; somewhat after the manner of slaves, especially those who are always being flogged, they curse their masters between their teeth, or like a satyr on the stage, who curses Heracles and hides himself at his approach. However, it is quite natural that they should speak ill of everybody, for they have enough bad language and to spare; and even if they do not specially mention any one, they none the less speak evil, when they do speak; in so doing they are only giving of their own superfluity. If they were deprived of the power of lying and acting maliciously, their occupation would be gone. And with it all, they hold before the world the glorious name of philosophy as a show-piece; as if the name meant anything, as if Thersites could be beautiful if he were called Hyacinthus or Narcissus, or as if the name of Nestor could make a Margites wise?

For the reasons above indicated a large number of people, belonging to different classes of society, took up an attitude of dislike or positive hostility to philosophy; Roman patriots, conservatives by conviction, instinct or interestedness; men of the ordinary kind, who were uncomfortably affected by everything that rose above mediocrity; those who detested pretentiousness; selfish utilitarians; those who opposed and despised every kind of speculation; representatives of non-philosophical education, all strove to defend their own interests and property. It appeared to all of these that they could not more effectually support their opinion of philosophy as superfluous, valueless or even injurious, than by appealing to experience, which taught, so at least they asserted, that the standard of morality as a rule was no higher among philosophers, if indeed it was not lower, than amongst the majority of average men.

¹ Sophocles, *Ajax*, 302 (Jebb's tr.).

² i.e. attempting impossibilities. 'Ανθήρικον ('blade' or 'ear' of corn) is used in later Greek for the stalks of the asphodel plant, and this may be the meaning here, in reference to a plant that cannot be reaped.

Hence the name of philosopher subjected every one who assumed it to a keen, unsparing and jealous observation from various critics, who eagerly strove to discover his offences, weaknesses, and absurdities, that they might triumphantly denounce them. Epictetus says: When people see a man with long hair and a coarse cloak behaving in an unseemly manner, they shout, 'Look at the philosopher'; whereas his behaviour should rather convince them that he is no philosopher. When Gellius was crossing from Cassiope to Brundisium, a fearful storm endangered the safety of the ship. While every one was wailing and lamenting, Gellius looked round at a famous Stoic philosopher who happened to be on board, to get an idea of his state of mind from his demeanour. The philosopher, it is true, uttered no complaint, but betrayed his alarm by his paleness and the expression of his features. When the storm had subsided, a wealthy Asiatic Greek, who was travelling with a large suite and a luxurious equipment, immediately went up to the Stoic and ridiculed him for having turned pale in the hour of danger. The philosopher met this impertinence admirably; he removed Gellius' modestly expressed doubt on the same point by quoting a passage in Epictetus, according to which even the wise man was allowed to turn pale.

It may be conjectured that philosophers most frequently had to justify themselves against the charge of being fond of money. Ulpian, in discussing processes for fees owing for lessons or other services rendered by learned men, says that, in his opinion, philosophers could not legally prosecute claims for fees; they had above all to declare that they disdained all 'salaried employment'. On the other hand, Seneca, in a lengthy treatise, attempted to prove that there was no law against philosophers being wealthy. Certainly he does not expect to convince those, who cannot admit that any one is morally good, since they regard another man's virtue as a reproach to themselves, and who hate the very name of virtue and every one who practises it; according to them, even the Cynic Demetrius is not poor enough. No doubt philosophers as a rule are far from attaining their ideals, which are beyond human powers; but is it not praiseworthy ever to have their mind fixed upon them and to strive to reach the goal? He himself lays no claim to the name

of a wise man; he is only an earnest inquirer after truth, not to be compared with the best, but better than the bad, and content to walk steadily in the way of moral perfection. Wealth is one of the 'indifferent' things (*ἀδιάφορα*, *media*, *indifferentia*), which are not entirely without value; the philosopher, although he does not love it, yet prefers it to poverty, since it enables him to develop a number of good qualities, such as moderation, generosity, carefulness, orderliness, magnanimity. Even Cato of Utica, who praised the poverty of the good old days, had a fortune of 4,000,000 sesterces (about £40,000); Seneca himself one of 300,000,000 (£3,000,000). It is obvious that such apologies for contradictions between theory and practice, between the ideal and the real, could make but little impression on those who opposed philosophy on principle, especially as philosophers only too often were guilty of worse offences. Seneca confesses that some of them might be charged with gluttony, keeping mistresses and accepting presents. Such men could be found living in adultery, haunting the taverns and hanging about at court. And every unworthy or shameful act committed by one was a slur upon his school as a whole. The treacherous conduct of the Stoic Publius Egnatius Celer towards his patron Barea Soranus in the year 66, was fresh in men's memory a generation later, and was quoted as an example of the 'shameful deeds of the great cloak'.¹

But if philosophers of means were reproached for their wealth, it was said of the poor that their lofty ideas cost them little. The Stoic Chaeremon, says Martial, claims to be admired for his contempt of death. What gives him this fortitude is his utter poverty; he has nothing he can call his own save a broken pitcher, a hearth without a fire, a mattress, a bug, a bare pallet, and a short *toga*, which serves him as a covering by night. What a great man he is, to have the courage to give up sour wine, black bread and a litter of straw! If only he were living in the enjoyment of wealth and luxury, he would want to live three times as long as Nestor and to enjoy every moment of his life. It is easy enough to despise life when poor; the man who knows how

¹ Juvenal, iii. 115. The phrase, *facinus majoris abollae*, seems to mean 'a greater crime', although the explanation is doubtful. *Abolla* was a thick cloak worn by philosophers, and may be used to represent the class.

to endure unhappiness is really courageous. Appian says that whenever philosophers have attained to power, they have exercised it more harshly than uneducated tyrants, and thereby aroused suspicion and doubts of other philosophers, whether they have embraced philosophy for the sake of virtue or only as a consolation for poverty and indolence. Even at the present day, he says, there are many, poor and with nothing to do, who, wrapping themselves in the cloak of the wisdom of necessity, bitterly assail the rich or highly placed ; but, instead of gaining a reputation for contempt of wealth and power, they are looked upon as envious of both. Those who are abused would do well to ignore them.

As the number of philosophers increased and their society consequently became more mixed, the feeling of dislike for them became more pronounced and attacks upon them more frequent. It is one of the symptoms of the continual progress of philosophy in Rome in the second half of the first century that, from the time of Domitian at least, hypocrites frequently used it as a mask, under the shelter of which they hoped to be able to sin with impunity. On several occasions Quintilian inveighs bitterly against those humbugs who, having attended philosophical lectures for a certain time, with their hypocritical airs and long beards and by their professed contempt for others manage to obtain a great reputation ; in public they appear stern and gloomy, while at home they indulge in gross excesses. It is men such as these who make the name of philosophy hated, which in his time was used as a cloak for the greatest vices and the worst infamies. Thus the highly gifted, but morally weak Palfurius Sura (who carried on the profession of an informer under Domitian and was condemned to death on that account immediately after Nerva's accession) joined the Stoic school after he had been expelled from the senate by Vespasian. Needy Stoics and Cynics with huge dusty beards were common sights in Rome at that time ; during the reigns of Domitian and Trajan every district of the city swarmed with sulky-looking profligates, who pretended to be Curii but whose life as a matter of fact was a succession of orgies. These men also excited the dislike of honourable people by their ignorance, in spite of the numerous plaster busts of Chrysippus and other philosophers with which they adorned

their book shelves. For all they said, they might have been dumb; they wore their hair even shorter than their eyebrows; yet more than one of these Stoics, who like fresh Catos declaimed against the decadence of morality in their time, betrayed their luxurious habits by the exquisite perfumes with which they rubbed their scrubby necks.

The number of philosophers and pseudo-philosophers in the capital of the world was already so great, and even amidst the motley, ever seething crowd their behaviour so conspicuous, that they attracted general attention and criticism. How much more must this have been the case in the quietness of provincial life, so favourable to contemplation, in a country like Greece, which then, as formerly, was the true home of philosophy and philosophers, and remained so till the end of ancient civilization. Dio of Prusa (in the passages above cited) declares that the philosopher's cloak is to be seen everywhere; that the number of those who wear it is almost greater than that of the shoemakers or fullers or jesters or the followers of any other profession; but, he adds, even though we wear the dress of Socrates or Diogenes we still remain far behind them in wisdom. But even if philosophy occupied so large a space in the civilized life of Greece at that time, the number of true philosophers remained small; the majority, as Epictetus says, were philosophers in words only, not in reality; but its opponents still continued to point to the conduct of these philosophers, philosophers only by virtue of their beard and cloak, in order to represent the uselessness of philosophy as an aid to moral perfection.

Pseudo-philosophy, together with philosophy, obtained the widest recognition under Marcus Aurelius. At Rome true philosophers, such as Macedo the friend of Gellius, complained that idlers with beards and cloaks explained away the content of philosophy in sophistic language and delivered eloquent sermons against vices, with which they inwardly reeked themselves. In Africa Apuleius (under Antoninus Pius) expressed the hope that every one would not be permitted to assume the mask of philosophy, so that uncouth, dirty, uneducated men might not be able to sully the royal science, which taught noble speaking and noble living, by their evil words and equally evil manner of life. The prominence

he gives to impudent abuse and vulgarity in manners and outward appearance as the chief characteristics of these spurious philosophers, clearly shows that he was thinking particularly or exclusively of the Cynics, who in his opinion were far inferior to the Platonists. In Greece, especially, according to Lucian, in all the streets and public places were to be seen long beards, book-rolls, worn-out cloaks, and enormous sticks in abundance; shoemakers and carpenters left their workshops, to carry on an idle beggar's life as Cynics. The degradation of philosophy by the gang of false disciples, the abuse of its name which especially embittered those who were not philosophers, naturally strengthened the ranks of its opponents and played into their hands. Lucian made it his special task to hold up the ways of these men to the scorn of his contemporaries. They, the men who taught contempt for money and fame and dispassionateness, who praised virtue as the only good, taught for money, grovelled before the rich, were more passionate than snarling dogs, more cowardly than hares, more fawning than apes, more brutal than asses, more thievish than weasels, more quarrelsome than cocks. Added to this, every school abused the other. The Stoics called the Epicureans voluptuaries, the Peripatetics quarrelsome and avaricious, the Platonists arrogant and ambitious, being in turn reproached with usury, contentiousness and other vices. When the followers of the different schools quarrelled there was no infamy of which they did not accuse one another. When some of them appealed to the old philosophers in extenuation of their vices, as the Platonists justified adultery by Plato's *Republic* and drunkenness by his *Laws*, it was no wonder that many declared outright that the exclusive and absorbing study of philosophical books only led men astray from intelligent thinking.

Aristides also, in the discourse already quoted, passing from the defence to the attack, represented philosophers as a class of men destitute of all virtue and affected with all vices. They declare themselves not inferior to Zeus, but cannot resist 'the obol'. They abuse others out of pure envy; but if one were to offer them, in the middle of their lectures on abstinence, a piece of cake or pastry, they would let their tongue drop, like Menelaus his sword, when he first saw Helen. But if they were to see Helen, or only a

servant like the Phrygian handmaiden in Menander, the behaviour of the satyrs in Sophocles would seem a harmless joke in comparison. In order to understand their untrustworthiness and greed, it is not necessary to entrust anything to their care; for they everywhere lay hands upon everything they can. They call robbery division of property, envy a philosophical frame of mind, poverty contempt of money. They pride themselves on their philanthropy, but have never yet done any one a service; on the contrary, they injure those who have anything to do with them. While they pretend not to see people, even when they meet them, they travel to foreign parts in search of the rich, like the Phrygians after the olive crop; they scent their approach at once, seize hold of them at once, and promise to impart virtue to them. They hardly give a civil answer, when spoken to by other people; but they salute from a distance the cooks, bakers and other servants of the wealthy even before they have recognized them, as if they had got out of bed for that purpose. They crowd before the doors of wealthy houses and mix with the porters more than with their masters, bolstering up their servility with effrontery. When any one sees them for the first time, they show less scruple in demanding what is not their due than others in claiming what is theirs by right. For they are the people who call effrontery frankness, malignity sincerity, spoliation philanthropy. Certainly they do not ask for money, but they know how to take it. If any one sends them too little, they stick to their principles; but if they catch sight of a well-filled purse, then Perseus has overcome the Gorgon; the excuse is very artful: 'the wife and the little ones'. Their definition of greatness of soul is, in fact, quite new; that it does not consist in giving much, but in not accepting little. Some have already made it a rule never to refuse a gift, and to abuse the giver after they have received it. While they play the hypocrite like the parasites and ape the insolence of their superiors, they exhibit, like the atheists in Palestine, two most opposite faults, humility and arrogance. Like the atheists, they are far inferior to the Greeks (at least, those of the better class), and in everything else are as mute as their own shadow; except that if it is a question of abuse and calumny, one would be inclined to compare them, not

with the gong at Dodona but with flies buzzing in the dark. No one is so incapable of co-operating in anything that is needful; on the other hand, they understand better than any one else how to play the spy on a household and to bring confusion into it, how to set the inmates against each other, and how to declare that they themselves could manage things much better.

The name of philosophy was chiefly brought into contempt by the gang of Cynics, whose name and school, after long suspension, revived at the beginning of the Christian era. Even amongst them there were some noble figures; but, in the second century especially, Cynicism became more and more a 'sign-board, which concealed a host of impure elements', and the majority of these 'mendicant friars' of antiquity a veritable pest, at least in Greece, through their vulgarity, repulsiveness, and effrontery. A caricature of Diogenes and Antisthenes in outward appearance, dress, manner of life and conduct,—this was the only manifestation of a moral freedom based upon absence of wants, renunciation of the world and superiority to all human weaknesses, which found favour with only too many, who might be recognized as Cynics by the tattered cloak or simple bearskin, unkempt hair and beard, staff (occasionally even a pestle) and wallet. Their cosmopolitanism, without a home, degenerated into vagrancy, their return to a state of nature into disgusting obscenity, which Epictetus thought it his duty to prove, in a special essay, was no necessity for a philosopher. Their lack of means was bound to be used as a pretext for impudent mendicancy and low toadyism; their self-appointed mission as educators of backward humanity and physicians of its infirmities as a justification for importunity and charlatanry; their coarse vulgarity, which took the place of robust humour, as a seasoning for the sermons of these ancient capuchins.

This repulsive portrait, drawn in detail by Lucian, is also found in other authors. Petronius says that even those who spend their time with the Cynic wallet, sometimes sell the truth for money. Epictetus contrasts the ideal Cynic with 'those of the present day, the dogs round the master's table', who imitated Diogenes only in his most unmannerly uncereemoniousness, whose only claim to Cynicism was their

staff and wallet, lanthorn jaws, their pilfering and pocketing, vulgar abuse and exhibition of their broad shoulders. On one occasion, when Gellius was with Herodes Atticus, one of these beggars, with long hair and a beard hanging below his navel, approached him and held out his hand with a request for money 'to buy bread'. When asked who he was, he rudely replied, 'a philosopher, as any one could tell by looking at me'. One of the companions of Herodes remarked that he was a vagrant and a ne'er-do-well, who went the round of dirty taverns, and insulted those who did not give him anything. Herodes, however, ordered money enough to buy bread for a month to be given him. Nor is there any reason, consequently, to doubt the statement of Lucian that runaway slaves and ne'er-do-wells, who found it too much trouble to earn a livelihood in a respectable trade, chose this convenient and lucrative beggar's life, which at the same time made it possible for them to indulge their bestial inclinations under the philosopher's mask. Everywhere they levied contributions or, in their words, sheared the sheep with complete success, for most people gave out of respect for their venerable dress or from fear of their abuse; and Lucian asserts that not only were gold pieces, mirrors, perfumes and dice sometimes found in their wallets, but that many made enough by begging to buy land and houses and live in luxury.

Consequently, although antipathies of all kinds existed, well-founded or not, partly against philosophy itself and partly against philosophers, in the most different social and educational circles in both the Greek and the Roman world, yet obviously the great majority of educated persons in Rome and the western countries were thoroughly convinced that philosophy was the best guide to the highest morality. Indeed, the opposition hitherto described, many sided and vigorous, even violent, is inconceivable unless this opinion was widely held; rather it assumes it. Cicero may be regarded as the representative of the view which in later Roman antiquity reckoned the greatest number of supporters. According to him, there would be no need of philosophy at all, if the germs of virtue implanted in us by nature were able to develop themselves undisturbed. But since we are under the influence of false and perverted ideas from our birth,

imbibe them with our mother's milk, and are increasingly infected with errors by parents, teachers, poets, and finally by the people amongst whom we live, we need a cure for our ailing and ill-trained souls ; and this cure, the restoration of our natural health, we can obtain by means of philosophy alone.

The weight of the universally recognized authority of Cicero, who in his *Hortensius* appears as an advocate of philosophy against rhetoric, could least of all be denied by those who recognized in eloquence the aim and sum-total of all education. Even Quintilian, the enemy of philosophers, who is inclined to treat philosophy as the handmaid of eloquence, recognizes that no one can be morally good without the teaching of virtue and justice. The assertion that virtue can be acquired without teaching, he hardly thinks worth refutation. His ideal orator, after the completion of a comprehensive technical education, should go through an equally comprehensive course of instruction in philosophy—physics (natural philosophy), dialectics and ethics. His remark that he should be a philosopher, who will have to prove himself a truly good citizen, not by school disputations, but by acts and positive evidence of purpose, reminds us that the greatest differences of opinion prevailed in the Roman world, even amongst those who recognized the necessity or utility of philosophy, not only as to its aims, but also as to the amount of philosophical instruction that was desirable. Tacitus voices the unbending attitude of the Romans in regard to the study of philosophy as taught by the Greek schools, that it should be limited to a minimum. On the other hand, it is sufficient to mention names like Seneca, Persius, Musonius Rufus and Marcus Aurelius, to prove that the demand for entire devotion to philosophy had its representatives also in the educated Roman world. Philosophy, says Seneca, cannot be treated as an extra. It is an exacting mistress, who refuses to accept a man's leisure time, and claims to decide how much leisure he shall have. But if a man devotes all his time to it, concentrates all his thoughts upon it, and refuses to attend to anything else, he will far outstrip all other men and will not be far inferior to the gods. Philosophy is not intended to be an agreeable recreation during the day, a means of dissipating the *ennui* of the idler ; it culti-

vates and forms the mind, regulates life, directs our actions, shows what should be done and what left undone, sits at the helm and steers safely through the waves. Without philosophy no one can be free from fear, no one can live without anxiety ; events without number occur every hour which demand advice, which must be sought from philosophy. In two very lengthy essays Seneca discusses the question (often debated), whether the paraenetic section of moral philosophy, i.e. a practical teaching of duty, containing precepts for all important contingencies, is sufficient for life ; or whether such teaching must be based upon a theoretical system of principles or dogmas, which prescribe the rule of action in all particular cases. While some declared the paraenetic, others the dogmatic section to be superfluous, Seneca endeavours to show that a complete and true moral education can only be obtained by the combination of both. A conviction founded on principles must be the basis and source of all thoughts and actions, which must be directed towards a fixed goal, the highest good, as far as it is possible to reach it, as the course of ships is guided by a star. Without such conviction founded upon dogmatic principles, an invariable constancy in thought and action is impossible ; it is also the soil, on which alone the maxims of moral philosophy take root, from which alone they can draw renewed vitality. But, in addition to the general principles of the one, the special rules of the other are equally indispensable. Surrounded by perverted ideas, by errors of every kind, by lies and pretence, we require to be incessantly reminded of even well-known truths ; amidst the tumult of falsehood we need the warning voice of admonition, amidst the roar of cities a prompter by our side, to teach us, in opposition to the panegyrists of wealth, power and favour, to appreciate peaceful devotion to study and the return of the mind from the external world to itself. Philosophy alone can give us a healthy mind ; it is the only teacher of the highest art, the art of living, and not only the best, but the only guide to morality. There is no virtue without philosophy, no philosophy without virtue.

One who required such complete devotion to philosophy as Seneca was naturally difficult to satisfy in the matter of the zeal and number of its disciples. About the year 64,

he complains that no one troubles himself about philosophy, except when the games are put off or on a rainy day, when he wants to kill time; the philosophical schools, like the rhetorical, are empty. Yet these complaints of a writer who is always given to exaggeration prove at the most that his ideal remained unrealized. The banishment of Musonius Rufus in 65, who, as Tacitus says, owed his exile to his reputation, since he exercised great influence on the education of the young by introducing them to philosophy, shows that, as a matter of fact, philosophy at that time had many zealous disciples amongst the youth of the upper classes. Naturally, the number of pupils of that class must have been large, to have aroused the attention and suspicion of the Neronian régime.

Amongst the philosophers who taught in Rome and other cities of the West (especially Massilia, one of the chief seats of such studies even in Strabo's time), Greeks certainly formed the majority. That philosophy was regarded as a Greek science is also shown by the fact that many philosophers who were not Greeks, such as the two Sextii, Cornutus, Musonius Rufus, Favorinus, Marcus Aurelius, and to some extent Apuleius, wrote in Greek. The extent to which it had become naturalized in Rome as early as the last century B.C. is shown not only by the large number of followers, admirers and patrons, which it secured in the educated society of Rome, and by the rise of a Roman philosophical literature, but above all by the formation of the philosophical school of the Sextii. It was certainly only a form of Stoicism, as it took shape in the Roman consciousness, especially in the sense that it was distinctly limited to moral philosophy, with a dash of asceticism borrowed from Pythagoreanism (such as abstention from animal food). Since, therefore, it coincided in the main with the Stoicism and Cynicism of the first century, it lacked the fundamental condition of an independent existence; it was soon dissolved, and its pupils, like Seneca, returned to the great Stoic community from which the Sextii had separated. During its existence, however, the school had important representatives, and exercised considerable influence. Its founder was Quintus Sextius, a man of good family, who contemptuously declined the offer of Julius Caesar to raise him to senatorial rank

and launch him on an official career, in order to devote himself entirely to philosophy. Other important members of the school were the son of the founder, the prolific writer Cornelius Celsus, the learned grammarian Lucius Crassitius of Tarentum, who sacrificed his important teaching connexion to join the school, and Papirius Fabianus, whom Seneca, when a young man, had heard and highly appreciated. He calls him a true philosopher of the old style, not one of the modern professors, although at the same time he praises his public lectures. One felt elevated by his exhortations and incited to emulation, without losing the hope of even surpassing him ; and although as a rule his hearers preserved a modest silence, they were now and again carried away to enthusiastic applause by the nobility of his sentiments.

Of all the systems of Greek moral philosophy Stoicism was undoubtedly best suited to the Roman national character, and for this reason always had the greatest number of followers amongst those Romans who seriously aspired to moral perfection. The long list of prominent personalities in Roman history, whom we know as Stoics, contains the noblest figures of that time, and not a few who by their life and death have proved the earnestness and sincerity of the convictions they had acquired from the Stoic system of philosophy. The philosophical works of the Roman writers of this period that have been preserved also belong almost exclusively to this school. Next to Stoicism, Epicureanism probably at all times reckoned the greatest number of adherents, although there is no positive evidence of its spread in the Roman world under the empire. That the Epicureans did not make themselves prominent in public life was due to the nature of their school, which purposely sought concealment ; and there was the less need for them to assert the claims of their system in writing, since these were sufficiently set forth in earlier works.

The remaining philosophical schools had undoubtedly made less progress amongst the Romans, but probably none of them was without its representatives ; and it was a natural result of the eclectic tendency of the Romans that each aroused interest and proved attractive even outside the circle of its own followers. The lectures delivered in Rome

by the Platonist Plutarch during the reign of Domitian were attended by the most important men in the city, several of whom became firm friends of the venerable philosopher. Such were Mestrius Florus (already a consular in 69) ; Sossius Senecio (consul 98, 99, 102), to whom Plutarch dedicated his *Lives* ; Fundanus, a pupil of Musonius (probably identical with Minucius Fundanus, consul 107) ; Terentius Priscus (perhaps the same as Martial's patron), and others. Gellius, who regularly attended the lectures of the famous Platonist Calvisius Taurus at Athens, was one of a large number of Romans who studied in that city, who all attended the same lectures. We shall speak later of the position of the Cynic Demetrius at Rome during the period from Nero to Vespasian. The Cynic Crescens, whose slanders on the Christians were publicly refuted by Justin at Rome, is said to have brought about the persecution and execution of the latter. The Cynic Theagenes, a zealous adherent of Peregrinus Proteus, who according to Galen died in consequence of being wrongly treated by the physician Attalus (a pupil of Soranus), 'an ass of the sect of Thessalus', was a very well-known figure at Rome, where he daily held discussions in the *thermae* of Trajan. A large number of the friends of Theagenes accompanied Attalus, who desired to convince them of his convalescence, to the philosopher's house ; on their arrival, they found some Cynics and other philosophers engaged in washing the body of the deceased, who, according to the principles of his school, had neither household nor servants. Galen laid the foundation of his reputation at Rome in the year 162, by restoring the sixty-three year old Peripatetic Eudemus to health. During his illness, Eudemus was visited by 'nearly all those distinguished by birth and education', especially Sergius Paullus (consul about 150 and 168), also city praefect, 'a man distinguished by philosophical education and behaviour', and the consular Flavius Boethus, a zealous student of Aristotelian philosophy. The latter, as well as Civica Barbarus (consul 157), uncle of Lucius Verus, and Severus (consul 162, also an Aristotelian) had Galen to lecture to them on anatomy. These lectures were attended by a number of philosophers, amongst them the Peripatetic Alexander of Damascus, more of an Aristotelian than a Platonist, in 162 teacher of Boethus, and about 175

a public teacher in Athens ; and by Demetrius of Alexandria, a friend of Favorinus, who every day spoke in public on given subjects after the manner of his teacher. Favorinus himself, who was a sceptic, was in great favour with Hadrian, under whom and his successor he gathered round him a large number of pupils and admirers, some of high rank. Gellius, who was one of his chief adherents, mentions as his friends a Peripatetic and a Stoic, 'both distinguished philosophers at Rome'; a Peripatetic, a diligent student of Aristotle, was also a member of a learned society, with which Gellius once spent the hottest part of the summer at Tibur. Fronto recommends the Platonist Julius Aquilinus, whose lectures were the most crowded in Rome and attended by many of senatorial rank, to Quintus Aegrilius Plarianus (legate of Africa under Antoninus Pius) as a friend and student of philosophy. Apuleius (about 158) praises Claudius Maximus, proconsul of Africa, as acquainted with the works of Plato in the original. Alexander of Aphrodisias (between 198 and 211) in the dedication of a treatise expresses his thanks to the emperors Severus and Caracalla for his nomination or appointment as teacher of the philosophy of Aristotle in Rome, and declares that they truly honoured and encouraged philosophy. The first Gordian, according to his biographer, spent all his life in the society of the ancients, Plato and Aristotle, Cicero and Virgil.

These references to philosophical studies in Rome, numerous in comparison with our scanty knowledge of the intellectual conditions of the time, and other incidental statements (for example, that in Trajan's time the dialogues of Plato were represented at meals to amuse the guests), justify the assumption that, from the end of the first century, a lively and comprehensive interest in philosophy was common amongst the upper classes. Further, Porphyry's account of the success of Plotinus in Rome shows that this interest still continued as late as the end of the third century.

As a rule, a young man did not begin the philosophical course until he had completed his grammatical and rhetorical studies. Gellius, who spent an unusually long time on the latter, did not turn his attention to philosophy until his twenty-fifth year ; on the other hand, Marcus Aurelius began philosophy unusually early, at the age of twelve. The majority of

young men probably entered the school, which was to bring about the moral emancipation of its pupils and make them men in the highest sense of the word, at the time of the assumption of the *toga virilis* (i.e. when they came to man's estate). Persius, who laid aside the *bullæ*¹ and dress of a boy at the age of sixteen, now that the white *toga*² allowed him to cast his eyes freely around amidst the distracting turmoil of Rome, keenly felt the need of a trusty guide, to choose for him the right way in the mazes of the labyrinth of life ; accordingly he attached himself most closely to Cornutus. Seneca also was little more than a boy when he attended the school of Sotion of Alexandria, who belonged to the sect of the Sextii. Plutarch sent his essay *De Audiendo* (On the Art of Hearing) to a young friend, with the reminder that when he assumed the *toga virilis* he had passed out of the care of his former paid teachers and had come under the divine guidance of reason ; that philosophy alone was able to bestow the true and perfect ornament of man upon a youth.

In all probability the majority of young men continued regularly to attend philosophical lectures until they had homes of their own, although Plutarch refused to recognize the worries and occupations of housekeeping as a sufficient excuse for neglecting what was of far greater importance. In fact, it was by no means unusual for older and married men to attend a philosophical school ; Seneca was sixty years of age when he heard the philosopher Metronax in Naples. He writes to Lucilius that he has now been attending the school for five days, to hear Metronax at midday. Age, he says, is no bar to attendance ; why should I be ashamed of listening to a philosopher ? Certainly the school is not well patronized, whereas the theatre, where musical contests take place at the same time, is crowded, and the pupils of Metronax are laughed at as fools and idlers.

Philosophical instruction was confined to the three divisions of philosophy recognized by all the schools—logic, physic, and ethics. Only the Platonists at that time as a rule appear to have also included the study of mathematics. In their studies were to be seen tablets with geometrical figures drawn upon

¹ See note on p. 13.

² The colour of the toga worn by men (*virilis*) was generally white (*candida*).

them, globes, etc.; in their lecture-rooms the pupils showed their desire for knowledge by putting difficult mathematical questions. In the Stoic school of the time, as to which we have most information, the course as a rule began with logic (and dialectic), although the Stoic authorities are not agreed as to the order of subjects. Seneca calls logic the 'elementary school' of philosophers. Stoicism and philosophy at that time generally made ethics the chief subject and aim of instruction, so that the two other divisions were not only subordinate to it, but were to some extent regarded as superfluous. Nevertheless, men like Musonius Rufus and Epictetus, although they may have considered moral education to be the one and only aim of philosophy, and took little interest in logical and dialectical discussions, still held logic to be indispensable as a foundation for the study of philosophy. Those who devoted themselves to oratory were of course still more convinced that it was necessary and useful for a general scientific education.

This subject, in spite of its dryness, was the more attractive to men of keen intellect, especially if they were given to quibbling, since it was easy to obtain a brilliant reputation by a skilful use of logical forms in discussions and on other occasions. When a man has once taken up this science, so repulsive at first, its usefulness soon becomes more and more apparent; there arises an insatiable desire for learning, which must be checked, otherwise a man would be in danger of spending his life in the labyrinthine mazes of dialectic, which is as fatal as the islands of the Sirens. The worst thing about sophisms, says Seneca, is that they exercise a certain charm and arrest and fascinate the mind, which is seduced by the appearance of acuteness, while a number of more important things calls for our attention. A lifetime is hardly long enough to learn the one thing which is the aim of philosophy—how to despise life. Such fancies and aspirations were freely encouraged by a voluminous literature, to which the older Stoics, who specially cultivated this field, had contributed. There were special treatises devoted to individual captious syllogisms, the only object of which was to confuse; such were the *sorites* (how many grains of corn make a heap?), the *Cornutus* (have you lost your horns: if not, you still have them; if you have, you once had them), and the like. Such witticisms, worthy

of the Talmud, were frequently taken seriously, and the young especially spent much time over them. All beginners in philosophy, says Plutarch, devote themselves by preference to what brings reputation; some, heedless and ambitious, soar like birds to the brilliant heights of the speculations of natural philosophy; others devote their attention to discussions, embarrassing questions and sophisms, just as (to use Plato's expression) puppies take delight in pulling something to pieces and dragging it about; the majority, however, are absorbed in dialectic, to provide themselves with the necessary equipment for sophistic. The teachers, as Seneca says, 'who teach us the art of arguing instead of the art of living', unfortunately are only too ready to encourage these erroneous tendencies of their pupils, who want to form their mind, not their character. Thus philosophy has become a science of words (philology). As the result of adopting what is superfluous in philosophy and mathematics, philosophy understands the art of speaking better than the art of living. Philosophers and non-philosophers were united in the complaint that too much time and trouble were spent on logic and dialectic, which were only the outworks of wisdom, and that ethics suffered thereby. Epictetus, for example, says: At the present time the greatest industry is successfully expended on the reduction of syllogisms; whereas formerly it was expended on keeping the best part of the mind in its natural condition, and with equal success.

In the Stoic school, especially, the efforts of many students were directed more or less exclusively to the acquirement of a superior knowledge of the technicalities of dialectic and a thorough acquaintance with the literature of the subject. The pedants who still attended or had only just left school, who wanted to teach to-day what they had learnt yesterday, and 'vomited undigested morsels', pretended to know everything better than anyone else, and copied their teachers chiefly in their cocksureness and love of finding fault, frequently appear in the writings of the second century as the undesirable disturbers of conversation in Greek society. As Epictetus says, there were people who attended philosophical lectures and studied text-books with the sole object of exciting the admiration of a senator, who happened to sit next them at table, or of astonishing the guests by enumerating all the

authors who had written on a certain form of logical conclusion. When visiting Herodes Atticus in his villa on the Cephissus, Gellius met a very youthful, loquacious and noisy Stoic, who usually monopolized the conversation after dinner and delivered lengthy and insipid lectures on philosophy, about which he declared that he knew more than all other Greeks and Romans. He made free use of strange expressions, syllogisms and captious conclusions, and boasted that no one could equal him in solving dialectical problems ; that no one was as perfectly at home with moral philosophy as he was ; that he felt so thoroughly confident that he possessed the true wisdom which guaranteed eternal happiness, that he declared that no pain or grief could so much as bring a cloud upon the face of a Stoic. To take the conceit out of him Herodes thereupon ordered a passage to be read from Epictetus, in which that venerable old man rebukes the young, who call themselves Stoics, but are in no way distinguished by moral excellence or capacity ; on the contrary, they have always on their lips puerile maxims, such as are to be found in elementary school books, and misuse the name of that lofty doctrine by raising a cloud of words and subtleties before the eyes of their hearers.

Natural philosophy (physics) was too intimately connected with ethics not to be taken into consideration with it, at least to a certain extent. It was felt that the question of Providence could only be really solved together with the question of the origin of things and the order of the universe. The more attention was concentrated, onesidedly and exclusively, upon the moral task of philosophy, the less could physics be considered ; and the opinion of Socrates, that the examination of the last elements and first principles of things was beyond our powers and in any case had no practical value, was probably widely held, and was defended by so high an authority as Epictetus. Seneca also, who was fond of and interested in the speculations of natural science, would only allow their importance in so far as they contributed to moral perfection. The mind, in order to refresh itself, requires to contemplate nature, who enables it to appreciate the loftiness of the objects with which it is concerned. 'In the contemplation of the universe and its creator a man rises superior to the burden of the body ; he becomes conscious of his higher origin and

destination ; and learns to attach little value to the body and the corporeal, and to free himself from its trammels. Certainly, however, there is the danger that the mind may come to think more of self-gratification than of health, and may treat philosophy as a simple amusement, whereas in reality it is a means of health '. Plutarch also hints (in the passage above cited), that it was natural philosophy, so stimulating to the imagination, that attracted *dilettanti*, who were only half in earnest about a philosophical education. Propertius proposed to devote himself to it, when he was too old for love affairs. Then, he says, he will endeavour to understand the laws of nature, and the causes of the phases of the moon, of atmospheric variations, of rain, of the rainbow, of earthquakes, of eclipses of the sun, of the phenomena of the starry heaven and of the sea, and of the seasons ; what god skilfully governs this universe, whether a day of destruction menaces the world, whether there is a world below and infernal punishment, or whether death is the end of existence.

But logic and physics were always so completely subordinated to ethics, that the latter was regarded as the essential, if not the only, object of philosophy ; it is called simply the art, the science, the rule of life. Although, after all that has been said, this hardly needs to be proved, perhaps it will not be superfluous to show how the moral training of the young was expected from philosophy alone. In his treatise *On the Education of Boys*, Plutarch says, that as gymnastics and the healing art secure bodily health and strength, so philosophy alone can heal the infirmities and diseases of the mind. By the aid of and in company with philosophy we learn what is noble, what is shameful, what is just, what is unjust, in short, what is to be aimed at and what is to be avoided ; what is to be our attitude towards the gods, our parents, old age, the laws, foreigners, rulers, friends, women, children and slaves ; we learn that we ought to fear the gods, honour our parents, respect old age, obey the laws, submit to our rulers, love our friends, behave with decency towards women, treat children with affection, and slaves without arrogance ; but, above all, that we should neither be too exultant in prosperity nor cast down in adversity ; that we should neither allow ourselves to be overcome by desire nor show ourselves passionate and brutal in wrath. These are the most to be desired of all the

blessings which we obtain through philosophy. Foolish parents, it is said in another passage, who have neglected to give their children a good education, do not as a rule regret this omission until their sons, when grown up, instead of leading a regular and sensible life, plunge into debauchery and low pleasures ; surround themselves with parasites and other corrupters of youth, keep women, squander their fortunes in gambling, drinking, and carousing ; commit adultery and other excesses, in which they risk their life for the sake of pleasure. Had they enjoyed the advantage of being taught by a philosopher, they would not have given themselves up to such a mode of life. As the husbandman or gardener roots out the tares from the field, so the philosopher roots out from the youthful soul the evil promptings of envy, avarice, and pleasure, even though he has to cut deeply and leave a scar ; in other cases, he proceeds with caution, like the vintager when he prunes the vine, so as not to destroy noble and vicious impulses at the same time.

Wherever this conception of philosophical instruction prevailed, wherever the philosopher was regarded not only as the teacher, but chiefly as the trainer, in fact as the spiritual director of his pupils, it was necessarily considered his duty in every way to promote their moral well-being, even beyond the limits of instruction properly so called, and consequently his right to exercise entire supervision over their manner of life, and to put them on the right road by advice and exhortation, warning and reproof, mildness and severity. To all appearance, at that time a large number of prominent men, conscious of the high importance of their office, and equipped with such authority, exercised the greatest moral influence upon entire generations, the more so as pupils flocked even from far distant lands to the most famous teachers (especially at Athens and Rome), who, like Musonius, 'attracted young men from all parts, as the magnet attracts iron'. Some of these young men became intimate with their teachers, and the friendship often far outlasted the years of apprenticeship, sometimes, indeed, continued through life. Thus Persius, from his seventeenth year, was united by the ties of an indissoluble friendship to Cornutus, with whose pupils he became acquainted. Amongst these were the poet Lucan and two Greeks, the physician Claudius Agathemerus of Sparta and

Petronius Aristocrates of Magnesia, both highly educated and pure-minded men, whom Persius took as his models. Cornutus also advised him in his poetical efforts, and was mentioned in his will for a considerable legacy. Persius has expressed, in words full of deep feeling, his gratitude to his beloved master, 'to whom so large a part of his inmost being entirely belonged'. He believed himself united for ever by the destiny of the stars with the man who cherished him in tender years with the affection of a Socrates and moulded his still flexible spirit as the artist the soft clay; he delighted to recall days spent together in work and recreation, and the modest repasts, prolonged till night-fall, which interrupted serious studies. The younger Pliny, when military tribune in Syria, became devotedly attached to the Stoic Artemidorus (who afterwards married a daughter of Musonius Rufus), and protected him in time of danger. When the philosophers were expelled from Rome in the year 93 he lent Artemidorus a considerable sum free of interest to pay certain honourable debts. Even when he attained the rank of consular he looked up to his revered teacher as a pattern. Amongst all those who now call themselves philosophers, writes Pliny in the year 101, you will hardly find another so true and genuine. His endurance of heat and cold, his devotion to work, his limitation of sensual enjoyment to what is strictly necessary, his severe self-discipline—all these are trifles, compared with his other virtues, which induced a Musonius to choose him as a son-in-law out of a number of pupils of all classes of society.

Gellius has drawn an attractive picture of the relation of the Platonist philosopher Taurus to his pupils. Taurus not only allowed them to put frequent questions to him after the daily lesson, but invited those who were more particularly devoted to him to a frugal meal, at which a dish of Egyptian lentils and chopped pumpkin prepared with oil usually formed the chief dish. On these occasions the pupils were obliged to propound questions and problems, as a sort of dessert, especially witticisms suited to those enlivened by wine; e.g. at what moment a dying man really dies, when a man who stands up is no longer sitting down, when a learner begins to understand his profession. Such questions ought not to be despised, says Taurus, since the greatest philosophers had seri-

ously considered them. When his pupils were ill, Taurus used to visit them. According to circumstances, he expressed his disapproval of all that displeased him in their mode of life or study in a tone of friendliness or severity. In order to induce a wealthy young man to abandon the society of flute players and tragic actors, he sent him a copy of a passage from Aristotle on the general moral worthlessness of such artists, which he recommended him to read every day. He severely rebuked another young man, who had suddenly left off the study of rhetoric for that of philosophy, and became exceedingly angry when he attempted to justify his conduct by the example of others. Taurus also took the opportunity of quoting a very beautiful passage of Demosthenes suitable to the occasion. Thus, says Gellius, Taurus made use of every kind of warning and exhortation, to put his disciples on the way of goodness and uprightness. The educative power of his example no doubt had an equal effect. In his account of a visit paid by the governor of Crete and his son to the famous philosopher, Gellius shows that Taurus knew how to preserve his dignity in distinguished society without offending propriety. The Stoic Attalus, who had a school at Rome which was attended by Seneca, who was always the first to come and the last to go, was fond of answering his pupils' questions during a walk. Any one who visited a philosopher (he said) should always take something good home with him; for philosophy has the power of assisting not only those who are devoted to the study of it, but also those who are brought into association with it. Plutarch delivered lectures on the most varied subjects, selected at will, to the young men who were sent from far and near to Chaeronea to be educated by him, and answered the questions they put to him. Some of his later treatises which are preserved to us show that the subjects were taken not only from the entire field of morality, but also from practical philosophy in its widest extent: e.g. On Studying Poetry, On the Art of Hearing, Rules of Health, and so forth.

If philosophers thought it their duty to regulate the life of their pupils even to the minutest details, and to give them instructions even in regard to trivial and apparently indifferent matters (if in any way connected with moral principles), their right to do so was evidently quite generally recognized. Grown

up men, and especially younger men, frequently entrusted themselves to their guidance and rendered them unqualified obedience. As a rule teachers exercised greater authority over grown-up pupils than at the present day. Thus Gellius relates that the rhetorician Titus Castricius rebuked some senators who attended his school, because they had appeared in public on a feast-day in a dress unsuitable to their rank. Of course, philosophers were allowed the widest latitude in giving instructions on all and everything. Attalus recommended his pupils to sleep on a hard bed, such as Seneca used even in his old age, on which the body made no impression. Epictetus exhorted his hearers to let their beard grow, not only as a beautiful and dignified adornment, but also as a sign intended by Providence to distinguish the sexes, which we ought not to reject. A young man, who came to the school, foppishly dressed, with his hair nicely curled, was treated to a long lecture on the subject. The possibility that he might take offence and not come again nor follow his advice, did not deter the philosopher from performing a duty, for the neglect of which he might afterwards have been justly reproached by the pupil. Epictetus objected to dirtiness and slovenliness even more than to too much finery. He would have them always neat, that their company might be agreeable to their fellow-pupils, and he did not disdain to enter into the details of the care of the body—that they ought to blow their nose, wash their feet, wipe off perspiration, and clean their teeth : ‘ why ? that you may be a human being, not an animal, not a pig ! ’ This solicitude for the bodily and mental welfare which ranged from the most important to the most trifling details and even interfered with a man’s private life, was extended to the members of the pupils’ household by philosophers, without its being considered obtrusive on their part.

For example : Favorinus was informed that the wife of one of his hearers, a man of distinguished family and of senatorial rank, had just been delivered of a son ; he immediately repaired with all the pupils present to the house of the young father, congratulated him and then expressed the hope that the wife would rear the child herself. When the mother objected to this, Favorinus immediately delivered a long speech on the subject, which Gellius took down and afterwards incorporated

in his *Noctes Atticae*. Naturally, the advice of philosophers was sought by their pupils in all cases of difficulty and conscientious scruples. When Gellius, who had been appointed a judge at a very early age (not, however, before he was twenty-five), was unable to decide a certain case, he adjourned the court, went straight off to Favorinus, to whom he was greatly attached, and begged him to give him his opinion of the particular case and some general rules on the duties of a judge. To all appearance, philosophers had reason to complain that their advice was asked too often rather than too seldom. As Epictetus says, they were expected to supply rules of conduct in practical affairs, as a shoemaker or blacksmith supplies his wares ; while those who desired advice made no effort on their own part to assimilate those moral principles, from which the decision in all individual cases must be derived.

As a rule philosophers (apart from occasional interference in particular cases) exercised a practical activity and thereby a direct effect on the moral education of their contemporaries under three characters : as educators and permanent advisers of individuals, as teachers of morality in public schools ; lastly, as missionaries and popular preachers ; the last field, which the Cynics had chosen, was almost entirely abandoned to them. All the forms of professional philosophical activity are mentioned often enough by philosophers and non-philosophers, so that it is possible to obtain an idea of them, at least to a certain extent. Certainly, it is chiefly the shady and bad side, the defects and weaknesses, the ill-success and inadequacy of philosophical effort and performance, that are made the subject of discussion, and upon which the numerous opponents of philosophy on principle especially delight to dwell. But even these criticisms and attacks are a proof of the lofty claims put forward on behalf of philosophy as the moral elevator of the contemporary world, and even if such claims were only imperfectly justified in the case of the majority, yet it is admitted, tacitly or expressly, that the best and purest teachers made them good in the highest degree and exercised an enormous effect.

While the great majority were obliged to content themselves, for their moral education, with a brief course of philosophical instruction, people of larger means very frequently sought to secure the entire services of a philosopher in their household,

not only to educate their children, but also to secure for the rest of their life a trustworthy and permanent counsellor, guide and spiritual adviser. Under the monarchy, as in the last days of the republic, it seems to have been especially in the great Roman families that Greek philosophers frequently assumed this position. Such, apparently, was the relation of the Stoic Publius Egnatius Celer to Barea Soranus, whose teacher, client and friend he is called, and whose condemnation (in 66) he brought about by the false testimony which Barea's accusers had bribed him to give. A monument found near Bonn is erected by his wife to the philosopher Quintus Aegrius Euaretus, 'the friend of Salvius Julianus' (consul in 175 and legate of Upper Germany in 179); from this it appears that Julianus could not do without the society of Euaretus even in his province. But these house-philosophers, like philosophers in general, especially play the part of companions and comforters before death; no doubt the decision whether a man should take his own life was often left to them. Thus Tullius Marcellinus, an acquaintance of Seneca, a young man who had suffered from a wearisome and painful illness, was persuaded by a Stoic to starve himself to death. Tacitus relates of Titus Petronius as something unusual, that, while he delayed death by binding up his arteries, he asked that frivolous poems might be recited to him, but nothing about the immortality of the soul and the doctrines of philosophers. When Julius Canus, condemned to death by Caligula, set out for the hill, where, to use the expression of Seneca, 'victims were daily offered to our Caesar', he was accompanied by 'his philosopher', with whom he conversed about his thoughts at the time, and the condition of his soul. Rubellius Plautus, who awaited the emissaries of Nero without attempting flight, was reported to have been confirmed by the philosophers Musonius Rufus and Coeranus in his resolution to prefer death to a life of anxiety and uncertainty. The messenger who brought the expected death-warrant to Thræsea, found him absorbed in conversation with the Cynic Demetrius: 'from their earnest looks and some words uttered more loudly than the rest, it could be inferred that they were discussing the nature of the soul and the separation of mind and body'. The emperor Julian also, when fatally wounded, entered upon an abstruse discussion of the sublime nature of the human soul

with the philosophers Maximus and Priscus, and carried it on till he expired.

The position which Greek philosophers accepted in great Roman families for a certain length of time, could only be maintained on a level worthy of the dignity of philosophy if both parties regarded it from the highest point of view. In such cases, the philosophers themselves were only too often incapable of securing the esteem of those to whom they should above all have set a good example. On the other hand, distinguished Romans seldom entirely forgot that these 'teachers of wisdom' were in reality only their dependants or paid employees. The shady side of the picture has been represented at considerable length and in strong language by Lucian in his usual style, in a treatise specially written to warn a certain philosopher named Timocrates, who wanted to obtain a post in an aristocratic family. This shady side was no doubt unpleasantly in evidence with special frequency, after Marcus Aurelius had made philosophy the fashion. Many who were unable either to understand or respect it, thought it their duty to go into raptures over the lofty idealism of Plato, and desired, if possible, to have a Greek philosopher in their train, who might be at once recognized as such by his venerable appearance, his long beard and the dignity with which he wore his cloak. The prospect of obtaining an honourable and influential position in a great and wealthy family was highly attractive to many, who did not shrink from the annoyances incidental to their application for the post. They were even ready to submit to a test of their qualifications, at which they had to give proofs of their knowledge and ability, to undergo an inquiry into their past, and sometimes had to compete with most unworthy candidates, many of whom only used the philosophers' mask as a recommendation for exorcism, magic and similar practices. If this examination was successfully passed, after an invitation to a big dinner, at which the brilliancy of the establishment was calculated to dazzle and intimidate the novice, the question of terms was discussed and settled. The master of the house declared his readiness to share everything with his new house-companion; 'for it would be ridiculous not to treat a man, to whom one has confided one's most precious possession, one's own soul or that of one's children, as joint owner of everything else'. Neverthe-

less, a yearly salary was fixed, which was certainly surprisingly small, but was considered to be made up for by the friendly and honourable treatment promised, by the frequent presents on feast-days ; above all, an appeal was made to the lofty ideas of philosophers on the question of money. In this manner philosophers advanced in years, forgetting the praises of liberty sung by Plato, Chrysippus and Aristotle, sold themselves into base and ignominious servitude ; like the rest of the crowd of domestics, from whom they were only distinguished by their coarse cloak and their bad Latin, they were summoned by the clock every morning to their duty as supernumeraries, which lasted till a late hour and entailed unpleasantnesses and degradation of all kinds, inflicted only too frequently upon the patient Greeks, who were not expected to complain. When they were used up or their company was no longer required, they were quietly turned out of the house on a foggy night on some utterly unfounded charge, helpless and utterly destitute.

The position of the representatives of philosophy at court was far more precarious than in the great houses, and far less consistent with the ideals of the science ; indeed, in the opinion of many a philosopher was as much out of place at court as in a tavern. Plutarch has endeavoured to prove in a special treatise that, in spite of all dangers and difficulties, the wise man cannot in certain circumstances refuse such a position, since he has the opportunity of doing incomparably more good in it than in any other. The philosopher will be all the more ready to undertake the care of a soul, whose activity, wisdom and justice affects the lot of many ; for in this manner he will benefit the many through the individual, like Anaxagoras the friend of Pericles, Plato of Dio, Pythagoras of the statesmen of Italy. Philosophers who devote themselves to the moral education of private persons liberate individuals only from their weaknesses and passions ; but he who ennobles the character of a ruler thereby promotes the interests of and improves the condition of the whole state. For the sake of such advantages one must submit to become a courtier and to be abused like a servant. If even the philosopher who refrains from all practical activity on principle does not shun the society of educated princes of noble character, one who takes an interest in political life will also take an interest in them, unobtrusively and without annoying them with un-

timely and sophistical advice, while at the same time he will be always ready to meet their request for his advice and assistance.

From the incidental mention of philosophers as resident at the courts of Augustus, Nero, Trajan, Hadrian, Julia Domna and Elagabalus (the 'sham philosophers'), it would seem that, like other learned men, the teachers of philosophy very frequently, if not as a rule, had their place in the imperial *entourage* (as *συμβιωταί*). These positions also were to some extent salaried. Lucian says that one of the most distinguished philosophers of the time was paid by the emperor for his society, but was compelled, in spite of his age, to accompany him on his travels, like an Indian or Scythian hireling. It naturally depended on the personality of the emperors and the tone of the court, whether the position of the philosopher was worthy or unworthy of him. Seneca reminds Marcia, in his letter of consolation, how Augustus' wife Julia, whose intimate friend she was, after the death of Drusus sought and found consolation in the pious exhortation of Areus, 'her husband's philosopher'; according to Seneca, Areus in addressing Julia calls himself 'the constant companion of your husband, one who knows not only what is public property, but all the more secret impulses of both your minds'. Augustus, after the conquest of Alexandria, had honoured Areus by declaring that he would spare the city, since it was his birthplace. Nero, on the other hand, made his philosophers a source of amusement, by inviting representatives of different schools to dinner and setting them on to wrangle.

But undoubtedly philosophers, especially those who were conscious of their value, for the most part preferred a public sphere of activity to the most brilliant position at court or in a distinguished family. The Stoic Apollonius, when summoned by Antoninus Pius to undertake the tuition of the young Marcus Aurelius, left Chalcis with a number of his pupils and settled in Rome, but refused to take up his quarters in the palace of Tiberius, where Marcus Aurelius lived. He declared that it was the duty of the pupil to go to the teacher, which the heir to the throne actually did. The opening of a public school not only held out the prospect of a worthier life, of an important and, in certain conditions, even splendid activity, which might extend in centres like Athens and Rome to the

pick of the young men from various provinces, but also of a magnificent income. For to all appearance only the minority held such strict views as the Platonist Nigrinus, who called the schools of the philosophers who taught for money stalls and shops where virtue was offered for sale like any other wares.

But, apart from this, the conduct of philosophers who taught in public, and especially their lectures and method of instruction, gave cause for various criticisms. And this censure is expressed so freely and emphatically and so constantly repeated by the philosophical writers of the time, that we might easily be inclined to form too unfavourable an opinion of the philosophers' schools at that time. But it must never be forgotten that men like Musonius, Plutarch, Epictetus, Taurus and Demonax were, as a matter of fact, bound to insist upon the same high standard of excellence in others, up to which they themselves acted, and that they had incessantly to remind teachers and pupils how far they were still removed from the true aim of philosophy, in order to bring them nearer to it. Thus in their writings they constantly refer to the weaknesses, trivialities and defects which hampered philosophical instruction and could only be acutely felt when contrasted with the numerous examples of noble and splendid work and effort which the age could show.

The effects of philosophical instruction were in any case without doubt only too often hindered through the fault of teachers and pupils alike. Vanity, thirst for fame, and probably greed of gain often led teachers to think more of the applause than of the real welfare of their hearers, many of whom preferred agreeable conversation, the exercise of acuteness, and the acquisition of a knowledge adapted for show, to serious study and a difficult and painful struggle for moral ennoblement. Hence many who had attended philosophical lectures for years with unwearying industry did not even carry away from them a smattering of philosophical culture. Many, says Seneca, came only to hear, not to learn, just for recreation, as one goes to the theatre; for a great part of the pupils the school is a place of amusement. Their object is not to throw off vice and adopt a new rule of life, but to find something to tickle their ears. Others came with writing tablets, to get hold of the words, not their meaning; words

which they repeat to others with as little profit as they listen to them themselves. Lofty passages in the lectures make an impression upon some, which is reflected in their faces, but, like the nervous excitement produced by music, is not permanent; only a few are capable of retaining the substance of what they have taken down. Consequently, the majority of pupils were not in the frame of mind which Musonius regarded as indispensable, if instruction was to prove successful. A hearer who is not quite lost, he said, ought to shiver while the philosopher is speaking; to feel ashamed, repentant, joyful and astonished by turns; the expression of his features should change according as the philosopher's treatment of the diseased or healthy parts of his soul variously affects him and his conscience. In fact Epictetus, who had heard Musonius, attests that his language was so forcible, that he gave such prominence to moral infirmities, that every one of his hearers, applying his words to himself, believed that some one had been speaking against him to the philosopher. But it was just this (as Plutarch also complains) that was too much for the majority of those who listened to a philosopher's lecture as if he had been a tragedian or orator. As long as he kept to generalities, they willingly followed him, but as soon as he began to deliver frank and emphatic warnings, they took it ill as a piece of officiousness; and many were weak-minded enough to stay away from the school after a speech that touched them on the raw, like patients who, after the surgeon has used the knife, run away without waiting for the bandages. Beginners also allowed themselves to be frightened by the difficulties of the study or the lecture, or were too shy to ask for explanations, or pretended that everything was clear to them even when they understood nothing. Many even had the assurance to attempt to teach the teacher how he ought to teach. 'One', says the Platonist Taurus, 'comes and says, "Teach me this first," another, "I want to learn this, not that"; one wants to begin with the *Symposium* of Plato because it speaks of the nocturnal revels of Alcibiades; another with the *Phædrus* for the sake of the speech of Lysias. There are really some who want to read Plato, not to ennoble their life but to refine their manner of expressing themselves, not to become more moral but to become more agreeable members of society'. The complaint of Taurus that many

teachers, even without being invited, hastened to the doors of wealthy young men where they patiently waited till midday, till their pupils had slept off their last night's debauch, is a proof that there were teachers who were ready to accommodate themselves to the most unjustifiable requests of their pupils. Epictetus recommends his pupils, when they hear any one speaking in a manner which shows that he has not the vaguest idea of the first principles of morality, to ask themselves seriously : Am I a man of this sort ? ' Am I conscious that I know nothing, as a man should be who really knows nothing ? Do I approach the teacher as if he were an oracle, prepared to render implicit obedience ? Or do I enter the school, like a drivelling idiot, only in order to learn the external accessories of philosophy, and to understand books which I did not understand before, and to be able to explain them to others, as occasion serves ? ' The pupils, he continues, certainly wear the garb of the philosopher, but their soul is not at peace and free from the anxieties and excitements of the external world. Perhaps one of them has had a fight at home with a slave, which caused an uproar amongst his neighbours ; or a foreign student is greatly annoyed because he has not received a remittance from home, or is thinking of what people say of him there, that he is certainly making progress and will return omniscient. ' I should certainly like that ', he says to himself ; ' but one has to work so hard, and nobody sends me anything from home ; the baths at Nicopolis are wretched, it is as miserable here as at home '. ' And then they say : nobody gets any good from the school. But who attends it in order to be cured of his errors and to purge his opinions, to discover what he needs ? What you go to school to look for, that you will carry away with you. You want to chatter about principles. Do not they provide you with ample material for boasting of your pretended knowledge ? Do you not reduce syllogisms, do you not understand how to manage sophisms and fallacies ? '

But it was not the fault of the pupils alone that philosophical instruction did not produce the desired result. Often enough the responsibility lay with the teachers, eager for applause, fame and money, who, knowing that people were mostly influenced by externalities, and above all by a brilliant style, neglected matter for form. The orator's grey hairs, says

Plutarch, the modulation of his voice, his gravity and self-conscious assurance, but, above all, the sound of applause, carry away young and inexperienced hearers; the expression also has something deceptive about it, if it is graceful and copious, weighty and well-prepared for the occasion. Pliny's eulogy of the highly respected Stoic Euphrates shows how essential were the personal appearance and oratorical skill of the philosopher even in the judgment of educated hearers. 'He disputes with subtlety, solidity and elegance; often he goes so far as to reproduce the well-known sublimity and copiousness of Plato. His language is rich and varied, and particularly agreeable, so as to lead on and impel those even who fight against it. Add to this that he is tall of stature, of noble countenance, with flowing locks and a huge white beard; all of which may be thought mere accidents of no account, yet they add greatly to the veneration which he inspires. There is no squalor in his attire, nothing of moroseness about him, but much grave earnestness: his approach is productive of respect, not awe. His sanctity of life is remarkable, and no less so is his affability. He inveighs against vices, not individuals; sinners he reclaims rather than chides. You follow his admonitions attentively, hanging on his lips, and longing to be convinced even after he has succeeded in convincing you' (*Epistles*, i. 10, J. D. Lewis's translation). Naturally, rhetoricians as a rule only paid attention to form. One of them expresses himself as follows in Epictetus: 'Let us call on Epictetus as we pass and hear what he has to say before we charter a ship'; then, when leaving the philosopher's house, 'There was nothing in Epictetus; he makes blunders in construction and etymology'. Your only reason for coming to school is to criticize mistakes of that kind, is the philosopher's rejoinder.

Epictetus, who by no means denied the effect of eloquence in a philosophical discourse, would scarcely have made pompous, flowery language and eagerness for applause the subject of a lengthy dissertation, if they had not been common faults of the 'professional philosophers' of the age. The little scenes from life with which his exhortations are interlarded afford admirable illustrations of the self-complacent vanity of this class of teachers and of their general behaviour. Wherever they showed themselves, their desire was to hear people

shout, 'Oh the great philosopher!' and they walked along as if they had swallowed a spear.¹ If his audience was scanty and their applause small, the professor went away downcast; if the applause was great, he went round and asked each one, What did you think of me?—Admirable, sir, as I hope to be saved!²—How did I deliver that passage?—Which passage?—The one in which I described Pan and the Nymphs.—Marvellously.—Why then, continues Epictetus in his attack on these philosophical rhetoricians, did you praise that senator?—Because he is a talented and industrious young man.—How so?—He admires me.—That's proof enough!—But, he continues, after having been your pupil so long, after having heard your disputations and lectures, has he become more modest? does he examine himself? does he know how parlous is his condition? has he thrown off his conceit? does he desire instruction? You say yes; well then, does he desire to be taught how to live? no, you fool, but how to talk; it is for this that he admires you; listen to what he says, 'this man really writes most artistically, far more elegantly than Dio!'³ So then do you, whose state of mind is so deplorable, you who are so greedy of applause and count the number of your audience, do you pretend to teach others?—Well, I had a very large audience to-day.—Yes, very numerous; there may have been five hundred altogether.—That's not nearly enough, more likely a thousand; Dio never had so many to listen to him.—How should he?—And they show a fine appreciation of lectures. What is beautiful, sir, can move even a stone.—There you have the words of a philosopher, there you have the state of mind of one who thinks to benefit mankind, there you have a man who has heard a lecture! Did Socrates ever say, when in the company of his pupils, Come and listen to the discourse which I am going to deliver in the house of Quadratus? Why should I listen to you? do you want to show me how admirably you can arrange words? Granted: but what good is it to you?—Well, you ought to applaud me.—How?—Say, Oh! and, Excellent!—So then it is for this that young men are to quit their country, leave parents, friends, kinsmen and all that belongs to

¹ We should say, 'a poker'. The Greek word (ὀβελίσκος) also means 'a spit'.

² 'I swear by all that is dear to me' (Long's trans.).

³ Dio Chrysostom of Prusa in Bithynia, not Dio Cassius the historian.

them, that they may applaud your fine concluding periods ? Did Socrates, Zeno and Cleanthes do this ? But it may be objected, says Epictetus ; is there not a special style for hortatory speeches ? Certainly, just as there is a style for refutation and a didactic style. But who has ever mentioned a fourth in addition to these, the epideictic (display) style ? In what does the hortatory style really consist ? In the ability to make clear to one person or several the nature of the struggle in which they are involved, and to convince them that they think of everything else but what they really desire. They really desire what leads to happiness, but seek it in the wrong direction. To attain this, is it necessary to provide thousands of seats and invite thousands of hearers, to mount the platform in elegant attire or in a shabby philosopher's cloak and describe the death of Achilles ? I implore you by the gods to give up spoiling noble words and subjects. Who that has heard your lectures and disputations has ever felt anxiety for his own salvation or communed with himself ? Who of them has ever said on leaving : The philosopher touched me to the quick ! I must not do these things any more ! Does he not rather say to some one else, even if you have been loudly applauded, What he said about Xerxes was very fine ? to which another rejoins, No ; but about the battle of Thermopylae. And this, forsooth, is what one hears from a philosopher !

The philosophers resembled the sophists in their style of lecturing, their hearers also applauded as if expressing their approval of a brilliantly executed piece of music rather than of the serious exhortations of a professor of morality. When the philosopher, says Musonius, exhorts, warns, advises, reprimands or instructs in any other way, and his hearers indulge in unconsidered and hackneyed words of praise, shout and gesticulate, are roused and excited by elegances of expression, by the rhythmical cadence of words, then you may feel sure that both speaker and hearers are alike worthless, that it is not a philosopher who is speaking, but some one playing the flute. Similarly Plutarch says that the noisy applause in the philosophers' schools would lead any one outside to believe that a dancer or musical virtuoso was being encored. He also criticizes the expressions of approval, which were then in fashion. As if the old-fashioned exclamations,

Good ! Wise ! True ! were no longer sufficient, people now cried, Divine ! Inspired ! Inimitable ! and confirmed their words by an oath. Agreement with a philosopher was expressed by Clever ! with an old man by Witty ! or Brilliant ! But certainly, in Plutarch's opinion, the hearer ought not, on the other hand, to sit mum and listless, as if he thought that he had only, as it were, to take his seat at dinner, while others worked their hardest. But even at lectures at which applause was not the rule, the audience generally sat upright in their places, not in a careless or supercilious attitude, kept their eyes on the speaker, showed a lively interest and wore a cheerful, kindly expression, not only free from ill-humour, but from all distracting thoughts that had nothing to do with the lecture. Not only a gloomy brow, wandering looks, a stooping attitude, legs crossed in an unseemly manner, but also nodding and whispering to a neighbour, smiling, yawning, an air of depression and the like—all these were to be sedulously avoided.

The almost minute precision of the rules by which men of such great and recognized importance as Plutarch, Epictetus and others thought it their duty to assist in maintaining the dignity of philosophical instruction is in itself by no means the least convincing proof how deep and widespread must have been the interest taken in philosophical lectures and schools. And, similarly, the claims put forward by the most important writers as to the efficiency of these schools, show that, notwithstanding all the weaknesses, aberrations and ill-success of many teachers, they were still regarded as the real centres of moral education, and to some extent justly, as is attested by the works of the numerous philosophical writers of the age.

While the directors of public schools confined their activity to a limited (although extensive) circle of pupils and followers, there was another class of philosophers, who, representing themselves as the real missionaries of morality, devoted their attention to all mankind. These were the Cynics. Even if the majority of these 'mendicant friars of antiquity', as above described, deserved their bad name, yet the truly noble personalities in their ranks, who for the sake of their lofty mission renounced all worldly goods, were the objects of an equally general admiration and respect. Dio and Epictetus, the most esteemed teachers of the second century, were

inclined to Cynicism, and ranked Diogenes next to Socrates. Epictetus in particular has the highest idea of the mission of the true Cynics : that no one should adopt it unless he is conscious of being chosen for it by the divine will. The Cynic must free himself from all passions and desires. Other men can hide themselves behind the walls of their houses ; the only protection of the Cynic, who has no home and lives under the open sky, is modesty ; he must have nothing to conceal, for where and how could he conceal it ? He, ' the general teacher and instructor ', should have nothing to fear ; otherwise, how could he ' uphold the dignity of the office of superintendent of the rest of mankind ? '

But it is not sufficient that he should acquire knowledge and freedom for himself ; he must also know that he has been sent by Zeus as a messenger to men, to instruct them on good and evil, to warn them that they have gone astray and are seeking the substance of good and evil where it is not ; but where it is they never think. Then he makes his Cynic preach to the people. ' O ye men, whither are ye being hurried ? What are ye doing, O unhappy wretches ? Ye seek happiness where it is not. Why do ye seek it outside yourselves ? It is not in the body, in riches, in power, or in sovereignty. Consider the strong, the wealthy, the powerful, listen to their sighs and lamentations, look on Nero and Sardanapalus, or Agamemnon ! ' Having with dramatic vividness set all this before his hearers, especially the constant anxiety and distress of the latter, he makes them ask in the manner of a sermon : ' Where then is the good, if not in all this ? Tell us, sir, our messenger and guardian ! ' ' Where you neither think it is nor seek it. Had you so desired, you would already have discovered it in yourselves, and would not be seeking what is another's as if it were your own. Seek it in yourselves, O unhappy wretches ! There you must cultivate it, there cherish and preserve it. How is it possible to live happily, without goods and chattels, without house and home, destitute, uncared for, without a servant, without a country ? Look you, God has sent you the man who can show you in practice that it is possible ! Look at me : I sleep on the ground, I have no wife, no children, no estate, nothing but earth and sky and a single coarse cloak. And yet what do I lack ? Am I not without anxiety and fear ? am I not free ? How do

I treat those whom you admire and honour? is it not like slaves? do not all, when they see me, think they see their own lord and king?' Epictetus then reiterates that the Cynic must serve the deity with his whole heart and without hindrance and assist his fellow-men; that he must not be tied down by private obligations or other engagements, the violation of which would mean the transgression of the moral law, the observation of them the abandonment of the mission of 'messenger, guardian and herald of the gods'; a special instance of such engagements is marriage. Where in this case would that king be who devotes himself to the general welfare, 'to whose protection the people are entrusted, and upon whom so many cares devolve'; whose duty it is to superintend others, husbands and fathers—to see who treats his wife ill or well, who deserves punishment, whose house is well ordered, whose the reverse; just like a physician who goes round and feels the pulses of his patients? You have fever, you a headache, you the gout; you must fast, you must take food, you must not have a bath, you require the knife, you must be cauterized. How can a man have leisure for all this if he is hampered by private duties? If we truly understand the greatness of the true Cynic, we shall not wonder why he takes no wife, why he begets no children. He is the father of all mankind, all men are his sons, all women his daughters; he cares for them, chides them as a father, as a brother, as a servant of our common father Zeus.

In fact, at that time there were men in Rome who at least approximately realized this ideal. Two of them are known to us, Demetrius, who lived at Rome in the first century, and Demonax, who lived at Athens in the second. The former literally carried out in practice the principles of self-sufficiency and a return to a state of nature amidst the splendour, luxury and excessive culture of golden Rome, the metropolis of the world, and obtained for Cynicism, which Cicero had uncompromisingly rejected as 'the enemy of modesty', the respect of the Romans. The ragged beggar, who rejected with scorn a gift of 200,000 sesterces (about £2,000) from Caligula, who despised Nero's threats, called forth Vespasian's displeasure by his ostentatious disdain, and expressed his contempt for those who disagreed with him with unceremonious bluntness, was greatly in request amongst his most distin-

guished and most highly placed contemporaries, by whom he was treated with the greatest respect. Thræsea devoted his last hours to a conversation with him on the subject of immortality and the next world. Seneca's respect for his inflexible strength of mind was the more sincere, since he was conscious of his own weakness in comparison ; in his judgment, Demetrius was a great man even when compared with the greatest. Seneca abandoned the society of those who were clothed in purple, in order to be able constantly to enjoy the conversation of this noble man, whom he so greatly admired. And how could he help admiring him ? In fact he lacked nothing ; he lived not as if he despised everything, but as if he had left it for others. Upon those who heard him speaking as he lay naked on his straw pallet he produced the double impression that he was not only a teacher, but a witness of truth. According to Seneca, ' Nature has created him in our time in order to show that neither can he be corrupted by us nor we improved by him. He is a man of perfect wisdom, although he himself disclaims it, and of unshakable resolution in carrying out his principles, while his eloquence is equal to the loftiest themes ; it is neither skilfully arranged nor troubled about words, but pursues its subject with powerful flight, as inspiration urges it. I have no doubt that Providence has endowed him with such lofty morality and power of language that our age might not be without an example and a living reproach '.

A treatise generally attributed to Lucian, and in any case the work of a contemporary, gives a description of a man who was ' an example and a living reproach ' to his age, as it were a personification of the ever warning conscience of his fellow-citizens. This was Demonax, who spent the best part of his life in Athens and starved himself to death when nearly a hundred years of age. Demonax was opposed to Demetrius and those like him, but in agreement with Epictetus, with whom he was on friendly terms. He endeavoured to smooth the roughnesses of the Cynic mode of thought, and especially to rob his admonitions and reproofs of their forbidding harshness by the aid of wit and intellectual grace ; his entire philosophy was characterized by mildness, kindness, and cheerfulness. He regarded all men as his kinsmen. He rendered practical assistance to his friends, so far as it was permissible ;

warned the fortunate of the transitory nature of the blessings of fortune, and consoled those who complained of poverty, banishment, old age or sickness. He strove to reconcile brothers who had quarrelled, to make peace between husbands and wives, and frequently acted as mediator in political dissensions, and generally with success. In this manner he lived a healthy and peaceful life of nearly a hundred years; he was never a burden to any man, never accused any man; he helped his friends and never had an enemy; and was generally beloved and respected throughout Greece. Whenever he appeared, every one stood up, even the highest officials, and all were silent. Towards the end of his long life, he used to enter the first house he came to without invitation and eat and sleep there; the inmates regarded it as the visit of a god or good spirit. There was a keen rivalry amongst the women who sold bread to be the first to serve him; every one from whom he received a loaf believed that he would bring her luck; the children offered him fruits and called him father. When a party quarrel had broken out in Athens, his mere appearance in the assembly was enough to restore quiet; when he had convinced himself of this, he went away without saying a word. The Athenians gave him a magnificent funeral at the expense of the city, and mourned him for a long time; the stone seat on which he used to rest was held sacred and crowned with garlands in his honour. His funeral was largely attended; all the philosophers were present and carried his body to the grave.

The portrait of Peregrinus, later called Proteus, is not so clear, since we only know him from the description of Lucian, in which he appears as much a fool as a knave. But it is clear that this description cannot possibly correspond to the reality, not only from the unimpeachable testimony of another contemporary, but partly from Lucian's own statements. We can hardly be mistaken in regarding the sordid or shameful motives which Lucian attributes to Peregrinus in all that he did, as the malicious assumptions and fabrications of passionate opponents, who were absolutely incapable of understanding the nature of a fanatic such as Peregrinus.

Peregrinus was the son of a well-to-do citizen of Parium on the Hellespont. In the course of his travels, extending over several years, he visited Palestine, where he joined the

Christians and so zealously advocated their doctrines in his writings, that he was appointed president of the community. Thrown into prison in consequence of his conversion, he is said to have begged to be put to death, but the governor of Syria, not considering him of sufficient importance to deserve martyrdom, discharged him. Returning to Parium, he presented to it what was left of his property, which had been plundered during his absence and was supposed by his followers to be very large (according to Lucian it amounted to the considerable sum of fifteen talents, £3,536 gs.), and then recommenced his wandering life. Having quarrelled with the Christians, he adopted Cynicism in Egypt, and crossed over to Rome, where he criticized the existing order so outspokenly that he was expelled by the city praefect. He is then said foolishly to have attempted to stir up a revolt against the Romans in Greece. In 165 he put an end to his life at Olympia, after the games were over, by carrying out his long-announced intention of burning himself to death ; on a bright moonlight night, in the presence of a crowd of Cynics, calling upon the spirits of his parents, he threw himself upon a funeral pyre erected in a ditch and disappeared in the grave of fire.

The conversion of Peregrinus to Christianity, his defection and adoption of Cynicism, are quite intelligible. 'It was just a nature like his that, in the restless search for truth and internal satisfaction, could be as easily attracted to Christianity as it was subsequently estranged from it, when subordination to ecclesiastical dogma and ecclesiastical customs was required of it'. But Christianity and Cynicism were not only in perfect agreement in the absolute contrast which both presented with polytheism, but the Cynic abandonment of all earthly ties and contempt for the world was closely akin to that element of Christianity, which subsequently found complete expression in the life of the hermit and the monk. Nor did this affinity pass unnoticed in ancient times. Celsus had compared the preachers of the doctrines of Christianity with mountebanks, since they addressed themselves by preference to the uneducated masses, to which Origen replies that the Cynic popular preachers did exactly the same. Julian the Apostate found a great similarity between 'those who renounced the world, as the impious Galilaeans called them'. and the Cynics ; the difference was that the latter did not

make such a good thing out of it as the former, who 'by renouncing a little scraped together a great deal, or rather everything', since the duty of charity supplied them with a decent excuse for raising tribute. The Cynics had no such excuse, and besides even the heathen were more intelligent than 'those fools'. In everything else there was no difference between the two. Both accepted honour and homage for their pretended renunciation; both abandoned their country, wandered all over the world, and made themselves a nuisance in camp, the Cynics being even more impertinent and obtrusive than the monks. In view of these and similar comparisons between Cynicism and Christianity, John Chrysostom and Gregory of Nazianzus thought it necessary to point out emphatically how far inferior the former was to the latter.

That the gloomy, harsh and rugged aspect of Cynicism was especially prominent in Peregrinus is shown by the rejoinder of Demonax (whose cheerfulness made Peregrinus refuse to acknowledge him as a Cynic), 'And you are no man!' Gellius, however, who often visited him in his hut near Athens not long before his end, speaks of him with great respect. He had heard many excellent and salutary words from this 'worthy and strong-minded man', who, amongst other things, asserted that the wise man would do nothing wrong, even though gods and men should not know that he had done wrong. For one ought to avoid sin, not from fear of punishment or disgrace, but from love of the good. But in the case of those who lack this higher moral strength, the thought that no wrong can remain hidden, but that time will finally bring all things to light, is a very effectual motive for avoiding ill-doing.

Lastly, his self-destruction was intended to crown a life in which he had striven to imitate Heracles, the great model of the Cynics, with an end like that of the hero; to teach men contempt of death and at the same time to prove to the world that a Cynic also was capable of the much admired resolution of the Indian sage Calanus. The postponement of his suicide till the Olympian games were over, the choice of night time for carrying it out, the admission of only a few spectators of similar opinions, do not prove that Peregrinus sought his greatest triumph in theatrical effect. Certainly he was a fanatic, but there is no reason to doubt the earnestness and sincerity of his convictions, and, with the exception

of Lucian's account, there is no evidence that, at that time or later, they were ever doubted. About twelve years after his death Athenagoras saw his statue in Parium, and Ammianus Marcellinus, in mentioning his suicide (also referred to by the chroniclers) calls him a famous philosopher.

The Cynic school continued to exist till the end of antiquity. In addition to the discourses of Julian, there is no lack of evidence which permits us to trace its continuance, and as late as the beginning of the fifth century its adherents were evidently very numerous.

It is only natural that the literature of the time should tell us far more of the attempts to elevate the standard of morality through philosophy than of its effects. Nevertheless, all that we are told goes to show that as a matter of fact philosophy was then regarded by the educated world as the true and highest moral educator of humanity, and even the opposition to it only confirms the universality of this conviction. That the zealous and comprehensive efforts hitherto described really produced important results, is clear from the simple fact that so large a number of the noblest men of these centuries, on their own information or according to the statement of others, were indebted to philosophy for the formation of their character ; and further, from the high respect which was paid to distinguished philosophers by their contemporaries and posterity. In a world which refused slaves the rights of men, the former slave Epictetus was one of the most generally respected personalities, and Hadrian, the ruler of this world, is said to have sought his friendship. The most important teachers and writers of these centuries, the freedman Epictetus, the knight Musonius Rufus, Seneca the consular and the emperor Marcus Aurelius, belonged to the most different classes and ranks of life. The effect of philosophy extended to all strata of society, from the highest to the lowest. Philosophy, says Seneca, does not look at a man's pedigree ; the equestrian order, the senate, and military service are closed to many ; but knowledge is open to all, and all are of noble birth as far as its attainment is concerned. A great soul can reside in the body of a slave or freedman as well as in that of a Roman knight.

But not only did philosophy break through the barriers and limitations of the orders and classes of society ; it

also to a great extent weakened the exclusiveness of national consciousness, and by its partial subjection of this feeling, so strongly developed in all ancient peoples (and especially in the Romans) and so harshly asserted, it proved itself to be one of the most real and transforming influences of the period of civilization which is here described. Cynicism and Stoicism, in particular, developed their original leaning towards cosmopolitanism and a brotherly love that included all mankind, on the highly favourable soil of the Roman world-empire, in such a manner that their theories of the relation of the individual to mankind breathe a Christian spirit to the same extent as they attest a most decided rupture with the specifically ancient views of the world. It was thought by many that this development of philosophy could only be explained by direct Christian influences; but in the case of Seneca no such explanation of this phenomenon was needed, and the repugnance to 'the Galilaeans' expressed by Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius excludes the assumption of Christian influences. The Christians of that period, indeed (as already observed), themselves recognized an independent morality of the heathen, which they attempted to account for partly by their acquaintance with the sacred writings of the Jews, partly by the intervention of 'demons' working against Christianity. They would certainly not have had recourse to such singular explanations had they believed that the virtues of the heathen could be attributed to Christian influences. In fact, the result of an unprejudiced investigation must be that Stoicism and Cynicism raised themselves by their own efforts to a moral conception of men's rights and duties higher and purer than any in earlier antiquity. The Stoic principle of the homogeneousness of all men, who, as Epictetus expresses it, all have God for their father, and consequently are all brothers, was first followed out by the Stoics of this age in its widest extent and to its ultimate results. They taught, expressly and repeatedly, love of one's enemy, patience and indulgence not only towards the erring, but forgiveness of evil done to us and its requital with benefits. A comparison of the views of that age with those of the older philosophers in regard to slavery affords the most infallible criterion of the progress made in the idea of the relation of the individual to humanity. Plato found nothing offensive

in this 'cancerous affection of the ancient world', and never conceived the idea of a complete abolition of slavery in the future; while Aristotle even endeavoured to prove that it is a natural institution, and regarded slaves as 'living chattels' and barbarians as born slaves of the Hellenes. Seneca, on the other hand, insists that we should regard slaves above all as human beings, as humble friends, and, in so far as they are subject to the same authority as ourselves, as fellow-slaves. And there is no doubt that these theories did in reality contribute essentially to the improvement of the position of slaves. The effects of the philosophy of that age lasted far beyond its own days; the third century affords us the remarkable evidence of Origen, which is beyond suspicion, that while few still read Plato, Epictetus was read 'by all'.

An age which raised itself by its own efforts to higher and purer views of morality than all the ages which preceded it, which not only produced a Musonius, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius, but in which these preachers of a gentle, truly human system of ethics were generally admired and their doctrines generally adopted, cannot have been an age of utter moral decay, as it has been so often called. If there is no graduated scale of the morality of a period so well known, least of all is there one for these centuries, in regard to which we possess only isolated statements, partly limited to definite spheres, partly exaggerated or one-sided. To the latter belong the rhetorical declamations of the elder Pliny and Seneca; to the former the description of the horrors of the imperial house, the awful consequences of an absolute despotism, the fearful suppression of the aristocracy by Caesarism, in Tacitus and the other historians, and the accounts of the corruption, filth, and immorality which Rome, like every great city, fostered in abundance, in the satirists and in Martial. It would be inadmissible to draw general conclusions from these sources alone as to the morality of the whole period, even if they did not offer, amidst much that is repulsive, hateful and horrifying, many agreeable and sublime impressions, which even decidedly predominate in other authorities, such as the letters of the younger Pliny, and the works of Quintilian, Plutarch and Gellius. And if we leave out of consideration those declamations about the disappearance of the 'good old times', it will be difficult to find any evidence in the literature of the

age that men thought they were living in a period of general decay, but rather the reverse. Even Seneca concludes a striking picture of the prevailing immorality with the declaration that he does not wish to fasten the responsibility upon his own age. 'Our forefathers complained, we complain, and our descendants will complain, that morals are corrupt, that wickedness holds sway, that men are sinking deeper and deeper in sinfulness, that the condition of mankind is going from bad to worse. But in reality they remain where they were, and will still remain so, save for trifling movements in one direction or the other, like waves carried backwards and forwards by the ebb and flow. . . . Vices belong to no particular age, but to all mankind. No age has been free from guilt'. Tacitus was convinced that everything was not better in earlier times, but that his age also had produced much that was worthy of imitation by posterity; perhaps there is a cycle of morality, as of events. And Marcus Aurelius, whose view of the world was principally determined by the Stoic doctrine of the eternal cycle of events, who saw in history only an eternal repetition, was bound to regard human wickedness as something that ever remained the same. 'What is wickedness?' he asks. 'That which you have often seen. Ancient, medieval and modern history will be found full of the same things as houses and cities at the present time. Nothing is new'. But he was far from seeing nothing but wickedness in the present. Nothing delighted him more than to think of the good qualities of his contemporaries, and his greatest pleasure was to survey as a whole the examples of the virtues exhibited in the character of each.

CHAPTER IV

BELIEF IN THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL

WHEREVER and whenever the belief in immortality has not been firmly established by belief in revelation, doubt, unbelief and denial of immortality have been associated with the different forms which such belief has assumed. It is probable that not only have there always been men to whom the eternal existence of an individual appeared unintelligible, but also others for whom life was only endurable as ending with death, and who were filled with horror at the idea of its lasting for ever. It is remarkable that it is one of the most energetic natures of the later Roman world, the elder Pliny, who rejects, almost passionately, the belief in immortality. He was a man whose lot was a favoured one, who with untiring perseverance strove to make every minute of his life serviceable to the state, to humanity, to the knowledge of truth, and in the pursuit of this object found a noble end that was worthy of his life.

‘Every man’s last hour brings about exactly the same state of things that existed before his first hour. Souls and bodies no more have feelings and consciousness after death than they had before birth. But human vanity imagines a prolongation of existence into the future, and invents a life beyond the grave, attributing sometimes immortality, sometimes change of form to the soul, and sometimes consciousness to those below the earth; it worships departed spirits and makes those gods, who have ceased to be even men; as if our breath in any way differed from that of all other creatures, or as if other things in nature did not last much longer than man, for which no one has foretold immortality. But what sort of body could the soul have after its emancipation? What substance? what power of thought? How could

it see, hear, and taste? What use could it make of these gifts, or what good would it be without them? Where is its place of abode, and how great is the number of shadowy souls after so many centuries? All such ideas are only fit to pacify children, idle dreams of a state of mortality, which is anxious to last for ever! What absurd folly, to think that life can be renewed by death! And where would there ever be rest for the created, if the consciousness of the soul continued in heaven, and the shades of the dead in the underworld? In reality this pretended sweet consolation and this happy faith robs death, the chief blessing of nature, of its virtue, and doubles the pain of a dying man by holding out the prospect of a life beyond. For if it is sweet to live, to whom can it be sweet to have lived? But how much easier and more certain would it be for every one to trust in himself and accept his experience of the time before birth as a certain proof of what will happen in the future!'

This expression of a longing for annihilation, which bears some resemblance to the Buddhist view of life, stands by itself. But the materialistic conception of the soul and the denial of immortality based upon it were at least as common as the Epicureanism, by which Pliny's view was no doubt directly or indirectly determined, and with which his materialism also agrees in the idea of a heavenly origin of the soul and its 'kinship with the stars'. For the convinced adherents of this doctrine the prospect of an end of existence was not a melancholy one. It was for them a consoling thought, to reach a harbour, where they would be for ever removed from disappointments and the caprices of destiny. Their fancy was taken by the idea of rising calmly from the table of life, like guests who had had their fill, in order to abandon themselves to a dreamless sleep. The memorial of Gaius Matrinus Valentius is dedicated by his wife, who survived him, 'to eternal sleep'. Other funeral monuments of similar character, and others dedicated 'to eternal rest' (*securitati*), indicate the denial of immortality, although not always expressed so unequivocally as in the self-composed epitaph of a certain Nicomedes of Cos, who was apparently a strolling singer of the Homeric poems: 'After having ridiculed absurdities, I lie here in a sleep from which there is no awaking'. A Latin inscription runs: 'I have lived and believed in

nothing beyond the grave'; a Greek one: 'There is no boat in Hades, no Charon, no Aeacus who holds the keys, no Cerberus. All of us whom death has carried away are rotten bones and ashes, nothing else'; in another it is said of the dead man that, after having finished his course, he has become a tomb, a stone, an image. 'The elements out of which he was formed take possession of their own again; life was only lent to the man, in death he restores it, he cannot keep it for ever. By his death he pays his debt to nature'. A favourite distich runs: 'I was not, but I became; I was and am no longer; thus much is true. Whoever says otherwise, lies; for I shall no longer be'. It is frequently added that death is no evil, since consciousness ceases with life. A certain Lucius Maecius Marcus, who in his lifetime built an 'eternal house' for himself and his, says in the inscription (as if he were still alive): 'I once was not and now am; one day I shall no longer be; I do not regret it'. On a gravestone the following words are put into the mouth of a dead woman: 'I once was not and am no longer. I know nothing of it; it does not matter to me'. 'Death', it is said on another stone, 'is the last and most beneficial remedy'. This was also expressed jestingly. A freedman named Ancarenus Nothus says in his epitaph that he is no longer afraid of having to go hungry; that he is free from gout and need not pay for his lodging, since he is living in permanent free quarters. With the denial of its continuance is also combined the invitation to enjoy this transitory life: 'I was nothing, I am nothing. Do you who are still alive, eat, drink, enjoy yourselves, come'! 'Do you, O comrade, who read this, enjoy your life; for after death there is neither pain nor laughter, nor joy of any kind'. A sepulchral monument, which was found in 1626 under the confessional of St. Peter's church, a recumbent statue of a man with a drinking-cup in his hand, excited such disgust by the atrocious nature of the inscription, that the statue was hidden or thrown into the Tiber. The inscription was erased with lime, but a copy has been preserved. The deceased, notwithstanding his gross materialism, appears to have led an orderly, decent life as a citizen. He came from Tibur; his name was Flavius Agricola, and he had had himself represented in the attitude in which he was fond of emptying the bottle during his

lifetime. He had lived most agreeably with his wife Flavia Primitiva for thirty years ; she, a modest, industrious, beautiful woman, had been a worshipper of Isis. After her death his son Aurelius Primitivus had consoled him by his affection and received him into his house. In conclusion, he advises his readers in some verses, (which evidently were frequently employed, but in varied form), to enjoy the pleasures of wine and love, since after death everything else is destroyed by earth and fire.

It is highly probable that the most outspoken materialism was the most convincing to unbelievers in the educational sphere to which the composers of these epitaphs belonged, who naturally also were fond of displaying their enlightened ideas and superiority to those who were less advanced by a vigorously worded profession of faith, which neither custom nor dogma prohibited them from recording upon tombstones. On the contrary, this appeared a specially suitable opportunity for summing up their life's experiences ; so that we need not be surprised to find the lowest and most degenerate form of Epicureanism, which sought the only true good in the grossest sensual enjoyment, openly flaunting itself in this manner. Allusion is frequently made to an epitaph in this style on King Sardanapalus, or a variation of it : e.g. What I have eaten and drunk, I have taken with me ; what I have left behind, I have lost. We must interpret in the same sense those epitaphs in which baths, wine, and love, moderately enjoyed, are extolled as the source of true pleasure in life, and the dead man is made to say that he has taken everything with him into the grave, i.e. every real blessing which life can offer has passed into his possession and thereby, as it were, become part of himself.

As compared with the thousands which betray no doubt in a life after death, the number of materialistic epitaphs is exceedingly small, although (as observed) no obstacle existed which could prevent even the most reckless materialist from expressing his unbelief in this manner. The feelings of the ancient world in regard to death and burial were in many respects essentially different from those of the moderns ; to the former even jesting did not seem incompatible with the seriousness of the grave. But we should be bound to assume that materialism had made great strides, even if we

did not possess definite evidence of the spread of Epicureanism, especially amongst the uneducated, and (to judge from modern analogies) perhaps even more amongst the half-educated. Certainly, it is quite impossible to define, at any particular period, the proportion of materialists to believers in immortality; but there is reason to believe that, in spite of their relatively large number, they formed only a small minority even in the later days of antiquity.

If, further, the denial of immortality was a capital and fundamental principle in the materialistic philosophy of Epicurus, the finite nature of the soul was also assumed in other philosophical systems. Certainly, the Stoic belief in a limited, but indeterminate continuance of life after death in its practical application had essentially the same value and effect as the belief in immortality. Yet Panaetius, who lived about the middle of the second century B.C. in the Scipionic circle at Rome and later at Athens, always enjoyed a great reputation and exercised great influence, especially on the Romans who were inclined to Stoicism, diverged in this, as in other points, from the tradition of the school. He absolutely denied life after death, and Cornutus, the teacher of Persius, expressed an equally decided opinion that the individual soul died and perished with its body, while Marcus Aurelius wavered between the ideas of an extinction of the soul at death and a passage into another existence. Amongst the Peripatetics, to whom Panaetius attached himself by preference, Dicaearchus, who was taught by Aristotle himself, also denied the continued existence of the soul, which he regarded as the result of the mixture of the corporeal substances, dependent for its very existence upon the body, and pervading all its parts. Aristotle himself certainly taught the continued existence of the thinking spirit, but not of the person or individual; and he expressly rejected the idea that the dead (called 'the blessed', οἱ μακαρίται, by the people of Greece) could be happy. Of the later Peripatetics Strato of Lampsacus, the pupil of Theophrastus, to all appearance entirely abandoned the belief in immortality; and Alexander of Aphrodisias (time of the Severi), who has been honoured with the name of a second Aristotle, has attempted to show that Aristotle also denied immortality.

But there was also a philosophy which affirmed immor-

tality as emphatically as Epicureanism denied it. This was Platonism, the only philosophy which undertook to prove it scientifically, since to the Pythagoreans the theory of the immortality and transmigration of souls was rather a dogma than a philosophical principle. As Platonism in general irresistibly attracted those whose minds were set on things above the earth, its theory of the soul in particular was a comfort and consolation to all who needed, in addition to a belief in immortality, a philosophical proof of their convictions. Cato of Utica, also, the 'perfect Stoic', as Cicero calls him, whose death made him an ideal figure in later Stoicism, read the *Phaedo* of Plato before committing suicide. Certainly Plato's proof of immortality could convince no one who was not already convinced, and Strato's criticism had shown it to be inconclusive; but the name and reputation of Plato were a guarantee of the truth of his doctrine, that satisfied Cicero and certainly most people, who preferred to err with him than to recognize the truth with his opponents. 'It is impossible to estimate how much his dialogues have done to strengthen, spread and develop the belief in immortality, with varying success in the course of centuries, but without interruption down to our own days'. 'Posterity has correctly judged him as the type of the priest and sage, who with warning hand points the way upwards to the immortal human spirit, from this poor earth to the eternal light.

In his belief that he could scientifically prove the imperishability of the soul, Plato allowed himself to be increasingly influenced in his ideas of its destiny before and after its life in the body by the mystical theories of the Orphico-Pythagorean sects. The Orphic communities worshipped above other gods the Thracian Bacchus (Dionysus), and his ecstatic cult contained the deeply rooted conviction 'that a god lived in the human form, and could only be set free by the bursting asunder of the chains of the body'. In connexion with this conviction was developed the effort to detach oneself from the earthly and perishable by means of asceticism (the so-called Orphic life), which determined the direction of the belief and mental attitude of these mystic separatists. The belief in a compensating justice in the next world is also indebted to them for its elaboration and confirmation. These theories, which travelled from Thrace by way of Greece

to lower Italy and Sicily, blended with those of the Pythagorean communities, and in that form, which continued unaltered for centuries, were widely adopted throughout the Greek world. The most important of the Orphico-Pythagorean dogmas was the theory of the transmigration of souls, the cycle of continual new birth which the soul must traverse, in order to do penance for its falling away to the corporeal and to regain its divine nature. Consequently it is not death, but life, which is held to be the wages of sin. After its earthly life the soul awaits judgment in Hades, in accordance with which the pious look forward to a blessed existence in company with the gods of the underworld, sinners to punishments in Tartarus, which in the eschatological poems of the Orphists are described in all their horror, 'with the object of terrifying, converting, and awakening mankind'. Plato appropriated both the doctrine of the transmigration of souls and their punishments, which were regarded partly as purificatory (especially by means of fire, a theory also adopted by Origen and elevated by Gregory I. to a dogma) and partly as eternal, and attached great value to an emphatic announcement of them.

Virgil also was indebted to Orphism for the main features of his portrait of the underworld, especially the descriptions of Elysium, Tartarus and the valley of Lethe (where the souls that are to enter new bodies first drink forgetfulness of the old). Similarly Plutarch in his description of the other world, has drawn upon Orphic literature; after the example of Plato, he gives it in the form of a vision of a dead man restored to life, whose soul has preserved the recollection of its impressions while separated from the body. The abode of the blessed is like a grotto of Bacchus, decked with verdure and flowers of every kind, which exhales a gentle fragrance that intoxicates the soul like wine, and is full of Bacchic pleasure, laughter, jest and song. At the place of torture the punishments for offences are of three classes. The mildest are for those who have already done penance on earth. But he who arrives from his life on earth unpunished and unpurified, is tormented until every passion is eradicated by pains and tortures, which surpass those of the flesh in violence and severity as much as the reality surpasses the dream in clearness. The scars and weals of the passions remain in

some cases longer than in others ; hence the colours of the souls are varied and manifold. A blood-red colour shows cruelty ; a bluish, that sensuality has been eradicated, and so on. The colour indicates the end of purification and punishment ; after it has disappeared the soul becomes bright and of one colour. At the place of the severest punishments is heard the sound of the mournful wailing of souls, which are enduring the most cruel tortures. The narrator sees the soul of his father, full of marks and scars, coming forth from a chasm and stretching out his hands to him, while it is being dragged away by its tormentors to fresh penances (he had poisoned certain persons without having been found out during his lifetime). He sees a number of souls in coils of two, three or more like snakes, and devouring each other. Further, there are three lakes, of boiling gold, cold lead, and rough iron, in which demons, like smiths, dip the souls of the avaricious, and pull them out again with their implements. Having been made red-hot and transparent in the lake of gold, they become as hard as hailstones in the lake of lead, and black and brittle in the lake of iron, so that, when broken and crushed, they assume new forms, and are thrown again into the lake of gold, suffering indescribable torments during these changes. Many, who thought their punishment was ended, were carried away to fresh tortures, at the instance of the souls of their descendants, who had been obliged to do penance for their ancestors' crimes during their lifetime. Finally, he sees the souls of those who, that they may be born again in the bodies of animals, are violently transformed by their tormentors with various instruments. Amongst them is the soul of Nero, which in addition to other tortures is pierced with red-hot nails. It was intended for the body of a viper, but at the bidding of a loud voice, which suddenly issued from a blaze of light, the body of some tame animal, which sings and lives by marshes and lakes (perhaps a toad), was assigned to it as a habitation : ' for the gods owed Nero a reward, for having bestowed freedom upon the Hellenes, the best and most god-favoured people of all his subjects '.

Traces of the widespread acceptance of the Orphic doctrine are also to be found in epitaphs. Such is the prayer addressed to the god of the underworld, Aidoneus or Osiris,

the Egyptian lord of the soul, that he would bestow cold water upon the deceased, by which is meant the water of life. The gold leaves (which the dead appear to have held in their hands), found in graves at Thurii and Petelia (about the third century B.C.) and at Eleutherae in Crete (about the second century A.D.), show that the formulae, which the consecrated one was obliged to be familiar with on his entry into Hades, in order to obtain the water of life, were always put into the grave with him, for many centuries in the same manner. The Christians also retained the idea, but not in its original significance. 'Cooling' (*refrigerium*) is with them a typical designation for the state of the blessed after death, and the prayer for this cooling is addressed not only to Christ, but also to martyrs.

Also the idea of an elevation of the soul into aether, to the stars, to the neighbourhood of the gods, which had its origin 'in religious presentiments as much as in philosophical speculations', was compatible with Orphico-Pythagorean doctrines. It appears gradually to have ousted the idea of a place under the earth for the pious, and under the influence of Stoic views to have found the widest acceptance in later times. Statius leaves it undecided whether his father's soul has soared to the heights above and, sojourning in the regions of light, is following the paths of the stars, or whether he is dwelling in the fields of Lethe amongst the heroes of the past and the shades of the departed. Yet in some epitaphs the latter idea is expressly rejected: the soul of the dead is not in the underworld amongst the shades of the departed, but has risen to the stars. To the same effect the younger Pliny says of the Emperor Trajan's dead father: his abode is either amongst the stars or near them, whence he looks down upon his son and rejoices in his fame and glory.

In the first centuries of the Christian era the majority of the educated classes of the Roman world were probably as little affected by the mystical doctrines of religious sects as by those of the different philosophical schools. They adhered to no single philosophical system, but according to their individual needs formed their opinion of the world by means of eclecticism, and were only indirectly or to a small extent influenced by philosophy in general. Some did not even feel the need of being firmly convinced on the subject

of immortality, while others had abandoned the idea in despair. The diametrically opposite results at which the different philosophical tendencies had arrived, the assault upon the principles supported by the most reputed teachers delivered by others of equal repute, were bound to lead the sceptically minded in particular to the conclusion that the scientific investigation of this subject was a task beyond human powers. This was the view held even by a man like Socrates, although he was naturally inclined to believe in a life after death. It was very natural that those inquirers, who made the body the subject of their investigation, should feel the gravest doubts as to the immateriality of the soul. The physician Galen, although anything but a materialist and a declared opponent of Epicurus, regarded the Platonic idea of the immateriality of the soul with great suspicion. How should incorporeal substances be distinguished from one another? he asks; how can an incorporeal nature pervade the body? how can it be so affected by the body, as happens in regard to the soul in cases of madness, drunkenness and similar circumstances? 'He does not presume to decide this point, any more than he intends to affirm or deny immortality'.

Quintilian also considers the question, whether the soul when released from the body is immortal or at least continues to exist for a certain time, as one that has not been decided. Tacitus was equally unconvinced at the time when, in his mature years, he wrote the life of Agricola. He concludes with the wish that the deceased may rest in peace, 'if there is a place for the spirits of the pious; if, as the wise believe, great souls are not annihilated with the body'. In these last words he alludes to the doctrine of Chrysippus, that only the souls of the wise will endure till the conflagration of the world. Even Cicero, who attached such high importance to the belief in immortality, did not consider it superfluous to allay men's fears of death, in the event of the soul perishing with the body.

But although Cicero recognized that doubt was justifiable, he was himself firmly convinced that the soul was immortal. His reasons were probably exactly the same as those of the majority of believers among the educated classes; they were based, not so much upon dogmas or scientific proofs, as upon instincts, needs and feelings, partly characteristic

of human nature in general, and partly developed by the special influences of Roman civilization. For, although Cicero reproduces in detail the Platonic proof of immortality, he expressly states (as already observed) that he considers the conviction of a Plato enough for him, even unsupported by argument, and to all appearance he adduces this proof more for the satisfaction of others than for his own. His belief, like that of all kindred natures, was based above all upon a lofty conception of the greatness and dignity of the human intellect, upon admiration and reverence for its powers and performances. He was convinced that the intellect, which had invented language and writing, associated man with man, measured the orbits of the stars, created civilization, the arts, poetry and philosophy, could not possibly be of an earthly and perishable nature. Its power, wisdom, inventiveness and memory appeared to him divine; its origin could not be an earthly one, it must be derived from heaven, and therefore divine. In this conviction he was confirmed by the agreement of all peoples, which on this point was as complete as on the belief in divinities; further, by the belief of the greatest intellects of his own nation and by the recognition of immortality in the religious cult of the dead, observed without alteration for so many centuries. Further proofs, according to him, were to be found in the anxiety of men as to what would become of them after death, the sacrifice of the best amongst them for posterity, and the general and natural desire for recognition by posterity and for posthumous renown. Everywhere and at all times it was just the men who were most distinguished in character and intellect who had acted as men would only act with the prospect of immortality before them; and it is in the belief held by the noblest and best that we are most likely to discover a knowledge of the truth. Cicero has expressed his belief in personal immortality almost poetically in the *Dream of Scipio*, in which he describes the blessedness enjoyed by the mighty dead of the past in celestial spheres, after they have been uplifted from the prison of the body to the true and eternal life.

But certainly all the hopes of a life beyond the grave which were not founded upon religious convictions were persistently vague. This is shown in particular by the example of Seneca,

who nevertheless professed his adherence to a Stoicism that taught the doctrine of immortality, and who in addition was greatly in favour of the Platonic views of the question. There was a time in his life when immortality appeared as inconceivable and undesirable to him as to Epicurus, of whom he held the highest opinion. In one of his tragedies he says : ' He who has set foot on the waters of the river of the dead, exists no more. As the dirty smoke from the kindled fires ascends and vanishes after its brief journey, and as the fury of arctic Boreas drives before it and dissipates the clouds heavily charged with rain, so the spirit, which animates our bodies and regulates the term of existence, will pass away ; after death there is nothing—death itself is nothing, only the most recent arrival or goal reached, in the velocity of space. Let the avaricious discard their hopes and let the anxious set aside their fears. Dost thou betray any curiosity to know where thou shalt rest after death ? Where those rest who have not come into existence at all. Repacious time swallows us up, and we merge into Chaos. Death is the inseparable bugbear of the body, nor does it spare the soul any more than it does the body. Taenarum—and the kingdom under that relentless ruler, and the dog Cerberus which blocks the way and guards the difficult approach—all this is empty talk and idle words, like the terrors revealed during a frightful nightmare ' (*Troades*, 392-411, trans. W. Bradshaw). Although Seneca perhaps did not long adhere to this uncompromising attitude of denial, he never attained a firm and undoubting belief in immortality. He writes to his friend Lucilius the Epicurean, whose last letter had awakened him from a pleasant dream, that he was on the point of accepting the consoling belief in the immortality of the soul and of adopting the opinions of great men, which certainly promised more than they proved ; on the receipt of Lucilius' letter he awoke, the beautiful dream vanished, and yet he would like it to return. In fact, in the conclusion of his letter he looks forward to a longer and better life to which the earthly life is only a prelude. Then will the secrets of nature be revealed to us, the heavens, which the soul chained to the body can only endure from a distance, will be lighted up on all sides alike, night will no longer succeed day, and we shall recognize that we lived in darkness, as long as the

divine light only penetrated to us through the narrow medium of the eyes. If we compare the conclusion with the beginning of the letter, we can hardly doubt that the confidence which he here displays was assumed. In fact, he declares often enough in his latest writings that it is doubtful whether there is another life, whether the soul continues to exist, whether death is only a transition or the end. We could only be certain of its nature and effect, if a man were to rise from the dead. But Seneca knew of no man who had so risen.

Philosophical speculation could only give an assurance of continued existence in combination with religious belief, as in the case of Pythagoreanism and Platonism. Certainly a considerable number of educated men entirely abandoned a philosophical proof of immortality, and sought and found consolation and peace of mind in regard to the other life in religion alone. Vast numbers of people, such as Plutarch's wife Timoxena, derived their firm belief in immortality from the Orphico-Dionysiac mysteries, which were widely diffused throughout the entire Greek world and were especially in vogue in the second century A.D. But of all the Greek mysteries the Eleusinian maintained the reputation of being the most sacred festival of grace, and the celebration of the sacred night was perhaps most thronged in the last days of antiquity. Throughout the Roman empire foreign (Thracian, Phrygian, Egyptian, Syrian, Persian) secret cults became more and more attractive, owing to the charm exercised by the mysterious, especially if unfamiliar; certainly all of them promised immortal happiness to their votaries. Those who were consecrated to the service of Isis and Mithras were called 'born again', 'born again to eternity'. The essence of the worship of Mithras was perhaps the old Persian belief in a resurrection of the dead.

Amongst the evidences of the belief in immortality and the hope of a higher existence must be reckoned numerous figurative representations on funeral urns and altars, sarcophagi, and other monuments, of which the most artistically adorned could only have been within the reach of the well-to-do, that is, generally speaking, the better educated. Certainly the language of these images and figures is not always intelligible; the artistic production of the age, which as a

rule endeavoured to satisfy the new requirements of art by borrowing from the immense stock of existing creations, in this case also frequently employed older representations with a new meaning. The great mass of mythological scenes, so rich in figures, with which the front sides of the sarcophagi are adorned, belongs to these ancient creations ; the majority of them date from the period from the second to the fourth century, and in many cases (perhaps as a rule) were not made to order, but were executed for buyers to choose from, in accordance with the prevailing demand. If the connexion of the myths represented with death, immortality and the other world cannot always be proved with certainty, and perhaps sometimes the only object was to fill up the empty spaces with favourite representations, yet in the majority of cases there can be no doubt of the idea with which they were selected for this purpose. The figures of the myths are, as it were, poetical types for the symbolical expression of abstract ideas ; and even here the prevailing tendency of Greek art and poetry to transfigure human existence by elevating it into the regions of the ideal, is manifest. Only rarely (as in the fable of Prometheus) is the union and separation of soul and body represented ; usually the transition to another life and its happiness or misery is symbolized by the destinies of the gods and heroes. The rape of Proserpine to the shades and her return to the world of light, the death of Adonis succeeded by his resurrection, were favourite subjects ; perhaps the carrying off of the daughters of Leucippus by the Dioscuri to a higher existence had a similar significance. The stories of Admetus and Alcestis, of Protesilaus and Laodamia, indicate the hope of a meeting again after death and the continuance of conjugal love beyond the grave. Hercules, the hero who after incessant struggles frees himself from the infirmities of mortality and proves victorious even over the powers of the underworld, appears in his combats and labours as a real victor over death. Achilles in Scyros, who preferred a brief and glorious life to a long and inglorious one, and was rewarded for his choice by removal to Elysium, is apparently intended to be a guarantee of the reward which awaits virtue ; the stories of Actaeon, Marsyas, Clytaemnestra, and the battle of the giants, are perhaps warnings of the punishments which overtake sinners. The delights of the blessed are indicated by the

joyous meetings, dances, and festivities of the crowd which forms the retinue of Bacchus, the motley throng of Bacchants, Maenads, Satyrs, Pans and Centaurs, whose exuberance of life, on sarcophagi and urns, gets the better of death: 'the ashes appear still to be enjoying life in their peaceful abode' (Goethe). The god himself by his resurrection, according to the Orphic doctrine, guaranteed immortality to those who had been initiated into his mysteries; Ariadne, raised by him to heaven, was regarded as an example of the soul freed from mortality and removed to a higher world. The companies and bands of the Nereids and marine divinities, rocking themselves on the waves of the sea, and the sports of the love-gods (*Ἔρωτες*, Cupidines) appear to represent the condition of the blessed. In 1857 and 1858 two stately, two-storied mausoleums (constructed in the second half of the second century A.D.) were discovered facing one another on opposite sides of the Via Latina at Rome. The arched roof of the chief chamber in the lower story of one, which contains three sarcophagi, is richly ornamented with stucco reliefs; a medallion in the centre represents the soul of the deceased as a veiled figure carried by a griffin, and is surrounded by twenty-four other medallions with Bacchants, Nereids and love-gods in small square fields. In a Latin poem, found near Philippi, on the death of a boy it is said that the women dedicated to Bacchus would now take him into their company as a satyr in a flowery meadow, or the nymphs in their torch-light dances.

Whether the belief in immortality found more opponents than supporters even amongst the small minority of educated persons, cannot be determined; but there can be no question that at all times a vast majority amongst the masses in the main held firmly to the ideas of the immortality of the soul, propagated from primitive times through successive centuries, notwithstanding all the modifications which had been introduced in the course of time. The belief of man in his continued existence is one of the strongest and commonest instincts and needs of the human soul. This is confirmed generally by the study of the customs of primitive peoples and of the oldest civilized peoples, although exceptions are not wanting; amongst the Indo-Germanic nations, in particular, this belief goes back far beyond the beginnings of

tradition. Belief in immortality is as much in keeping with human nature as belief in the rule of higher beings ; it springs from the dread of annihilation ; the impulse of self-preservation in this case instinctively extends beyond the grave. Man, awakened to consciousness, seeks in the next world the solution of the enigmas of life, consolation for his sufferings and disappointments, 'at the grave he plants the seed of hope'. Only a minority is capable of reflection, which leads to doubt and denial. The longing for annihilation, with which for so many centuries millions in Asia have been filled, springs from fear, not of immortality in itself, but of the torture of endless re-births.

Certainly, as in all ages, currents of materialism reached the masses in later Graeco-Roman antiquity ; but neither the analogy of similar experiences in modern times nor the comparatively small number of materialistic or sceptical epitaphs of persons of the lower classes justifies the assumption that they ever made much progress or injured positive belief to any considerable extent. In contrast to such epitaphs, others express a firm confidence in immortality and reunion after death ; for example, the inscription on the common grave of a married couple, of whom the wife had died first : 'I am waiting for my husband'. But, in particular, there is abundant and absolutely trustworthy evidence that the popular belief on the whole, so far as Graeco-Roman culture extended, was still determined by the original Roman and Greek ideas of the other world, which in the course of centuries had variously amalgamated.

Certainly, Roman writers have asserted at different times, that no one believed in the old popular fables of the underworld. No old woman, says Cicero, is so weak-minded as to be afraid of 'the Acherontian depths of Orcus, the pale realm of death wrapped in darkness'. No one, says Seneca, is so childish as to fear Cerberus and the darkness and the ghostly figures of the skeletons of the dead. Only quite young children, who as yet pay no entrance money to the baths, believe that there are departed spirits, and subterranean realms, a Cocytus and black frogs in the Stygian abyss, and that so many thousands cross the river in a bark. In any case it is true that the Greek ideas, to which these passages chiefly refer, were less generally accepted in Italy and the western

298 Belief in the Immortality of the Soul

lands, although there also the reading of poetry in all the schools, theatrical performances and the plastic art, must have favoured their propagation, which was undoubtedly underestimated by the authors cited. Yet Lucretius could say that the fear of Acheron troubles man's life from its inmost depths, throws the dark shadow of death over all and allows no pleasure to be pure and unalloyed ; certainly in his pictures of the universally dreaded tortures and ' eternal punishments ' in Tartarus the Orphic descriptions of the underworld may have been before his mind.

Juvenal could hardly have been serious in denying the persistence of the Roman popular belief in the spirits of the departed ; his idea seems to have been to represent only its coarser elements as entirely abandoned, and even in this he is certainly wrong. Like all enlightened intellects, he is only too ready to assume the opinions that prevailed in his own circles to be the only ones that are reasonably possible and consequently universally admitted. But least of all was Juvenal in a position to deny the general belief in immortality. No one will dispute that he must at least have known as much about the views of his educated contemporaries as ourselves.

In regard to one at least of the Greek fables ridiculed by Juvenal we know that it was widely believed in, even in the west. This is the fable of the ' grim ferryman of the muddy pool ', as Juvenal calls him, to whom the dead man is obliged to present his obol in his mouth as passage money. That the people in Greek countries generally believed in the existence of the ferryman of the dead is expressly attested by Lucian : ' the mass is so preoccupied with this idea that, when a man dies, his relatives hasten to put an obol into his mouth to pay the ferryman for his passage across the Styx, without first finding out what money is current in the underworld ', and so on. Even at the present day this custom exists in Greece, and Charon still survives, although in altered form, in the popular belief and songs under the name of Charontas or Charos, a god of death and the underworld generally. Sometimes he appears as an archer, sometimes as a reaper, sometimes as a monstrous ghostly horseman escorting the hosts of the dead, sometimes as an eagle swooping down upon its prey, and sometimes (but rarely) as the ferryman of the dead How

general and deeply rooted must that belief have been, which has given proof of such indestructible vitality, in spite of the fact that, for fifteen hundred years, all the conditions necessary for its continuance were lacking ! Originally, to all appearance, the piece of money given to the dead man to take with him was a symbol of the purchase of his entire property, which he was supposed to take with him intact. This obviously ancient custom, which persisted with remarkable tenacity in many countries of the Roman empire to a late period, indeed, through the middle ages and down to our own times, was brought into connexion with the idea of the ferryman of the dead, and this explanation (of the obol as passage-money) became a popular belief.

If, therefore, there can be no doubt that a thing which, according to Juvenal, only little children believed, was in reality believed by thousands and thousands in the Roman empire, we have as little right to doubt the persistence and propagation of the other popular ideas of the underworld. Cicero's, Seneca's and Juvenal's assurances to the contrary may be confronted with the equally positive assurance of Lucian. He says that the great mass of the common people imagined the other world exactly as the poets had described it. It was a monstrous, gloomy kingdom of the dead, ruled by Pluto and Proserpine, with Cocytus and Pyriphlegethon, the Acherusian lake, the adamant gate guarded by Aeacus and Cerberus, the asphodel meadow with the river of Lethe, the judges of the dead, who send the good into Elysium and hand over the wicked to the tortures of the Furies, while those who were neither good nor wicked wander as shades over the asphodel meadow, living upon the gifts and sacrifices offered to the dead. Plutarch says that those who feared the teeth of Cerberus and the cask of the daughters of Danaus, sought protection against them in consecrations and purifications, whereby they thought to obtain a guarantee that they would continue to live in Hades in a clear spot and pure air, in the midst of jest and dance. He certainly was of opinion that 'not many' believed these 'old wives' fables'; but of course his estimate was subjective and determined by accidental impressions, like that of Lucian, to whom the number of believers appeared to be very large. Thus the statements of both are equally unreliable. But we can hardly suppose

that the ideas of the great multitude in regard to life after death were more enlightened than those of a man like Aristides, who nevertheless appears to have believed that those who had not been initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries would lie in the underworld surrounded by mud and darkness. In his essay *On Superstition*, Plutarch enumerates amongst its hallucinations the ideas of the deep gates of Hades, of the streams of fire and steep precipices of the Styx, of a darkness full of ghosts, where frightful forms appear and piteous cries are to be heard, of judges and executioners, of gulfs and abysses, that conceal a thousand torments ; and the fact that he himself regarded superstition as a widespread evil, is the result (as already observed) of the eagerness with which he combats it.

We may suppose that many, if not most, Greek ideas passed into the popular belief of the West, especially when we consider the effect exercised by the Roman poets through the schools. From the time of Ennius, detailed descriptions of the underworld were a favourite subject with epic (perhaps also tragic) poets, and that of Virgil before all others probably influenced, both directly and indirectly, the ideas of a vast multitude.

No proofs are needed to show that the ideas of a more or less material existence of the departed, such as is assumed in the old fables handed down from time immemorial, were as widespread amongst the masses as the fables themselves. The vast majority of mankind at that time were even less capable than they are now of exercising the faculty of abstraction, which the idea of a purely spiritual existence requires. In every attempt to portray the unknown life the imagination left to itself was, and still is, obliged to work, involuntarily and unconsciously, with colours and forms borrowed from the life with which it is acquainted, and its most refined and most ethereal images are no more immaterial than the rudest and grossest. It was in the nature of things that the latter should be the only ones which the great multitude could comprehend and retain. All the less reason, therefore, is there to doubt the assertion of Lucian, that many believed that the dead really lived on the gifts, sacrifices and meals offered them by those who survived them ; that many ordered their belongings, clothes and jewellery to be burnt or buried with them, in the belief that they would need them in the

next world or would be able to derive some benefit from them. In fact, a great part of the articles of domestic life preserved in our museums comes from graves, in which were deposited the soldier's weapons, the artist's and artisan's tools, the women's toilette articles, and the child's playthings. The orator Regulus ordered his fourteen-year-old son's numerous teams of driving ponies, his riding ponies, his large and small dogs, his nightingales, parrots and blackbirds to be burnt on his funeral pyre. In Lucian's *Philopseudes* a husband tells how he has shown his love for his deceased wife not only during her life but also at her death by burning all her clothes and jewellery with her; yet on the seventh day, while he was reading Plato's *Phaedo*, she appeared, and complained that one of her gilded sandals had not been burnt with her. She indicated the spot under a chest where it was; when found, it was burnt in accordance with her desire. The objects to be buried with the dead were frequently defined by will. The will (first century) of a wealthy Roman in the district of the modern Langres gives instructions (perhaps in accordance with old Celtic usage) that all his hunting and fowling appliances are to be burnt with him—lances, swords, knives, nets, snares, lime-twigs, bird-lime, hunting tents, etc., litters and sedan-chairs, a boat made of reeds, all his variegated and embroidered clothes and all the chairs (?) of elk's horns. The same will orders the planting of orchards near the grave, which are to be continually tended by three gardeners and their apprentices; gardens, vineyards, and parks were very frequently laid out near graves, 'in order that the departed souls might enjoy the beauties of nature'. An inscription at Cirta says: On my tumulus bees shall sip the thyme blossoms, the birds shall sing pleasantly to me in verdant grottoes; there buds the laurel, and golden bunches of grapes hang on the vines. We may well believe that many of the extant testamentary dispositions which refer to the adornment and cult of the graves were made in the belief that the departed were able to take an interest in the joys and pleasures of this world, and certainly very often in the belief that they continued to lead a material existence, especially in the vicinity of their graves.

After all that has been said, no further proof is needed of the widespread belief in immortality even in the later days

of antiquity. Besides, it is sufficiently shown by a single fact which has hitherto not been taken into consideration: the equally widespread belief in apparitions, and consequently in the possibility of the return of the dead, in a general intimate connexion of the world of spirits with the world of the living, in a constant influence of the former upon the latter. This was a very ancient belief among both Greeks and Romans; but our knowledge of its development and of the forms which it assumed amongst the two peoples is incomplete. The idea that the good spirits of the departed acted as protecting spirits of the living, crops up in the oldest Greek poetry. For instance, Hesiod says that the souls of the men of the golden age, after its close, became good spirits ('demons') who, wrapped in mist, wander over the earth as guardians of mortal men, keep watch over justice and injustice, and distribute wealth; but nothing more is heard of this idea until the time when the later Platonism amalgamated it with its theory of demons. The corresponding belief in the spirits of the wicked as *larvae* and *lemures*, 'tormented themselves and tormenting others', can, on the other hand, only be shown to have been general and firmly held amongst the Romans. But in other respects the two peoples are commonly in agreement as to the belief in spirits. Among both the belief was chiefly connected with the spirits of those who had died a violent death, whose implacable wrath pursues and destroys even the innocent, and of those who remained unburied. Even if, in later times, the Greek and Roman belief in spirits, in consequence of an interchange of ideas, tended to approximate more and more, the former lacks the firm support, the definite form and direction, which the latter received from a public cult. The idea of an uninterrupted mutual intercourse between the upper and lower worlds was supported and strengthened in Roman popular belief especially by the opening of the *mundus* (i.e. the deep circular pit, which in every city was consecrated to the gods and spirits of the lower world, also regarded as gods of sowing) on three days in the year (August 24, October 5, November 8), when the hosts of 'the silent ones' could go in and come out unhindered; then the festival of All Souls on February 21 (*Feralia*) and the *Parentalia* in the preceding week (13-20), the neglect of which, according to the legend, was fol-

lowed by a terrible mortality ; lastly, the usages whereby it was attempted to appease and conciliate the ghostly visitants during the three nights of the *Lemuria* (9, 11, and 13 May).

The intimate and mutual connexion of belief in immortality with the belief in ghosts, the eagerness to accept the latter in support and confirmation of the former, and the fact that sceptics were convinced, or ready to be convinced, by apparitions, need no explanation. The author of the *Homilies* of the so-called Clement of Rome relates that, when tormented by doubts as to immortality, he desired to be incontestably convinced by the actual sight of a departed soul. He thought of journeying to Egypt and persuading a magician to conjure up a dead man ; but on being reminded by a philosopher that this was not only forbidden by law, but was an act hateful to God, he abandoned his intention. A monument erected by a certain Tiberius Claudius Panoptes and his wife Charmosyne to their two daughters 'after a vision', bears the inscription : 'Thou who readest this and doubtest whether there are *Manes*, make a wager with us, and thou wilt soon learn the truth'. But even in educated circles belief in ghosts and in immortality often went hand in hand. It is true, however, that not only all those who held or were inclined to Epicurean or materialistic views, ridiculed the nightly wanderings of the *Lemures*, dreams, miracles, witches and magic, and declared that only women, children and delirious invalids saw ghosts, but a large number of those who believed in immortality (e.g. Seneca) doubted or rejected the idea of the appearance of ghosts.

But whether they formed the majority even in philosophically educated circles (especially after the second century), is by no means certain. The company of Eucrates described by Lucian in the *Philopseudes* have not the slightest doubt that there are 'demons and ghosts, and that the souls of the dead wander about on the earth and appear to as many as they please'. This company consisted of a physician, a Peripatetic, a Stoic, a Platonist and a holy Pythagorean ; Eucrates himself was a man who had thoroughly studied philosophy. The neo-Pythagoreans and Pythagorizing Platonists, who found in apparitions a guarantee of the truth not only of their belief in immortality but also of their demonology, were the firmest believers in ghosts. The philoso-

phizing rhetorician Maximus of Tyre, whose views are founded entirely upon a Platonism already inclining to neo-Platonism, like all those who shared his opinions, regards the demons (including departed souls) as the real bond between the sensual and super-sensual world. The souls that have become demons, he says, are grieved at their past and happy in their present life; they are also distressed at the lot of kindred souls, who still linger on earth, and in their love of mankind desire to associate with them and to hold them up when they slip. And they are commissioned by the divinity to visit the earth and to take an interest in every human birth, in the destinies, thoughts and actions of men, to help the good, to assist those who suffer wrong, and to punish those who do evil. He relates, without expressing the least doubt, that the inhabitants of Ilium often saw Hector with glittering arms bounding at full speed over the plain, and that Achilles often appeared to mariners on the little island in the Black Sea before the mouth of the Danube, where as a glorified hero he had a sanctuary: some beheld him advancing in the form of a young man with fair hair in golden armour, others heard him singing a battle song, while others both heard and saw him. Achilles himself had awakened a sailor who had fallen asleep on the island, led him to his tent and given him hospitality; Patroclus poured out the wine, Achilles played the *cithara*, and Thetis and a band of demons were present. Apuleius has handled the theory of demons with special affection. The human soul also is included amongst the demons in their capacity of mediators between the earthly and the higher world; the souls of the good and just after death act as protecting spirits on earth; those of the bad are condemned to perpetual wandering as *larvae*, 'harmless bugbears to good men, but destructive to bad'. In his defence against the charge of magic he utters the following imprecation against his accuser, by whom he had been falsely accused of using the figure of a skeleton for magical purposes: 'May the God (Mercury) who wanders backwards and forwards between the upper and the lower worlds, bring upon you the displeasure of the gods of both in requital for this lie; may you ever see before you the figures of the dead, and all the shades, *Lemures*, *Manes*, and *Larvae* that there are, all the nocturnal apparitions,

all the ghosts of the tombs, all the terrors of the places where the dead have been burnt'. An inscription at Puteoli concludes with the words: 'May the wrath of the shades of those who lie buried here visit him who moves this stone from its place'. Plutarch, in his dedication of the biographies of Dio and Brutus to Sossius Senecio, in order to refute those who disbelieved in apparitions, appealed to the authority of those who foretold the end of these two men, so strong-minded and philosophical, as they themselves admitted. He quotes the statement of others (apparently without disbelieving it) that a ghost had haunted, and continued to haunt, a bath at Chaeronea, where in Lucullus's time a murder had been committed. But the belief in spirits and demons was also compatible with other philosophical opinions than those of Platonism. The Cynic Peregrinus Proteus, who according to Lucian threw himself into the flames with the cry, 'O demons of my mother and father, receive me graciously!' had spread the report that after his death he was destined to become a demon who afforded protection by night; and there could be no doubt that a number of people would be simple enough to declare that they had met him at night or that they had been cured of fever by him. The younger Pliny, whose views were chiefly determined by Stoicism (he had been intimate with the Stoics Euphrates and Artemidorus), begs his friend Licinius Sura (consul 102) to give him his opinion as to whether there were such things as ghosts and whether they had a form of their own and a superhuman nature (*numen*), or whether they were merely idle fancies, which received their shape from our own fears. He believed the former, and amongst other proofs told a ghost story, which is very like that of the Pythagorean Arignotus in Lucian's *Philopseudes*. A large house at Athens was rendered uninhabitable by a ghost that haunted it every night; the spirit appeared in the form of an emaciated old man with a long beard and chains on his hands and feet, which rattled terribly. At last a philosopher named Athenodorus had the courage to face the ghost, which beckoned to him till he took a light and followed it; in the court it suddenly disappeared. On the following day the spot was dug up and a skeleton in chains was found; after it had been duly buried the ghost was never seen again. Pliny believes this story,

he says, on the assurance of others, and narrates another, even still more childish, as an undoubted fact which occurred during his own lifetime. Pliny's friend Suetonius says that before Caligula's interment it was well-known that the keepers of the Lamian gardens, whither his body had been brought, were alarmed by ghosts, and that the house in which he died was regularly haunted by night until it was burnt down. The writings of Pausanias provide further examples of a strong belief in spirits amongst educated men in the second century; and yet his belief is, if possible, surpassed by the ghost-mania of Philostratus and Cassius Dio. What the former tells us of the appearances and exhibitions of power by the heroes of the Trojan war may be regarded as having been essentially borrowed from popular tradition. According to him the figures of the Homeric heroes appeared to the herdsman of the Trojan plain, as big as giants, in warlike array, especially Hector, who performed marvels, and Protesilaus among the Greek heroes, who was still alive. He was now in Hades, now in his home Phylace in Phthia (where he also imparted oracles), now in Troas; he appeared at midday, healed the sick, and gave aid in the torments of love; he blinded an adversary by his appearance. Cassius Dio repeatedly reports quite seriously that on great occasions the dead rose *en masse* from their graves, e.g. at the battle of Actium and Nero's attempt to dig a channel through the isthmus of Corinth. He relates that in the year 220 a spirit, which called itself that of Alexander the Great, exactly resembled him in form and features and wore a similar dress, marched with a retinue of 400 men dressed as Bacchantes from the Danube to the Bosphorus, where it disappeared; no official ventured to stop it, but on the contrary, lodging and food were everywhere provided for it at the public expense.

A widespread and absolute belief in ghosts in higher and educated circles may also be inferred from the frequent mention of spells to call up the spirits of the dead. These incantations seem very frequently to have been the cause of horrible crimes, since enchantment was supposed chiefly to have power over the souls of those who had died a violent death, especially if premature; hence, murders, particularly of children, were only too often committed with this object. Amongst the Roman Emperors Nero, Caracalla, Didius

Julianus and Elagabalus (Heliogabalus) practised this kind of magic. Dio expressly states that the two last caused children to be put to death. Caracalla, who tried every kind of magic and divination, in order to get rid of the apparitions of his father and his murdered brother, by which he was continually pursued, endeavoured to call up the spirits of the former and Commodus, but in vain; it was whispered in Rome that the shade of Geta appeared with that of Severus. For the same reason Nero called up the spirit of his mother Agrippina. He was most passionately addicted to the incantation of spirits, and since 'his dearest wish was to slaughter human beings', he may well have offered more sacrifices to his mania than any one else. Tiridates, the Parthian king who came to Rome in 66 with a retinue of magi, initiated him into the 'magic meals' and all the secrets of magic, with which, however, Nero must already have had some acquaintance. For Lucan (died 65) has inserted in his *Pharsalia* an episode of the incantation of the dead, described in luxuriantly horrible language, obviously with no other intention than to emphasize his condemnation of this mania of the Emperor, whose avowed enemy he had been since 64. It is Sextus, 'the unworthy son of the great Pompey', who endeavours to learn the future by calling up the dead; disdaining the aid of sacred prophecy and legitimate means, he had recourse to the 'horrible mysteries of the magi, those enemies of the gods' and to the terrors of the underworld; 'the gods of heaven were not omniscient enough for the wretch!' The sorceress Erichtho, who complies with his wish, is an unnatural creature, who establishes her claim to be listened to by the gods of the underworld by numerous cruel and monstrous crimes, amongst which the murder of children is expressly mentioned. The description of the ceremony itself does not produce the impression that it is a mere picture of the imagination. Its details are substantiated in almost every essential part by other similar descriptions. It is almost indispensable in such cases that the ghost should only answer questions, and not speak without being spoken to; and the choice of a dead body, whose lungs are uninjured, can hardly be a poetical invention, but appears to be a practice of those who called up spirits, which was certainly greatly favoured by believers. It is also easy to

understand the assertion that it would be easiest to revive the bodies of those who had recently died. Conjurations of the spirits of those who had long been dead probably succeeded best without witnesses. Thus the Alexandrian savant Apion summons the shade of Homer, in order to ask him in which of the seven cities which claimed the honour of his birthplace he was really born. Unfortunately, the spirit did not allow him to communicate the answer, perhaps for the same reason as the spirit of Protesilaus in Philostratus; since the zeal of the other cities in the worship of Homer would be abated.

Further, magicians made use of the spirits called forth, as well as of other demons, to torture their enemies with apparitions, to inflict pain and sickness upon them, to tie their tongues, and so on. Similar magical arts were also practised by means of incantations written on tablets of lead and laid in the graves; a number of these have been preserved. This practice is a species of the so-called 'devotion', whereby living persons were consecrated to the powers of the underworld. It is founded on the old and widespread belief that these powers exercise authority over life, which they endeavour to draw down beneath the earth; the spirits of the dead included amongst them, who, in order to appease them, were called the good or the friendly (*Dei Manes*) and had to be conciliated with sacrifices, are also invoked in the old formula of 'devotion', whereby the Roman general dedicated the army of the enemy to death. In an epitaph erected by a husband to his dead wife, he declares that he honours her remains with as much awe as a divinity. 'O dearest, spare thy husband; I implore thee, spare him, that for many years longer he may continually bring thee sacrifices and garlands, and fill the lamp with fragrant oil'. An address to a dead 'mistress or patroness' runs: 'As long as I live, I will honour thee; what will happen after my death, I know not. Spare thy mother and thy father and thy sister Marina, that she may be able to pay thee honour when I am gone!' With the same idea the dead are called upon to preserve their relatives or to pray for them to the gods of the underworld.

Even if we are only acquainted with the dark and sinister aspect of the belief in spirits at that time, it is enough to prove that the tendency to plunge into the mysteries of the next world and the world of spirits was widespread and irresis-

tible ; and even if the horrible may have constantly exercised a most irresistible attraction upon the imagination, the latter assuredly must also have busied itself in portraying the peace and rapture enjoyed by the blessed in contrast to the tortures and restlessness of the unhappy.

But certainly the consolation, which the belief in immortality afforded to that age and to antiquity generally, was very different from that offered to believers by the Christian hope of eternal happiness. The ancient belief in immortality not only lacked the incontestable security and certainty of a belief based upon revelation and consequently the firm support afforded by the latter to the imagination in its portrayal of the other life ; in addition, it was by no means so exclusively directed towards eternity as the Christian belief, but quite as much, if not to a greater extent, towards the life on earth. According to the Roman popular belief and the Platonic demonology, the reward of the good chiefly consisted not in being carried away to a super-terrestrial and blessed existence, but in taking part in the joys and sufferings of those who came after them, as guides, helpers, and protectors. Cicero could find no other explanation of the fact that, at all times and amongst all peoples, the best are ready to sacrifice themselves, than that they will be able to be witnesses even after death of the consequences of their acts and of the glory obtained by them.

The tendency of the Greek and Roman cult of the dead was to preserve unbroken the connexion between the living and the dead. The abodes of the dead were not secluded, peaceful and rarely visited resting places, like our cemeteries, but were situated before the gates of cities, on both sides of the main road, where the stream of living traffic that flowed past was at its full. As Varro says, they were intended both as a constant warning to passers-by, that they themselves would one day reach this haven, and also as an incessant reminder, not only to relatives and descendants, but to all posterity, to keep alive the memory of the departed. On gravestones this reminder often took the following form : ' O weary wanderer, who passest me by, after long wandering, here thou shalt come at last '.

In inscriptions a prayer is frequently offered for a friendly recollection of the dead : e.g. ' Titus Lollius Musculus lies here by the wayside, that passers-by may say : Greeting to

Titus Lollius'. Similarly, wanderers are requested not to begrudge an honourable and friendly greeting to the dead, who in return blesses them for the attention: 'Mayest thou who readest these lines, enjoy a healthy life, love and be loved, until thine hour comes!' Sometimes even a reply is put into the mouth of the dead, so that a kind of dialogue between him and the passer-by could be read by the latter on the gravestone.

It was commonly believed that the dead always found pleasure in such indications of sympathy on the part of all the living without distinction, and also that the sacrifices, gifts and meals offered at their graves, the floral decorations of the memorials on 'rose and violet days', the light of the freshly-filled grave-lamp and the smell of its fragrant oil, would be equally agreeable to them, if only as proofs that they were not forgotten, by posterity. All such offerings were made under the idea that it was the desire of the departed as it were to continue to live amongst future generations. The same is the meaning of the scenes from the past life of the dead represented on Greek funeral monuments: 'their existence is as it were continued and stereotyped'. The sight of these simple and touching representations, which excites our sympathy in the highest degree, most agreeably affected the spirit of Goethe, which in this respect also was akin to that of the ancients. It specially pleased him that the men represented on these gravestones did not fold their hands or look up to heaven, but stood side by side as they had stood side by side in life, as they had loved one another: 'the wind, which blows to us from the graves of the ancients, comes with sweet perfumes over a group of rose trees'. And even those who rejected or did not need the belief in a personal immortality have at all times throughout antiquity attached great value to being held in remembrance by posterity. Even Epicurus, in whose theory of happiness the principle that existence and consciousness ceases with death forms the real keystone, ordered in his will that his birthday and the 20th of every month should be kept as a festival in memory of himself and his friend Metrodorus; and the custom was observed by his followers even for centuries after his death.

But although those who believed in immortality held firmly to the idea of a continued personal existence, higher,

purer, and consequently happier, they by no means admitted such a difference between the life beyond the grave and the life on earth as the followers of Christ. Consequently, they were not so keenly opposed to unbelief and doubt. When the Greeks in popular language called the dead 'blessed', it meant that they were delivered from the troubles, sufferings and disappointments of life. Death, which brought this deliverance, did not therefore appear an evil, even if it was the end of existence. The words put by Plato (in the *Apology*) into the mouth of Socrates, addressed to his judges after his condemnation, perhaps best express the contrast between the Christian and the pagan view of the matter: Death is either an eternal sleep or the passage to a new life, but in neither case is it an evil. Both views, consequently, are consolatory, but one more so than the other.

The Christian belief regards death, not followed by resurrection to a life of happiness, as the most unhappy lot imaginable. It considers the next life as the true one, from which earthly existence receives its light, and without whose beams it would be completely dark. Happiness will not fall to the lot of man, says Lactantius, in the way philosophers have imagined. No man can be happy so long as he lives in the body, which must necessarily be dissolved by decay, but only when he lives in the spirit alone, after the soul has been freed from the companionship of the body. One thing alone can make us happy in this life, to however small an extent; we must flee from the seductions of pleasures and serve virtue alone in all our troubles and sorrows, which are exercises and confirmation in virtue; we must keep in the rough and difficult path which is left open to us, leading to happiness. Consequently, the greatest good, the possession of which bestows happiness, can only be found in religion and doctrine, which include the hope of immortality. Augustine calls eternal life the greatest good and eternal death the greatest evil. Only that man can be called happy here below, whose whole being is directed to that end, and who keeps it steadfastly in view in glowing affection and loyal hope; even then he is happier in hope than in reality. Without this hope there is only a false happiness, only misery and sorrow.

It is a view very commonly held, that the ancients set a higher value on this life, since their hopes of the life beyond

the grave could neither be so firmly established nor so clearly set forth as those of the Christians. But the general impression derived from Greek and Roman literature by no means confirms this. The innate love of existence, nourished on the ever fresh splendours of the world and on the greatness and beauty of human life, is certainly an essential element in the ancient view of life. But it is only one of its two poles, the second and opposite being a feeling of resignation arising from a deep consciousness of human misery and helplessness, whose painful and submissive expressions pervade all ancient literature. Even Homer, to whom the idea of the other world afforded absolutely no consolation, makes the supreme god say : Of all things that breathe and creep upon the earth, nothing is more miserable than man. And even if he believed that in the hell of Zeus there stand two casks, the one full of good, the other of bad, gifts, later writers imagine two casks for the bad and only one for the good ; and Simonides thought human life so full of evils, that there was no room for the air to penetrate between one suffering and another. When the mother of Cleobis and Biton asked the goddess to grant her sons what would be the best thing a man could obtain, the goddess gave them death, and, according to Herodotus, declared that death was better for man than life. This was confirmed on several occasions by the revelations of other divinities. It is during the period of the youthful and manly vigour of the Greek intellect that the idea already expressed by Theognis and amongst others by Sophocles, and put into the mouth of Heracles by Bacchylides, is repeated in various forms : the best fortune is not to be born at all ; the next best to go whence one came as soon as possible after birth. Hence (in the oft-quoted words of Euripides) we ought to pity those who are born, and to bury the dead with joy and congratulations. Even if death is a dreamless sleep, says Socrates in Plato's *Apology*, it is preferable to life ; for every one, even the Great King, when he reflects upon his life, will find that the days and nights, which he has spent better and more happily as a dreamless night, can very easily be numbered. Menander, the wittiest poet of the Alexandrine period, whose fragments give forth the dull tones of resignation, says, ' Whom the gods love, die young ' : to him sadness appeared the ' twin sister of human life ', and that man the

happiest, 'who without sorrow has looked upon the grandeur of the world, and then returned in haste to the place whence he came'.

Even Roman literature supplies expressions of a similar kind. Thus Cicero concluded his *Hortensius* with a discussion of the vanity and unhappiness of men. The errors and hardships of life, it is said, appear to justify that ancient sage, according to whom we are born to atone for sins committed in an earlier life, and also Aristotle, who recognized that the combination of soul and body was a torture, such as the Etruscan pirates are said to have practised on their captives, whom they bound face to face with corpses and let them die. It has already been mentioned that in the case of Pliny, in whose opinion no mortal was happy and shortness of life was the greatest boon nature had granted to man, the feeling of unhappiness increased to a positive longing for annihilation, and that death appeared to him the best gift of nature. Seneca also, who delights in describing the wretchedness of life in ever varying aspects, praises death as the greatest benefit. Life is absolutely lamentable; it resembles a city taken by assault; it is a stormy sea, which surrounds us and often hurls us on the rocks, and its only harbour is death; it is slavery, when the strength to die fails; the 'cruel stress of life' is the chain which fetters us; death alone prevents the fact of our birth from being our greatest punishment. And even if a Marcus Aurelius regarded the evils of life as unreal, yet its blessings were 'vain, transitory and trifling'; life itself was 'a struggle and a passing guest', its duration a mere point, before and behind us an endless abyss that engulfs all. And yet, amidst the eternally flowing current of the past, man should, and could, stand fast as a rock in the sea; if completely untroubled about the world outside, in respectful submission to fate he retires into the stillness of his own reflections, as into a strong citadel; if he remains loyal to the god who dwells there, if he fulfills the demands of nature, conscious of being only a small part of the great whole. If with cheerful calmness he awaits the end, which may come at any moment, whether annihilation or transformation, he gently parts from life, like the ripe fruit, which in its fall utters the praise of nature as its creator and gives thanks to the tree which bore it.

INDEX TO THE COMPLETE WORK

- A cubiculo*, I. 35
A libellis, I. 52
A rationibus, I. 51
Ab admissione sive admissioales, I. 89
Abascantus, I. 53; II. 212
Ab epistolis, I. 53
 Abnormal scenery, I. 384
 Abraham worshipped, III. 118
Abonuteichos, II. 299
 Abstemiousness, II. 141
 Accompaniment, not always following song, II. 340
Acilius Buta, I. 124
Acilius Glabrio, III. 208
Acme, I. 61
Acta diurna, I. 154, 219; II. 23
Acte, I. 62
 Actors, II. 112; limitation of fees, II. 113; earnings, II. 113
Adlectio, I. 127
 Adoration of emperors, II. 278
Advocati, I. 162
 'Aegyptizing', I. 37
Aelian, III. 96
Aelian, III. 98
Aemilia Lepida, I. 109
Aemilius Paullus' triumph depicted, II. 272
Aesculapius, cures by, III. 97
Aesop, the tragedian, II. 140
 Aether as abode of blessed, III. 290
Afranius, comoedia togata Incendium, II. 95
 Africa, well watered, II. 225
 African cities, II. 237; Central African travel, I. 325
 Afterworld, Ideas of, III. 297; Lucian and Plutarch on popular belief in, III. 299
 Agon, Capitoline, II. 120, 124, 352; III. 44; of Minerva, II. 121; cf. Stadium
 Agones, of Provincial centres, I. 318; musical, III. 32
 Agriculture, I. 188
Agrippa, great constructions, II. 261; King of Palestine, II. 306
Aken, I. 321
Alabaster, II. 189
Alba, Duke of, II. 207
Alcántara, II. 250; bridge at, II. 231
Alcatorum conventicula, I. 219
Alexander of Abonuteichos, III. 131; of Cotyacum, I. 67; Severus, his simplicity of life, II. 149.
 Alexandria, I. 355; pilgrimages to, I. 361
 Alexandrian period model for Roman art II. 316; products, I. 314
 Almonds, II. 167
 Altinum, I. 335
 Alupka, II. 199
 Amber necklaces, II. 183
Ambubaiae, II. 345
Amoenitas, I. 391
 Amphitheatre, Flavian, II. 72 ff
Amygdalum, II. 167
 Androclus, II. 47
 Ancient art, II. 266; music, II. 337 ff
 Animals, rare, source of, II. 66; at games, hunted, fought or exhibited, II. 69-70
 140
 Anio, the, lined with villas, I. 335
 An-si, I. 308
 An-ti, King, I. 308
 Antistia Priscilla, I. 54
 Antium, I. 331
 Anthropomorphism, III. 120, ff
 Antinous, worship of, III. 118
 Antioch, II. 239
 Antipater of Sidon, III. 10
 Antoninus Pius, III. 96
 Antonio del Pollojuolo, II. 176
 Apelles, the, Tragedian, II. 114
 Apamea, II. 239, 242
 Aphrodisias, II. 242
 Apollinaris Sidonius, II. 235
 Apollodorus of Damascus, II. 324
 Apollonius, Stoic tutor of Marcus Aurelius, I. 67
 Apollonius, III. 264
 Apollonius of Tyana worshipped, III. 118
 Apollonius of Tyana, I. 41; III. 122
Apparitores, I. 190
 Apuleius, III. 81, 92, 153, 240
 Aqueducts in Africa, II. 225
 Aquileia, II. 234, 335
 Archaism in antiquity, III. 5
 Archiatri, I. 169
 Architecture, I. 155; II. 186; 234, 324
Ardeliones, I. 212
 Arelate, II. 235
 Aristides, I. 4; II. 233; at Athens, I. 341; opinions, II. 292, 338; III. 79, 99, 235, 241
 Aristobulus, II. 134
 Armatura, II. 56

- Arruntius, I. 68
 Arruntius Stella, III. 60, 73
 Arsinoë, II. 239
 Art in statuary, II. 302
 Artemidorus, I. 185; III. 136 ff
 Artemidorus, III. 95
 Artichokes, II. 170
 Artistes, whence drawn, I. 319
 Artistic relics, I. 378 ff; feeling, II. 325
 Artists, largely slaves, II. 318; profession despised, II. 321; tours, I. 318
 Ashbridge Park, II. 198
 Asiatic music, II. 345
 Asiaticus, I. 41; II. 47
 Asinius Pollio, III. 29, 30
 Asinius Pollio, III. 38
 Asparagus, II. 442
 Aspendus, II. 244
Assiforanea, II. 53
 Astrology, I. 185
Atellanae, II. 48, 90 ff
 Athenodorus of Tarsus, I. 83
 Athens, I. 391; II. 246; rejuvenated by Hadrian, II. 258; afterflush, I. 34
 Athletes, II. 126 ff
 Attalus, III. 249
 Attila, II. 268
Auctorati, II. 53
Augustales, II. 296
 Augustus, III. 29, 136
 Augustan literature, III. 21 ff, 82
 Aulus Pudens, III. 60
 Aurelius Charmus, I. 319
 Aurelii Symmachi, I. 113, 329
 Aurelius Zoticus, I. 45
 Avignon, II. 235

 Babylonian bagpipe, II. 345
 Bacchanalic process, the, III. 189
 Baden, I. 321
 Baiae, I. 336 ff
 Balconies forbidden, I. 6
 Baltic commerce, I. 309
 Barbarous religions despised, III. 107, 111
 Barbel for 5,000 sesterces, II. 152
 Barth, Heinrich, II. 217
 Bartolommeo Scuppi, II. 158
 Bath, II. 247
 Baths and bathing-resorts, I. 45, 321; II. 226 ff
 Bathyllus the actor, II. 100, 116, 355
 Belgrade, II. 248
 Betel nut oil, price of, II. 179
 Benedetto Salutati, II. 156, 176
Bestiarii, II. 56, 63
 Biblical rites, I. 378
Bignonia Catalpa, II. 201
 Birds, taming of, I. 154; II. 70
 Birthday ceremonies, I. 211; III. 310
 Bithynian cities, II. 250
 Boar-Larding, Sir, I. 159
 Bologna, great fire at, II. 255
Bona dea, III. 141, 146
 Book-trade and prices, III. 36-37
 Bordeaux, II. 236
 Bostra, II. 240
 Brigandage, I. 294 ff
 Birtannicus, II. 358

 Brotherhood of man a Christian idea, III. 221
Bulla, as token of liberty, III. 13
 Bull-fights, II. 51, 71, 80
 Burdigala, II. 236
 Byssus, II. 173
 Byzantium, II. 245

 Caecilius Claudius Isidorus, II. 213
Caclatura, II. 206
 Caenis, I. 62
 Callistus, I. 44, 45; II. 135; III. 207
 Calpurnius Siculus, III. 53
 Calvisius Sabinus, III. 3
 Calvisius Taurus, III. 249, 257
 Cambacères, II. 153
 Canius Rufus, III. 67
Cannebae, II. 233
Canticae, II. 338 ff
 Canus, II. 342, 357
 Canopus, I. 361
Capitolinus, I. 85
 Capri, I. 334
Capucinae, II. 143
 Caracalla's improvements of Rome, I. 8
Carbasus, II. 173
Cardui, II. 170
 Carinus, I. 61
 Carnations, II. 201
 Carnuntum, II. 247
Carruca dormitoria, I. 288
 Cartagena mines, II. 206
 Carthage, II. 238
 Cassius Dio, II. 199, 293; III. 136, 224
 Cato, II. 167
 Catullus' influence on style, III. 70 ff
 Celebrative Art, II. 272
 Celsus, I. 91; III. 123
Cenae publicae, II. 296
 Centumcellae, I. 330
Centuriones primipilares, I. 139
 Cetronius' building mania, II. 199
 Chaeremon, III. 238
 Charicles, I. 68, 84
 Chariot-races, II. 21, 37 ff
 Charon and *obol*, III. 298
 Cherries, Chestnuts, II. 167
 Chigi, Agostino, II. 157
 Children's games, etc., I. 229
 Choricus, II. 93
 Choruses, II. 359
 Christian churches, opinions and converts, I. 307; II. 120, 171, 198, 311; III. 118, 198, 200 ff
 Christianity, III. 205, 211, 220
 Christianity and women, I. 257; III. 195
 Christians, hostility to, III. 188 ff
 Christina of Sweden, II. 177
 Chrysogonus, II. 349
 Cicero as proconsul, II. 287; his villas, I. 329; on musicians, II. 358; as purchaser of statuary, II. 263
 Cinerary urns, II. 212
 Cinnamon, price of, II. 129
 Circus, the, II. 19 ff
 Cirta, statuary at, II. 263
Cistiarii, I. 279
 Cithara, III. 111; II. 341 ff

- Citharists, fees of, I. 155; popularity of, II. 351
Citharoedus, II. 362
 Cities out of camps, II. 232
 Cities, number of, II. 234 ff
 Citrons, II. 168
 Civic obligations, II. 229-30
 Civica Barbarus, III. 249
 Claque, II. 115, 357, 363; III. 41 ff
Clarissimi, I. 109
 Claudius Agathemerus, III. 256
 Cleander, II. 254
Clientela, I. 195 ff
 Clothing, luxurious, II. 173
Coactor Argentarius, I. 155
Coarmio, II. 56
Cohors amicorum, I. 75
 Coin, legal, I. 304
 Colchester, II. 246, 307
 Colonies, microcosms of Rome, II. 240
 Colours in the Circus, II. 28 ff
 Columella, I. 131, 188; II. 168
 Comedy, II. 95 ff
Comites, as title, I. 74
 Commodus and gladiators, II. 50
 Commerce, Chinese, I. 307, 309; Roman, I. 305, 312
 Concerts, II. 347
 Connoisseurs of pictures, II. 331
Consilarii Augusti, I. 71
 Consulate, length of, I. 127
Controversiae, III. 13 ff
Conventus Matronarum, I. 239
Convictores, I. 82; II. 56; III. 264
Convivia Publica, I. 93
 Cookery, II. 153 ff
 Coponius the sculptor, II. 322
 Corinth, I. 342; II. 246
 Cornutus, III. 286
 Cornelius Gallus, I. 79
 Cornelius Rufus, I. 207
 Costunius Rufinus, II. 325
 Cotyaeum, II. 253
 Craftsmen, immunity from rates, II. 268
 Cremona, II. 234
 Crescens the charioteer, II. 23, 51; III. 247
 Crinagoras of Mitzlene, I. 25
 Crispinus and scents, II. 184
 Crito, I. 68
 Crocuses, II. 167
Curator Statuarum, II. 301
Curatores operum, II. 249
Curia Athletarum, II. 126
 Currency, I. 304, 307, 316
 Cydamus, I. 325
 Cynics, III. 343, 271 ff
 Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, III. 204; on *agones*, II. 121
 Cyprus, I. 349
 Cythesis, III. 24
Cytisus, II. 167
 Dacian cities, II. 248
 Damascus, II. 240
Dea Dia, III. 156
 Declamations, III. 12
 Decorative art, II. 260 ff
Dei Manes, III. 308
Delatores, I. 221
 Delos, I. 344
 Delphi, III. 129
 Demetrius, I. 68; III. 273
 Demonax, III. 273-4, 277
 Demons, belief in, III. 90 ff, 302
 Dialogues, Greek-Latin, I. 149
 Didius Julianus, I. 65
 Didymus Areus, I. 82
Dilettanti in literature, III. 26-27
 Dinner-topics, I. 224
 Dio of Prusa, II. 252, 336; III. 240
 Diocles the charioteer, II. 22, 37
 Diocletian's tariff, I. 315
 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, II. 332; III. 215
 Dioscorus, III. 197
Directoire dress, I. 249
Domina, title of, I. 240
Domini factionum, II. 27
 Domitian, III. 43; as patron of literature, III. 33; banishes philosophers, III. 226; his statues demolished, II. 280
 Domitius Tullus' park of statuary, II. 264-5
 Doryphorus, I. 44
 Dramatic companies, I. 319
 Dream-oracles, III. 134 ff, 164
 Dress, I. 249; II. 174
 Drusus Libo, I. 94
 Eclectus, I. 59
Editores, II. 53
 Education, ancient object of, III. 1; spread of, III. 20
 Egregius, I. 141
 Egypt, trade with, etc., I. 349 ff
 Egyptian Conservatism, II. 304; corn at Rome, I. 25 ff; deities worshipped, III. 104 ff
 Elagabalus, II. 361; anecdote of, II. 139
 Elba, ironworks at, I. 315
 Eleusis, the, at Conopus, I. 361
 Embassies, I. 299
 Emetics, II. 153
Eminentissimus, I. 141
 Emperors as patrons, III. 43
 Emperor's portraits, II. 276, 283-4
 Emperor worship, III. 117, 119, 187
 Empire united by roads, I. 268 ff
 Empresses' rank, I. 87 ff
 Ems, I. 34
 Ennius in fashion, III. 7
 Engineering works, II. 256 ff
 English estates, II. 197
 Entrance-fee to city honours, II. 250 ff
 Epaphroditus, I. 40, 44, 65, 82
 Ephesus, II. 242
 Epictetus, III. 95, 127, 144, 207, 220, 237, 243, 253, 268, 274
 Epicureanism, III. 87, 97, 220, 286
 Epidaurus, I. 343
 Epidemics at Rome, I. 27
 Eprius Mercellus, I. 122
 Espionage, I. 221 ff
Ethicae, III. 18
 Ethics the end of Philosophy, III. 255

- Etna ascended, I. 393
 Etruscus, I. 45, 51
 Eucrates, III. 303
 Eudemus, III. 249
 Euphrates, III. 227, 268
 Euphrates the freedman, I. 51
 Eurhythmus, I. 42
 Eusebius, I. 35
 Eutropius, I. 35
 Exploration slight in antiquity, I. 323
- Fabullus, II. 323
 Factions, growth of, II. 28 ff
 Factories of statues, II. 307
 Fashion at Rome, I. 30 ff
 Favorinus, I. 84; III. 80, 249, 259
 Feasts and Festivals, I. 320; II. 121, 149
Feralia, III. 302
 Figs acclimatized, II. 167
 Fires in provinces, II. 255
 Firmicus Maternus, I. 185-6, 237, 339; II. 122
 Fiume, II. 235
 Flavia Domitilla, I. 63
 Flowers in ancient Rome, II. 201
 Flutes, II. 341, 344
 Foods acclimatized, II. 165
 Forks, II. 143
 Foucquet, II. 152
Frater as title, I. 74
Fratres Arvales, III. 156
 Freaks, I. 367 ff
 Freedmen, I. 37, 47 ff, 202 ff
 Freedom of speech, III. 28 ff
 French cookery, II. 159 ff
 French estates, II. 197
 Fronto, I. 68; II. 294, 361; III. 7, 56, 80, 139, 233
Fumi, I. 44
 Funeral guilds, I. 151
 Funerals, II. 210, 213, 217
 Fundanus, III. 249
 Furniture, II. 269
- Gabba, I. 85
 Gaius Lutorius Priscus, III. 54
 Gaius Thoranius, I. 99
 Gaius Stertinius, I. 69
 Galba, dream of, III. 165
 Galen, I. 68, 78, 170, 173; II. 125, 171; III. 135, 208, 219, 249, 291; his correspondence, I. 303; his philosophy, III. 95; on athletes, II. 127
 Games, II. 1 ff, 121
 Gardens, I. 418 ff
 Gellius, III. 7, 21, 80, 94, 237, 249-50, 257-9
Genii, belief in, III. 114
 Gerasa, II. 241
 German cookery, II. 161 ff
 Germanicus, I. 345 ff, III. 30
Gesta Romanorum, III. 16 ff
 Ghosts, belief in, III. 306 ff
 Ghouls-in-waiting, I. 215
 Gifts at banquets, II. 151; for disasters to cities, II. 255 ff
- Gladiators, II. 17, 41 ff, 52-3, 57, 59 ff
 as soldiers, II. 58; combats at funerals, II. 214; prospects of, II. 49; women as, II. 50
 Glass, how used, II. 191
 Gnaeus Claudius Severus, III. 227
 God's acres, II. 215
 Gods not originators of moral law, III. 215; offerings to, III. 165
 Gold-plate, II. 205 ff
 Gordian I. III. 250
 Grammarians' fees, I. 160
 Greece decadent, I. 340; disapproved *venationes*, II. 84
 Greek Anti-Semitism, III. 183; cities plundered, II. 261; enthusiasm for plastic art, II. 335 ff; philosophy, III. 222 ff; pre-eminence in rhetoric, III. 77-8; statuary abundant, II. 262
Gregarii, II. 53
 Grottoes visited, I. 381, 383
 Guilds of tradesfolk, I. 146 ff
 Gulliver on tea, II. 147
Gymnasia, II. 123 ff
- Hadrian, admirer of sophists, III. 78; architectural works, II. 257 ff; Mausoleum, II. 218; piety, III. 96; verse, III. 34; villa, II. 196, 265
 Hadrianopolis, II. 257
 Hadrianotherae, II. 257
 Hamilton, Lady, II. 103
 Hanno's voyages, I. 324
Haruspices, I. 187; III. 126 ff
 Haunted house, III. 305
 Helicon, I. 57
 Helius, I. 40
 Helvidius Priscus, III. 223 ff
 Henry II of England, anecdote of, II. 140
 Herculeaneum, Villa at, II. 264
 Hermogenes, I. 68
 Herodes Atticus, I. 67-8; II. 253, 259, 296; III. 75, 80
 Herod's games in honour of Augustus, III. 9
 Heroes, Relics of the, I. 372
 Hero worship, III. 115 ff, 142 ff
 Hippolytus, III. 199 ff
 Historical relics, I. 371, 375
Histrion, II. 109
 Holinshed on stoves, II. 144
Hordearii, II. 56
 Hormus, I. 41
 Hortensius Hortalus, I. 123
Hospitium adventorium, I. 291
 House-decorators' wages, II. 267 ff
 Human sacrifices to clay ghosts, III. 306
 Hylas flogged, II. 111
Hymnologi, II. 350
- Iced food invented, II. 142
 Icelus, I. 41, 47
 Igel monument of Secundinii, II. 216
 Ilion, I. 346
 Illumination, II. 13
 Images of gods, III. 164 ff; worship of, 167-70
 Immortality of soul, III. 283 ff

- Imperial household, I. 66; license for new buildings, II. 249 ff; palaces, II. 191; panegyrics, III. 51 ff
 Incantation of dead, III. 307-9
 Incense, kinds of, II. 211
 Indian commercial relations, I. 306
 Inns, absence of, I. 289; as places of ill-resort; I. 293; signs of, I. 291 ff
Insignia, I. 127 ff
 Irenaeus, III. 206
 Isaeus the sophist, III. 79
 Isthmus cut by Hadrian, II. 258
 Italian coast with its villas, I. 390
- Jewellery extravagance in, II. 180 ff
 Jews' aversion to Statuary, II. 305
 dispersion of, III. 171 ff; in Alexandria, III. 176; in England, III. 181; in Gaul, III. 180; in Italy, III. 178; revolts of, III. 177; Roman strictures on, III. 184; Treatment by Emperors, III. 182 ff
 Joachim I of Brandenburg, II. 140
 Josephus on scenery, I. 389
 Journeys, I. 287 ff, 311
 Judaism among the women, I. 287; neutral, III. 171
 Julian on Pantomimes, II. 106
 Julius Caesar, II. 152; games, II. 41
 Julius Canus, III. 261
Jumentarii, I. 279
 Junius Mauricus, I. 81
 Junius Rusticus, II. 294; III. 227
Jurisconsulti, I. 165
 Jurists under Empire, I. 122
 Juvenal's description of a garret-home, II. 169
- Knighthood, offices incident to, I. 137 ff
 Knights, I. 134 ff; wealth of, I. 143
 Kostolacz, II. 248
 Kublai Khan, II. 174
- Laberii, villa of, II. 259
 Lactantius, III. 194, 215, 311
 Lambessa, II. 232; III. 112
Lanistae, II. 53
 Lanuvium, II. 251
 Laodicea, II. 242; industries of, I. 315
 Larcus Macedo, I. 99
 Largess at *ludi*, II. 14 ff
Larvae, III. 302, 304
 Lateranus, I. 47
 Latin, decay of, III. 20; rapid spread of language and literature, III. 23
Laudiceni, III. 41
 Legacies for games, II. 10
Lemures, III. 302
 Leo X, Pope, II. 157
 Licinius Archias, III. 10
 Licinius Sura, III. 305
 Lilies, II. 167
 Literary popularities, changes in, III. 7 ff
 Local cults, III. 146 ff; of Greece, III. 158 ff; of Italy, III. 157 ff
 Lollia Paulina, II. 182
 Longianus, II. 290
 Lorenzo de Medici, II. 176
- Lotus, II. 168
 Lucan, III. 10, 32; Orpheus, III. 11
 out of fashion, III. 7; read at school, III. 4
 Lucian's *Dream*, II. 310; jibes at polytheism, III. 108; in Pantomime, II. 104, 107; on philosophers, III. 234; his Philopseudes, III. 301 ff
 Lucius Afranius, II. 110
 Lucius Arruntius, I. 213
 Lucius Crassus, house of, II. 185
 Lucius Seianus, II. 13
 Lucius Valerius Proculus, I. 138 ff
 Lucius Verus, II. 145
 Lucretius and Epicurean school, III. 86
 Lucrezia Borgia, II. 176
 Lucullus, II. 151
 Ludi, II. 1 ff; religious ceremony, II. 36; times of, II. 11; when held, II. 9
 Luxury, II. 131; affected by climate, II. 141; as progress, II. 143; domestic, II. 202; in dress in Germany, II. 177; in Germany, II. 133; in scents, II. 184; of a Nero abnormal, II. 132; of Spanish grandees, II. 144; since 1850 increased, II. 131; under Khalifs, II. 155
 Lyons, II. 235; great fire at, II. 255
 Lyre, II. 341
- Maecenas, III. 30, 224: as Patron, III. 55
 Madeira discovered, I. 324
 Magic, belief in, I. 260; tales of, III. 17
Maestas, III. 187
Makaritai, III. 286
 Manilius, his Astrology, I. 211; on Pantomimes, II. 103, 110
 Manilius Cornutus, I. 172
Mansiones Saliorum, III. 155
 Marble, whence drawn, II. 190 ff
 Marcelli statues of in Sicily, II. 287
 Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, obsequies of, II. 41
 Marcus Aemilius Scaurus' theatre, II. 133
 Marcus Aquilius Regulus, III. 60
 Marcus Aurelius Musaeus, II. 353
 Marcus Aurelius, III. 96, 107, 136, 140, 207, 233; and philosophers, III. 240
 Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, II. 62, 117
 Marcus Lollius, II. 182
 Marcus Scaurus, II. 118
 Marine, the, I. 189
 Marriage, I. 228 ff; an emancipation, I. 236; betrothals by parents, I. 234; bridal ceremonies, I. 235; remarriages of women, I. 243; sumptuary laws in marriage, I. 235
 Martial, I. 58 ff, 99, 145; III. 62
 Marius Celsus, I. 81
 Martyrs, numbers of, III. 193
 Maternus the brigand, I. 296
Mausolea, II. 215
 Mavortius Lollianus, I. 186
 Maxims of Tyre, III. 95, 153; his philosophy, III. 93
Medica, II. 167
 Medical quacks, I. 183; superstition, I. 180, 184; wealth, I. 68

- Meeting-places in streets replaced news-paper, I. 209, 217 ff
- Melitene, II. 243
- Melones, II. 168
- Melopepones, II. 168
- Memnon, statue of, I. 304
- Memphis, I. 362
- Menageries, imperial, II. 68
- Meneclæ, II. 353
- Menecrates, II. 355
- Merchants, Roman, their origin, I. 313
- Mérida, bridge at, II. 231
- Mesochorus, III. 41
- Mesoalina, I. 59, 62, 94
- Messalla, III. 29 ff, 59; picture of his victory, II. 271
- Meursius in luxury, II. 131
- Milan, I. 273; II. 234
- Militia equestris, I. 136
- Mimes, II. 90 ff
- Miracles, Pagan, III. 97 ff; the King's touch, III. 122 ff; of Aesculapius, III. 138 ff; of Christianity, III. 196
- Missionary enterprise of Christianity, III. 186
- Mitylene, I. 344
- Mnester, I. 59; II. 114
- Mæsan cities, II. 248
- Montagu, Lady Wortley, II. 161
- Montanists, III. 192
- Mont Toux, III. 151
- Monumental Art, II. 271
- Morality of music, II. 348
- Moschus, I. 41
- Mountain scenery disliked, I. 391 ff
- Mucianus, III. 225, 230
- Muliones perpetuarii, I. 288
- Mundus, opening of the, III. 302
- Municipal patriotism, II. 251
- Murrha, II. 202, 203
- Music, II. 337; at banquets, II. 350; attempted to depict action, II. 343; ecclesiastical, II. 364; fees, II. 354 ff; male and female instruments, II. 342; no distinction between sacred and profane, II. 350; orchestral, II. 345; part-singing unknown, II. 340; St. Jerome on secular and Christian, II. 364, ff; schools, II. 357; spread of among Romans, II. 361-2
- Musonius Rufus, III. 223, 243, 247, 256, 261 270, 278, 280
- Mythology and religion, III. 215 ff
- Naples, I. 333; before eruption of Vesuvius, I. 334
- Napoleon, busts of, II. 284
- Narcissus, I. 47; II. 135
- Narcissus the Athlete, II. 125
- Native cults, III. 112; 146 ff
- Nature, ancient feeling for, I. 421, 424
- Nature, the Romantic in, I. 395 ff
- Naumachiae, the, II. 74 ff
- Nemausus, II. 235
- Nero, as professional musician, II. 362; as rhetor and poet, III. 31; as tragedian, his favourite parts, II. 99
- Nerva, III. 60; as poet, III. 33
- Nicanor, I. 83
- Nicetes of Smyrna, II. 252
- Nicopolis, II. 246
- Nicon, II. 144
- Nile, source of the, I. 326
- Nomenclatores, II. 220
- Noricum, II. 247
- Novels anticipated by *controversiae*, III. 16
- Nux Caloa, II. 167
- October Equus, III. 156
- Offerings to gods, III. 165 ff
- Officials travelling billeted, I. 290
- Officinae, II. 308
- Olives acclimatized, II. 167; spread of, II. 171
- Omens, III. 126
- Oracles, III. 129
- Orange, II. 235
- Oriental cults, effect of admission of, III. 102-103
- Origen, III. 193-4, 203, 288
- Original sin, III. 219
- Orpheus worshipped, III. 118
- Orphic mysteries and doctrines, III. 287 ff, 294
- Ostia, I. 331
- Otho, I. 108
- Outspokenness at *ludi*, etc., II. 6-7
- Oyster-beds, II. 165
- Paganism, its persecution and survival, III. 210 ff
- Pagi, II. 232
- Painting, Italian artists, II. 322; more honoured than statuary, II. 323
- Palanquius, I. 288
- Palfurius Sura, III. 230
- Pallas, I. 44, 47, 51; II. 135
- Palmyra, II. 240
- Pammenes, I. 185
- Pamphylian cities, II. 243
- Panaetius, III. 286
- Pannonia settled, II. 247
- Panthea of Smyrna, I. 63
- Pantomimes, II. 60, 345; and infamy, II. 111; Hylas, II. 105; morality of, II. 106; owned by families, II. 107; restrictions on, II. 117; themes of, II. 101, 103
- Paper of Alexandria, I. 314
- Paradoxonicae, II. 128
- Parentalia, III. 302
- Parenzo, II. 235
- Paris, the Pantomime, II. 114 ff; III. 49
- Parthenius, I. 41, 47; III. 73; and Sigerus, I. 57
- Parthian Commerce, I. 308
- Patronage of poets, III. 56 ff
- Pausilypon, I. 333
- Peach-almonds, II. 168
- Peacocks acclimatized, II. 165
- Pearls, II. 181; in modern Europe, II. 182 ff
- Periëgētai, I. 373
- Peregrinus Proteus, III. 275 ff
- Perfectissimus, I. 141

- Perga, II. 243
 Pergamus, II. 242; temple at, II. 325
 Persecutions of Christians, III. 190 ff
 Pessimism, Greek and Roman, III. 312-3
 Petrus de Crescentiis on Gardens, I. 424
 Pharos, I. 352
 Philippopolis, II. 241
Philosophi, II. 308
 Philosophers and pupils, III. 256, 258 ff;
 as consolers, III. 261; attached to a
 family, III. 262; attached to court,
 III. 263; lectures at Rome, III. 249;
 mostly Greeks, III. 247; quarrels, III.
 241; wealth, III. 235
 Philosophy, advocates of, III. 245; as
 unpractical, III. 223 ff; breaking
 barriers, III. 279 ff; course of study in,
 III. 250 ff; in vogue, III. 227 ff
Philostorgia not Roman, I. 225
 Phonaskos, II. 353
 Phrygia thinly populated, II. 243
 Physicians, I. 168 ff
 Physics, III. 254
 Pictorial begging-letters, II. 273
 Picture galleries, II. 329
 Pictures as legal evidence, II. 273; of old
 masters, II. 330 ff; of tyrants destroyed,
 II. 275 ff
 Pilgrimages, I. 321; III. 130
 Pisidian cities, II. 243
 Piso as lyricist, II. 361; as patron, III. 57
 Piso Caesoninus and aedile games, II. 44
 Plague under Tiberius, I. 168
 Plastic art, II. 267
 Plate, gold and silver, II. 205 ff
 Platonism and immortality, III. 287 ff
 Pliny the Elder, I. 139; against popular
 belief, III. 88; on actors, II. 113; on
 gluttony, II. 165; on snow as refriger-
 ator, II. 142-3; on Trajan's accession,
 III. 227; on the protesters, III. 42 ff
 Pliny the Younger, I. 30, 31, 42, 72, 89, 95,
 115, 199, 209, 232, 235; II. 44, 128, 214,
 249, 252, 281, 324; III. 71, 224, 257,
 305; and Como, II. 252; his properties,
 II. 193; his villa, I. 331; on Isaeus,
 III. 79; on plundering of provinces,
 I. 121.
 Plums, II. 167
 Plutarch on applause in a philosopher's
 school, III. 270; on art, II. 334; on
 artists, II. 321; on demons, III. 91;
 on polytheism, III. 109
 Poetical improvisation, III. 10; prose,
 III. 19
 Poetry always sung, II. 338; decline of,
 III. 34; Greek and Latin competitions,
 II. 120; much read, III. 25 ff; in edu-
 cation, III. 1; introduction to elo-
 quence, III. 2; not profitable, III.
 47
 Poets' first attempts, III. 10; life, ac-
 counts of, III. 48-49; not immune
 like teachers, III. 47; read in schools,
 III. 3
 Polemo, III. 78; his pomp in travelling,
 I. 288
 Pollius Felix, III. 67, 73
 Polycleetus, I. 40, 42
 Polyphthongon, II. 342
 Polytheism, III. 104
 Pomegranates, II. 167
 Pompey's villas, I. 329
 Pompilius Vopiscus, I. 101
 Pons Aelius, II. 257
 Pont du Gard, II. 231
 Poppæa's funeral, II. 212; retiune, I. 288
 Porticus Xysti, I. 169
 Portraits, Authors', II. 277
 Posides, I. 45
 Potamophylacia of Nice, III. 176
 Potteries of Greek Islands, I. 315
Praecones, I. 154, 191-2
Praefectus arcendis latronibus, I. 294
 Praetorian regiment, I. 193
 Prayer, efficacy of, III. 444 ff
 Ptolemy's Geography, I. 307
 Ptolemy Mennaeus, II. 134
Pragmatici, I. 162, 166-7
 Priesthood, I. 141
 Procurators for married women, I. 237
Procuratores castrenses, I. 50
 Proceres, I. 71
 Proletariate of Rome, II. 2
 Propertius Celer, I. 123
 Provincials and Roman honours, I. 100 ff
Prunus avium, II. 167
 Public libraries, III. 38
 Publius Decimius Eros Merula, I. 173
 Publius Egnatius Celer, I. 201
 Publius of Syria, III. 11
 Publius Servilius Rullus, II. 153
 Publius Sulpicius Quirinius, I. 109
Pueri eminentes, I. 82
 Purple wool, cost of, II. 175
 Puteoli, I. 333
 Pylades, I. 59; II. 100 ff, 346
 Pyres, II. 212
 Pyrrhic dance, II. 108

Quadratarii, II. 308
 Quaestorship, I. 126
 Quintilian, I. 158, 161, 251; III. 291;
 on false philosophers, III. 237; on
 oratorical *débutant*, III. 40; on rhetor-
 ical courses, III. 11; on the philosophic,
 III. 223; his religion, III. 87.
 Quintus Catulus, II. 185
 Quintus Haterius, I. 213
 Quintus Metellus Macedonicus, I. 1
 Quintus Metellus Pius, II. 151
 Quintus Pedius, II. 323
 Quintus Servilius Capio, II. 134
 Quintus Sextius, III. 247
 Quintus Sextius Niger, I. 142
 Quintus Stertinius, I. 68

 Rabirius, II. 324
 Race-horses, where bred, II. 25
 Ravenna, II. 234
 Reading, III. 38
 Receptions, I. 207 ff
Recitationes, III. 36, 39 ff, 48, 67
Redae, I. 279
 Rederijkerskamers, III. 44
Refrigerium of saints, III. 290

- Regulus, I. 122; his properties, II. 193
 Religion, evidence of, III. 84; in second century, III. 94; stability of, III. 101 ff; utility of, III. 85
 Religious art, II. 298 ff
Religio loci, I. 383
 Reminders of books sent to provinces, III. 24
 Rents at Rome, II. 185
 Resurrection, ideas of, III. 294 ff
 Reversionary speculators, I. 212
 Rheims, II. 232
 Rhetoric, effect on style, III. 18; exercises in, III. 12; importance of, III. 2; in poetical form, III. 18; professorships of, III. 2
 Rhetorician's travels, I. 317; fees, I. 157, 161 ff; periodontai, I. 318
 Rhodes, I. 345; II. 362
 Richard II of England, II. 156
 Rimini, bridge at, II. 231
 Roads, African, I. 275; Alpine, I. 273; Stephen Heinrich on Roman, I. 268; system of Roman, I. 271
 Roma as goddess, III. 117
 Roman colonies, scheme of, II. 247; copying of Greek works, II. 326; interest in art, II. 328, 333 ff; love of rusticity, I. 384; music eclipsed by Greek, II. 337; nabobs, II. 134; nobles and their estates, II. 200; ritual, III. 155-7; simplicity of living, II. 146; spread of luxury, II. 147; world poorer, II. 221 ff
 Rome, her garrison, I. 19; her police force, I. 20; her water-supply, I. 11
 Roses acclimatized, II. 167
 Rothschild, II. 170, 198
 Rubellius Plautus, III. 261
 Russian cookery, II. 162
 Sacrifices as Thanksgivings, III. 162 ff
 St. Augustine, II. 79; III. 311
 St. Chrysostom on music, II. 363
 St. Rémy mausoleum, II. 216
 Sallust on luxurious villas, II. 194; on music, II. 359
Salutatio publica sive promiscua, I. 87
 Salvidenus Rufus, I. 29, 107
Sambuca, II. 342, 345
 Sta Maria in Capitoie at Cologne, II. 249
 Saoterros, I. 58
 Sarcophagi, costly, II. 212
 Sarmentus, I. 85, 143
 Saserna, II. 171
Scabellum, II. 346
 Scents, II. 184 ff; at funerals, II. 211
 Scepticism, III. 87
 Scorpis the charioteer, II. 22
 Scribonius Largus, I. 168, 178
 Sculptors mostly Greeks, II. 322
 Sculptuary in the Quarries, II. 307-8
 Sculpture, II. 311 ff
 Scyllacium, I. 335
 Secretariate, the, I. 53
 Selge, II. 244
 Semi-circular sofas, I. 211
 Senators as money-lenders, I. 119; wealth of, I. 113, 122 ff; families, fate of, I. 109 ff
 Senatorship, degradation from, I. 133
 Seneca, I. 83, 119, 208; III. 5, 32, 144, 216, 220, 264; and St. Paul, III. 209; making a poor man's journey, I. 287; on artists, II. 321; on astrology, I. 69; on Claudius, I. 39; on ostentation, II. 152-3; on philosophy, III. 245-6; on politics, III. 228; on ill-built houses, I. 21; on travelling, I. 381, 383
 Sensual music, II. 349
 Sergius Julius Frontinus, I. 332
 Seven Wonders, the, I. 367
 Seviri, I. 350
 Sextus Vistilius, I. 80
 Shalots, II. 168
 Sicily, I. 339 ff
 Sidon, II. 240
 Sierra Leone, I. 324
 Sigerus, I. 41
Sigilla, II. 270
 Silius Halicus, I. 333; III. 60, 67
 Silk, value of, II. 179
 Sillyon, II. 244
 Silver-plate, II. 205; as capital, II. 208; extensively used, II. 210
 Sirmium, II. 248
 Site values, II. 193
 Slaves, II. 218 ff; as memory-guarders, III. 3
 Smyrna, I. 348; II. 242, 252
 Soldiers, I. 301-2
 Sophistic influences, III. 74, 76
 Spartacus, II. 55
 Staberius, II. 214
 Stadium, II. 117 ff
 State-port, I. 278, 280
Stationes, I. 291
 Statius, I. 61; II. 194; III. 60 ff
 Statuary, ancient wealth in, II. 300; of divine figures, II. 299; to the dead, II. 296
 Statues as honours, II. 289 ff; as marks of gratitude, II. 295; in Rome, II. 301, 307; of celebrated men, II. 286, 290; price of, II. 319
 Ships, great size of, I. 351
 Stoicism, III. 90, 220, 230; doctrine of immortality of soul, III. 286; popular at Rome, III. 248
 Stoics suspected, III. 225
 Strabo, I. 327; II. 66
 Stratonicea, II. 242
Strenae, I. 87
 Stucco relief, II. 266
 Styles in statuary, II. 303
Suasoriae, III. 12, 17
 Suicide, III. 221
 Syllogisms, captious, III. 252
 Symmachus, II. 33, 59
Symphoniaci, II. 345
Synthesis, II. 175
 Syrians as bankers, I. 313; as merchants, III. 111; at Rome, I. 36
 Syringe, II. 201

- Tacitus, II. 150; III. 223; his religion, III. 87; on art, II. 334; on luxury, II. 145
- Talleyrand, II. 163
- Tarraco, II. 237
- Tarragona funeral monument, II. 217
- Ta-Tsin, I. 308; II. 179
- Tempe, Vale of, I. 387
- Temple at Tolosa, II. 134
- Temples, building of, III. 161; visited, I. 368 ff
- Terentius Prisaus, III. 249
- Tertullian, III. 218
- Thallus the charioteer, II. 24
- Theagenes, III. 249
- Theatre, severance of song and dance, II. 98
- Theatrical music, II. 347, 351
- Thebes, I. 363
- Theodoras of Gadara, I. 67
- Theodoretus, III. 214
- Thessalonica, II. 245
- Thrasea, II. 359; III. 225, 261
- Thrasyllus, I. 84
- Tiberius, III. 30
- Tiberius Optatus Elipertius, II. 165
- Tigellius, I. 83; II. 353, 356
- Timotheus the citharist, II. 343
- Titinius Capito, I. 55
- Titus, II. 358; III. 33
- Titus Castricius, III. 258
- Titus Flaminius, II. 41
- Titus Labienus, III. 28
- Titus Petronius, III. 261
- Toga* as sign of advocate, I. 163
- Tokharistan, I. 308
- Toll-keepers, I. 293
- Tomb-stones, decoration of, II. 270-1
- Touring, Roman interest in, I. 368
- Tragedy, II. 97; and comedy, II. 338; costumes, II. 99
- Tragoedi*, II. 351
- Trajan no poet, III. 33; not honoured as a god, III. 96; the Forum of, II. 261
- Transformation of statues in subject, II. 313
- Travel for culture, I. 316
- Travelling inside Empire, I. 328
- Travertine stone, II. 185
- Trebizond (Trapezus), II. 243
- Trees venerated, I. 382
- Trieste, II. 235
- Trigonon, II. 345
- Trimalchio, II. 332, 361; III. 115; his tomb, II. 274
- Troy, I. 346 ff
- Tubae*, II. 342
- Tulips, II. 201
- Tullus and Lucanus as tile manufacturers, I. 120
- Tunica molesta*, II. 73
- Twelve Tables, the, on Funeral Pomp, II. 210
- Tyre, II. 240
- Ulpian on philosopher's fees, III. 237
- Umbonius Silio, I. 133
- Ummidia Quadrattilla, I. 106
- Ummilius Quadratus, I. 64
- Unciores*, II. 56
- Valerius Asiaticus, I. 101
- Valerius Homullus, I. 77
- Varro, I. 229; II. 167; on art, II. 327; on luxury, II. 147 ff; on music, II. 358
- Vedius Pollio, I. 99, 103, 143, 333
- Velleius Paterculus, III. 23
- Venationes*, II. 62; decline and spread of, II. 81 ff; sumptuary laws against, II. 82
- Venetian luxury, II. 196
- Verecunda, II. 232, 251
- Verginius Flavus, I. 161
- Verginius Rufus, I. 209, 330
- Verrius Flaccus, I. 67, 81
- Verulamium (St. Alban's), II. 246
- Vespasian as patron of literature, III. 33
- Vestal Virgins allowed in stadium, II. 119
- Vestricius Spuriana, III. 73
- Via Aemilia, I. 273
- Via Appia, I. 270
- Via Egnatia, I. 271
- Via Flaminia, I. 272
- Vibius Crispus, I. 122
- Vienne, II. 235
- Vigiles*, I. 169
- Vigintiviratus*, I. 126
- Villeggiature* in Italy, I. 329 ff
- Villas in provinces, II. 259-60
- Vindobona (Vienna), II. 247
- Vines, II. 166, 171
- Virgil as book of divination, III. 25; Eclogues, success of, III. 24; influence on style, III. 69 ff; read at school, II. 4; reward for sixth book of *Aeneid*, III. 53
- Viroconium (Wroxeter), II. 246
- Vitellius as *gourmet*, II. 148
- Vitruvius, II. 324; on architecture, II. 187; on quarries near Tarquinii, II. 262
- Vocal music, II. 347
- Vopiscus, II. 22, 195, 329; III. 67
- Votive tablets, II. 299
- Voyages for health, I. 321; how made and length of, I. 283 ff
- Walcheren, III. 146
- Walnuts acclimatized, II. 167
- Wall-paintings, II. 267
- Wealth, deterrent causes of, II. 139; in modern Europe, II. 136; obligations of, II. 228; of antiquity, II. 135; under Khalifs, II. 135
- William of Malmesbury, II. 144
- Windisch, II. 237
- Woburn Abbey, II. 197
- Women, ambitions of, I. 250 ff; as artists, II. 323 ff; as gladiators, II. 50 ff; as musicians, II. 359; cruelty of, to slaves, I. 244; education of, I. 230 ff; emancipated, I. 249; in nursery, I. 228; morality of, I. 241; passion for theatre, I. 245-6; superstitions, I. 255 ff; virtues of, I. 261; mistresses in their own homes, I. 236

Wrecking, practice of, I. 282
Wroxeter *v.* Viroconium, II. 246
Württemberg, II. 247

Xanten, II. 233
Xystarchus, II. 126

Yorkshire, inscription in, I. 146

Zabulon, II. 240
Zenodorus, II. 315, 320
Zosimus on Pantomimes, II. 107



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ROMAN LIFE AND MANNERS UNDER THE EARLY EMPIRE

By
LUDWIG FRIEDLÄNDER

Authorised Translation of the Seventh Enlarged
and Revised Edition of the *Sittengeschichte Roms*

VOLUME IV
APPENDICES AND NOTES
(from the Sixth Edition)



By
A. B. GOUGH, M.A. (Oxon.), Ph.D.



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52 3 from bottom, *For nares read naves.*
55 9 *Delete full stop after copiis.*
72 11 from bottom, *For Praeseus read Praesens.*
73 14 *For Septimus read Septimius.*
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176 20 *For from read for.*
202 17, 18 *For Sorrentum read Surrentum.*
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CONTENTS

PAGE

ABBREVIATIONS

2

APPENDICES

I	The Lotus Tree. (By Prof. Ferdinand Cohn, Breslau)	I, 10, 33	2
II	Exhibition of natural Curiosities at Rome	I, 14, 8	6
III	Provincials in Rome	I, 14, 13	11
IV	Embassies to Roman Emperors from foreign Countries	I, 17, 2	12
V	The Population of Rome	I, 17, 13	17
VI	On the Use of Vehicles in Rome	I, 20, 4	28
VII	<i>Roma aurea, aeterna, sacra</i>	I, 29, 6	31
VIII	The Officials <i>a rationibus, a libellis, ab epistulis</i>	I, 34, 17	31
IX	The Order of the Offices held by Imperial Freedmen	I, 37, 36	50
X	Roman Names assumed by <i>Peregrini</i> and Freedmen	I, 47, 6	56
XI	The Friends and Companions of the Emperor	I, 70	58
XII	The Use of <i>Vir Clarissimus</i> as a Senatorial Title	I, 133, 11	74
XIII	<i>Mandragora</i>	I, 174, 4	76
XIV	The <i>Sportula</i> of the <i>Cientes</i>	I, 196, 8	77
XV	The Use of <i>Domino</i> as a Form of Address in ordinary Life	I, 199, 10	81
XVI	Endearing and complimentary Names for Women and Girls	I, 228, 10	87
XVII	The Story of Amor and Psyche and other Traces of the Folk-tale in Antiquity	I, 229, 37	88

	PAGE
XVIII The usual Age of Girls at Betrothal and Marriage	I, 232, 27 123
XIX The Use of Homeric personal Names for Appellatives	I, 248, 17 131
XX Roman Finds in the North. (By Dr. Otto Tischler, of Königsberg)	I, 310, 7 132
XXI Tourists' Inscriptions on the Pyramids	I, 362, 28 137
XXII The Use of the Word <i>Romantic</i> as applied to natural Scenery	I, 395, 19 138
XXIII On the Meaning of the Names <i>Viola</i> (<i>lov</i>), <i>Anemone</i> , <i>Narcissus</i> , <i>Hyacinthus</i> . (By Prof. Ferdinand Cohn, of Breslau)	I, 425, 33 141
XXIV Three Inscriptions on Charioteers.	II, 23, 15 148
XXV <i>Diversium</i>	II, 31, 7 164
XXVI Representations of Gladiators (and <i>Venatores</i>) in Works of Art	II, 51, 16 166
XXVII The gladiatorial <i>Tesserae</i>	II, 57 168
XXVIII <i>Summa</i> and <i>Secunda Rudis</i> ; <i>Primus</i> and <i>Secundus Palus</i>	II, 57, 15 170
XXIX Costume and Arms of the Gladiators	II, 60 171
XXX On the Animals used for the Roman <i>Venationes</i>	II, 62 181
XXXI How Animals were caught for the Amphitheatre	II, 69, 5 189
XXXII Modern Animal Fights.	II, 71, 14 189
XXXIII Executions and other Punishments carried out in the Amphitheatre	II, 72, 6 190
XXXIV On the <i>Velarium</i> of the Amphitheatre	II, 79, 22 190
XXXV Abolition of the Gladiatorial Shows. Gladiatorial Shows in the Middle Ages and more recent Times	II, 80, 22 192
XXXVI List of Roman and provincial Amphitheatres	II, 85, 30 193
XXXVII The Performance of Comedies under the later Empire	II, 95, 40 255
XXXVIII The Performance of Tragedies under the later Empire	II, 97, 16 256

CONTENTS

vii

PAGE

XXXIX	On the frequent Use of famous Artists' Names	II, 107, 30	257
XL	The Pyrrhic of Asia Minor	II, 108, 7	263
XLI	The Contests in the Actian <i>Agon</i> at Nicopolis	II, 118, 20	263
XLII	The Contests in the Capitoline <i>Agon</i>	II, 120, 12	264
XLIII	Continuance of the Capitoline <i>Agon</i>	II, 121, 22	267
XLIV	The Extension of Gymnastic Contests in the Western Provinces	II, 122, 21	268
XLV	The Taxes of three Roman Provinces	II, 133, 2	270
XLVI	Rodbertus on the Comparison of ancient with modern Wealth	II, 139, 19	273
XLVII	The Dissolution of Pearls in Vinegar	II, 140	275
XLVIII	A Catalogue of Table Delicacies from a Greek Comedy	II, 147, 19	276
XLIX	Specification of Silver Plate according to Weight	II, 209, 31	278
L	Prices of Sepulchral Monuments	II, 217, 33	279
LI	Latrines in Rome	II, 224 ff.	284
LII	<i>Civitates Mundi</i>	II, 232, 10	285
LIII	Marble and Bronze as Materials for Statues	II, 319 f.	286
LIV	Prices of Statues	II, 319 f.	287
LV	Borrowing from the <i>Controversiae</i> of the Elder Seneca in the <i>Gesta Romanorum</i>	III, 16, 41	297
LVI	The Chronology of the Epigrams of Martial and Statius	III, 59	298
LVII	The Patrons and Friends of Statius	III, 60	304
LVIII	The Chronology of Juvenal's Life and Satires	III, 67 ff.	310
LIX	On the Personal Names in Juvenal	III, 67 ff.	318
LX	Chronological Notes on Gellius	III, 80	322

NOTES

To Vol. I

Chronological Table	327
c. I The City of Rome	331

To Vol. I		PAGE
c. II	The Court	341
c. III	The Three Estates	364
c. IV	Roman Society	402
c. V	The Position of Women	409
c. VI	Means of Communication	426
c. VII	Touring under the Empire	451
To Vol. II		
c. I	The Spectacles	493
c. II	Roman Luxury	555
c. III	The Arts	592
To Vol. III		
c. I	Belles-Lettres	639
c. II	Religion	655
c. III	Philosophy as a Moral Educator	688
c. IV	Belief in the Immortality of the Soul	699
INDEX TO THE APPENDICES		707

APPENDICES AND NOTES

R.L.M.

B

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AdI</i>	.. .. .	<i>Annali dell' Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica.</i>
<i>BdI</i>	.. .. .	<i>Buletino dell' Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica.</i>
Becker-Göll	.. .. .	Becker, Gallus, <i>neu bearbeitet</i> von Göll, 1880-82.
<i>Bull. com. d. R.</i>	.. .. .	<i>Buletino comunale di Roma.</i>
<i>CIG</i>	.. .. .	<i>Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum.</i>
<i>CIL</i>	.. .. .	<i>Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum.</i>
<i>D. or Digg.</i>	.. .. .	<i>Digesta.</i>
Dio (alone)	.. .. .	Cassius Dio, the historian.
Dio Chr.	.. .. .	Dio Chrysostom, the rhetorician of Prusa.
Epictet., <i>D.</i>	.. .. .	<i>Epicteti Dissertationes.</i>
Galen. In the references the Roman numeral denotes the volume and the Arabic the page in Kühn's edition.		
<i>H.A.</i>	.. .. .	<i>Scriptores historiae Augustae.</i> The biographies are cited without the authors' names.
<i>Hdb. d. R. A...</i>	.. .. .	Becker and Marquardt, <i>Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer</i> , 1st edition.
Henzen or Henzen-Orelli		Orelli (Henzen), <i>Inscriptionum latinarum selectarum amplissima collectio.</i>
Hirschfeld, <i>VG</i>	.. .. .	<i>Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiet der römischen Verwaltungsgeschichte.</i>
<i>IRN</i>..	.. .. .	<i>Inscriptiones Regni Neapolitani</i> (Mommsen).
Josephus, <i>A. J.</i> , <i>B. J.</i>	.. .. .	<i>Antiquitates Judaicae, Bellum Judaicum.</i>
Lebas-Waddington	.. .. .	Lebas et Waddington, <i>Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie-Mineure</i> (<i>Inscriptions</i>).
Marquardt, <i>Prl.</i>	.. .. .	<i>Privatleben der Römer.</i>
„ <i>StV</i>	.. .. .	<i>Staatsverwaltung.</i>
Mommsen, <i>StR</i>	.. .. .	<i>Staatsrecht.</i>
<i>Oesterr. Mith.</i>	.. .. .	<i>Epigraphisch-archäologische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn.</i>
Orelli, see Henzen.		
Pliny, <i>N.h.</i> or <i>H.N.</i>		The second numeral denotes the paragraph in Sillig and von Jan's edition of the <i>Nat. Hist.</i>
Preller, <i>R. M...</i>	.. .. .	<i>Römische Mythologie</i> , 3. Auflage, <i>bearbeitet</i> von Jordan.
Renier	.. .. .	<i>Inscriptions de l'Algérie.</i>
<i>RGDA</i>	.. .. .	<i>Res gestae divi Augusti</i> (Mommsen).
<i>SIRE.</i>	.. .. .	<i>Realencyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft</i> , herausgegeben von Pauly, Walz und Teuffel.
Teuffel, <i>R.L.G.</i>	.. .. .	<i>Geschichte der römischen Litteratur</i> , also English translation by G. C. WARR, 1900.
Wilmanns	.. .. .	<i>Exempla Inscriptionum.</i>

APPENDICES

VOL. I

I. THE LOTUS TREE.

By Professor Ferdinand Cohn, Breslau.

(Vol. I, p. 10, l. 9 from bottom.)

THE word lotus does not appear to exist in the Semitic or Egyptian languages. Homer, like our modern poets, uses it as a foreign word, to which no clearly defined meaning is attached. It grows on the meadows of Ida under the embrace of Zeus; it is the sweet fruit which, eaten by the companions of Odysseus, made them forget their home; but this gives the botanist no better clue than the *moly* of Homer or the 'blue flower' of romantic poetry.¹ Only the lotus, which according to Homer was eaten by horses, may have been an ordinary fodder plant. In Herodotus (ii, 92) we first meet with the lotus of the Nile, 'as it is called by the Egyptians'; from the description it is easily identified with the *Nymphaea Lotus* L., to be distinguished from *Nymphaea Nelumbo*, also called lotus by us. The blue lotus-flower of the Nile (*Nymphaea caerulea* Sav.) is not mentioned either by Herodotus or Theophrastus. The latter, whose merits have not hitherto been sufficiently recognized by botanists and scholars, mentions (*Hist. Plant.*, vii, 15) the lotus as an example of those plants of which various forms bear the same name; the different kinds of lotus are distinguished by their leaves, stalk, flower, fruit, value as a food (*δύναμις κατὰ τὴν προσφοράν*), and habitat. One kind is herbaceous (*ποιῶδες*), with foliate stalk; it includes the *μελιλωτός* (a kind of clover). Another kind, also called lotus, resembles the Egyptian bean (*κύαμος Αἰγύπτιος*, *Nelumbium*), only it is smaller, more slender, and bears a fruit like poppy-heads (*Nymphaea Lotus*; *Hist. Plant.*, iv, 8, 9).

Further, lotus is the name given to certain trees in Libya, of which again there are several kinds, distinguished by their fruit. One kind thrives best and is most commonly found in the Syrtis, in the country of the Nasamones, in the island of Pharos, the old home of the Lotophagi, who took their name from it; and in larger quantities on the neighbouring mainland. This lotus (*Hist. Plant.*, iv, 3) is a tree, as large as a pear tree or a little smaller, with incised

¹ [See Novalis, *Henry of Ofterdingen*.]

leaves, like a sort of holm-oak (*πρίνος*, translated *ilex* by Pliny); its wood is black, very close, sapless (*δασαρκον*), does not rot (*δασαπής*), is too heavy to float, like box, ebony, and cornel wood; the heart (*μήτρα*) of the wood is especially thick and heavy. The fruit is broad, as large as a bean (*κύαμος*), changes its colour like the grape when ripe, grows closely together on the young shoots like myrtle berries, is sweet, of agreeable flavour, harmless, and even wholesome for the stomach; there is also a sweeter kind without stone or kernel, used for making a kind of wine or as a food. This kind of lotus is so common in Libya that the fruit is sufficient to provide food for an army for days.

The lotus called *παιλουργος* is of a different kind. It is used in the Euhesperides islands as firewood (*καυσίμοις χρῶνται*); it is distinguished from the lotus of the Lotophagi by its more shrub-like growth and its round red fruit of the size of the *κέρδος*; its wood is superior, but its fruit not so sweet; Pliny appears to call it the Cyrenaic lotus.

Lastly, some authorities mention a shrub-like (*θαμνώδης*) lotus, with many branches, a thick stalk (*στελέχει εὐπαχής*), and large fruit, not fleshy outside but more like leather, not so sweet as that of the lotus of the Lotophagi, but still of agreeable flavour; the wine which is made from it will not keep longer than two or three days, after which it turns sour.

Pliny's account of the lotus (*Nat. Hist.*, xiii, 104-6), of which he distinguishes (xiv, 101) three kinds—the tree, the shrub, and the herb—is taken word for word from Theophrastus, but he adds some comments not to be found in that author; e.g. that the Libyan tree (which he also calls *Syratica*, the Syrtian) was also called *cellis* (or *cellhis*) in Africa; that the fruit, as large as a bean, was saffron-coloured; that the berries were preserved in jars.

Again, Theophrastus does not allude to the fact that the lotus is also found out of Africa; in the passage referred to above he only speaks of the wood, which was used for making flutes, knife blades, etc., and may have been imported like ebony. Pliny, on the other hand, observes that the lotus was common (*familiaris*) in Italy, but was modified by the change of soil. He gives the name of African to a small (*brevis*, according to Nepos) tree or shrub (*frutex*), branching out from the root (*haec ibi natura arboris*, he says at the end of his description). On the other hand, the lotus of Italy is a tree with a short trunk, which throws out such a luxuriant growth of strong branches that they themselves resemble trunks. For this reason it is much in request in the front of houses, where its thick shade often extends to the neighbouring buildings; but it soon loses its foliage, and in winter does not shut out the sun. Its fruit, although wild, is agreeable in flavour, resembling the cherry, while that of the African lotus is only the size of a bean. Pliny sings its praises (*Nat. Hist.*, xvi, 123): no tree has longer, more numerous, or stouter branches, or a bark more agreeable to the eye; moreover, it attains a great age. A lotus tree in the grove of the temple of Lucina must, he thinks, be at least 450 years old, since Lucina derives her name from this very grove; a lotus in the Volcanal is considered to be as old as Rome itself; its roots penetrate through

the *stationes municipiorum*¹ as far as the Forum of Caesar (xvi, 235).

Although Pliny (certainly on insufficient grounds) asserts that the Italian lotus, as contrasted with the *Lotus transmarina*, had been from very early times indigenous, he does not give it a Latin but a Greek name (λωτός), and also calls it the Greek bean (*jaba graeca*). The latter name would be inexplicable, if it were not intended to distinguish it from the Egyptian bean, which is also called lotus (*Nelumbium*); yet it is difficult to understand how a really native tree could have acquired a name which indicated a foreign origin. Dioscorides only says of the λωτός δένδρον, that it is a large tree with sweet berries larger than peppercorns. According to Orazio Comes the lotus tree is not represented in Pompeii.

As for the botanical determination of the lotus-tree, the African can be entirely disregarded, while it cannot be decided which of the different kinds mentioned by the ancients are to be referred to the *Zizyphus Lotus* Willd. (*Rhamnus Lotus* L.), *Z. vulgaris* Lam., *Z. Spina Christi* Willd. or other kinds of fruit-trees. The 'so-called lotus-trees in Rome, or Greek beans', including those in the garden of the orator Crassus on the Palatine, which were 180 years old and still fresh and green when destroyed during the Neronian fire, must have been nettle-trees (*Celtis australis*). They certainly cannot belong to the species mentioned above, which are all only thorny shrubs or small trees. Mattioli (Matthioli) of Siena, the commentator on Dioscorides, has already identified them: 'if lotus-trees still grow in Italy, they can only be the trees which are called *Bagolaro* in the Trentino and near Görz, and *Perlaro* in the Veronese country; this is shown by the thick branches and stems, the drooping leaves notched like those of the *ilex*, the agreeable blue-black colour of the smooth bark, the stone-fruit like cherries, with long stalk, first green, then yellowish, then red, and finally black, of a sweet and agreeable flavour' (*gustu suavi non ingrato*; *Comment. in Dioscor.*, Venice, 1558, p. 157).

In Istria this tree is sometimes a metre in diameter; its blackish heart-wood, surrounded by a light, white sap-wood, is made into carriage-poles; the branches, on account of their toughness, are chiefly used at the present time for making whip-handles, which are exported in great quantities from Trieste. It is remarkable that no mention is made of this in ancient writers; Theophrastus and Pliny (following him) only speak of the lotus-wood (especially the root) being used for all kinds of turnery-ware. A *Celtis* is also found in German gardens, especially in South Germany; the Mediterranean species (*Celtis australis*) is not so hard as the kindred North American (*C. occidentalis*). *Diospyros Lotus* L., the date-plum, belonging to the order *Ebenaceae* and indigenous in the Mediterranean countries, is still cultivated in Italian gardens for its sweet, yellow stone-fruit as large as a cherry. It forms an imposing shrub, or even tree, and sometimes attains a height of 10 metres; its wood is hard and blackish. It has been often identified

¹ [Possibly seats allotted in the Forum to the inhabitants of the *municipia*, so that they might hear the speeches; cp. the *græcostasis* or station of the Greeks, i.e. foreign ambassadors.]

with the lotus of Pliny, but in my opinion answers to his description less than the *Celtis*.

II. EXHIBITION OF NATURAL CURIOSITIES AT ROME.

(Vol. I, p. 14, l. 8.)

IN republican times remarkable and rare productions of nature and art were publicly exhibited at Rome on two occasions in particular—at triumphs and the games. From the time of Pompey, who exhibited an ebony tree at the triumphal procession in honour of his victory over Mithridates (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xii, 20), it became customary to carry trees in triumphal processions (for instance, the balsam-tree after the triumph over the Jews). The ornaments (*insignia*) used at the games to decorate the Forum, Comitium and other places, were chiefly works of art, but also included natural curiosities. Thus Scaurus, during his aedileship, in addition to other marvels (*miracula*) exhibited the bones (brought from Joppa) of the monster to which Andromeda had been exposed; they were larger than the ribs of the Indian elephant (*Nat. Hist.*, ix, 11). Parrots and other rare birds also seem to have been used to decorate the Forum (Varro, *R.R.*, iii, 9, 7).

In imperial times all rarities and marvels were, if possible, sent from the provinces to the emperors, who usually exhibited them in public. They were then deposited in generally accessible places, especially temples (see Pliny, *N. H.*, ix, 116, xii, 94), which in ancient times were frequently used as museums. The name given to all these curiosities was *miracula* (Pliny, xxxvi, 196, *dicavitque ipse pro miraculo—obsianus quatuor elephantes*), or θαύματα (Pausanias, ix, 21); the curators were called *οἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς θαύμασιν* (Paus., viii, 46, 2): see the note of Siebelis and Spanheim, *De Praestantia et Usu Numismatum*, i, p. 7. The *acta diurna*, which furnished material to the compilers of the city chronicles and other writers, often made mention of such exhibitions (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, x, 5; cp. E. Hübner, *De senatus populi Romani actis*, 1860). Of course, all notices of the kind are not derived directly or indirectly from this source; e.g. in many cases Pliny relates instances that came under his personal knowledge.

Human deformities perhaps excited the greatest interest. Philodemus, *Περὶ σημειῶν καὶ σημειώσεων*, col. 2, 3 (T. Gomperz, *Herculanische Studien*, heft i, p. 4): καὶ σπάνια δ' ἔστιν ἔνια, καθάπερ ὁ γενόμενος ἡμίπηχυσ ἀνθρωπος) ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, κεφαλὴν δὲ κολοῦσι(κ)ήν ἔχων, ἐφ' ἧς ἐσφυροκόπουν, δ(ν ἐ)πεδείκνυν οἱ ταρειχευταί, (κ)αὶ ὁ γαμηθεὶς ὡς παρθένος ἐ(ν Ἐ)πιδαύρῳ κἀπειτα γενόμενος) ἀνὴρ, καὶ ὁ γενόμενος ἐ(ν Κρή)τῃ πηχῶν ὀκτώ καὶ τεττ(αράκ)οντα τοῖς ἐκ τῶν εὐρεθέ(ντων) ὁσίων σημειουμένοις, ἐτ(ι δ' οὐδ)ς(?) ἐν Ἀκώρῃ πυγμαίους δ(εικνύ)ουσιν, ἀμέλει δ' ἀνα(λ)όγου(ς τοῖς οὐδ)ς) Ἀντώνιος νῦν ἐξ Ἑλλά(ς ἐκο)μίσ(ατο . . .)(ἐκ Συρίας ἐκ. ?) Cp. the editor's preface, p. xix; the pygmies of Acoris (in Middle Egypt, on the east bank of the Nile) remind us of the representations of pygmies in Egyptian landscapes. Such monstrosities could be most successfully exhibited in Rome, at a time when not only dwarfs were frequently kept in the houses of the great, the deformity being sometimes caused by artificial means (Pseudo-Longinus, *De Sublimitate*, 44, 5, ed. Jahn, p. 68, 17: τὰ γλωττόκομα, ἐν οἷς οἱ πυγμαῖοι,

καλούμενοι δὲ νῆαι τρέφονται; cp. Jahn, *Archäologische Beiträge*, p. 430; J. Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer*, i, 1886, p. 152; Casaubon on Suetonius, *Augustus*, 83), but also giants and giantesses (Martial, vii, 38). 'Genuine' crétins also fetched a high price (Martial, viii, 13) and hermaphrodites were greatly in favour (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vii, 34, in deliciis habiti). There was also a monstrosity market in Rome, where specimens of men without calves, with short arms, with three eyes, and pointed heads could be bought (Plutarch, *De Curiositate*, 10: ὥσπερ οὖν ἐν Ῥώμῃ τινὲς τὰς γραφὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας καὶ νῆ διὰ τὰ κάλλη τῶν ὀνίων παιδῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ἐν μηδενὶ λόγῳ τιθέμενοι, περὶ τὴν τῶν τεράτων ἀγορὰν ἀναστρέφονται, τοὺς ἀκνήμους καὶ τοὺς γαλεάγκωνας καὶ τοὺς τριοφθάλμους καὶ τοὺς στρουθιοκεφάλους καταμανθάνοντες καὶ ζητούντες, εἰ τι γεγέννηται σύμμικτον εἶδος κάποφύλιον τέρας κ.τ.λ.).

Augustus publicly exhibited a boy named Lucius Icius, who was not quite 2 feet high, weighed 17 pounds and had a stentorian voice (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 43). On the other hand, according to Papius Fabianus, there was at that time in Rome a boy, whose stature was that of a very tall man; but he soon died, as had been generally anticipated (Seneca, *Ad Marciam*, 23, 5). In the reign of Claudius a giant from Arabia, named Gabbara (— 'giant' in Arabic), 9½ Roman feet high, was exhibited (cp. Fleischer in Sillig on Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vii, 74). He is perhaps identical with the one mentioned by Columella (*De Re Rustica*, iii, 8, 2), who calls him a Jew, and states that he had recently been exhibited at a *pompa circensis*, and was taller than the tallest Germans. Amongst the presents sent to Tiberius by Artabanus was a Jew named Eleazar, seven ells long (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xviii, 4, 5: διὰ τὸ μέγεθος γίγας ἱερακαίτο). Such curiosities were preserved after their death for public edification. Pliny (vii, 75) saw some dwarfs' bodies in cases; a giant and giantess named Posio and Secundilla were to be seen in the time of Augustus in a vault in the gardens of Sallust. From Antioch on the Maeander an androgynous being was brought to Rome and presented to Claudius. Up to the age of thirteen it had been a girl, and in the year 45, when about to be married, exhibited the signs of manhood. Nero, in 61, was presented with a child with four heads, with limbs corresponding (Phlegon, *Mirabilia*, 35 and 49, in C. W. Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, iii, pp. 618, 622).

Any rare and remarkable animals that reached Rome were exhibited by Augustus, who took special delight in them (Aurelius Victor, *epit.*, i, 25), in the circus and other places: a snake 50 ells long in the Comitium, a rhinoceros near the Septa, a tiger on the stage (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 43). Apparently he also exhibited the presents received from India, it was said from King Porus: a man without arms, three large adders, a snake ten ells, and a river tortoise three ells long, a partridge larger than a vulture—perhaps 'the jungle fowl which Forbes describes as having something of the plumage of the partridge' (O. de Beauvoir Priaux in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xvii, 370, 27; Strabo, xv, 719: τὸν τε ἐρίμαν, ἀπὸ τῶν ὤμων ἀφηρημένον ἐκ νηπίου τοῦ βραχίονος, ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς εἶδομεν κ.τ.λ.). The phoenix which was brought to Rome in 47, to justify the celebration of the Secular Games (Hirschfeld, *Zu den*

Silvae des Statius, in *Oesterr. Mitth.* iii, 1881, p. 275 f.) was exhibited by Claudius in the Comitium; but it was universally regarded as an imposture (Pliny, x, 5; Tacitus, *Annals*, vi, 28; Dio, lvi, 27; Hübner as above, p. 48 f.). The white deer, which Pausanias (viii, 17, 4) admired at Rome, also appear to have been publicly exhibited; on the other hand, the animals mentioned by him in ix, 21 were probably seen by him in the amphitheatre or confined in cages. A model of the skeleton of a whale, which had strayed into the Mediterranean, was shown by Severus in the amphitheatre, probably at the games; it was large enough to hold fifty bears (Dio, lxxv, 16).

Tiberius also exhibited a beam from the longest trunk of a tree known up to Pliny's time. It belonged to a larch that had been felled in Raetia, was 120 feet long, and of a uniform thickness of 2 feet. It was used in the building of Nero's amphitheatre. Agrippa also kept as a curiosity, in a portico of the *Septa* built by him, a beam 1½ feet thick, and 20 feet shorter. Pliny had seen it himself (xvi, 200 ff.). Curiosities of the vegetable kingdom were certainly sent regularly from the provinces to the emperors. A procurator sent from Byzacium in Africa nearly 400 sprouts from a single grain of wheat; Nero received from the same district 360 stalks from a single grain (Pliny, xviii, 94), and from Cyrenaica a specimen of the plant *silphion*, a great rarity, since at that time it had completely died out in the district (Pliny, xix, 39). During the reign of Nero a transparent stone as hard as marble was discovered in Cappadocia, which soon became known in Rome, for Nero used it for building in the Golden House a temple of Fortuna which remained light by day, even when the doors were shut (Pliny, xxxvi, 163). Galen says (*De Antid.*, i, 4 ed. K., xiv, p. 25), *κομζομένων γὰρ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι τῶν ἀρίστων ἀπανταχόθεν*, etc., and mentions (*ib.*, p. 64) that the most valuable medicaments from distant lands were kept in large quantities in the imperial storehouses (*ἀποθήκαις*).

On more than one occasion gluttons excited general interest in Rome. The chronicler of the year 354 informs us that 'in the reign of Nero there lived a glutton, named Arpocras, an Alexandrian by birth, who consumed the following trifles (*manducavit pauca*): a boiled wild pig, a live hen with its feathers, 100 eggs, 100 stone-pine kernels, hobnails, broken glass, the twigs of a palm-broom, four tablecloths, a sucking pig, a bundle of hay—and then still seemed hungry'. It was said that Nero wanted to give him live men to tear in pieces and devour (Suet., *Nero*, 37). Another person exhibited himself under Alexander Severus, who, according to the same chronicler, performed similar feats of gluttony. A third named Phagon lived under Aurelian, who was highly delighted with him (*Vit. Aurel.*, 50; cp. Mommsen in *Abhandlungen der Sächs. Ges.*, ii, p. 646).

Instances of remarkable female fecundity and multiple births also attracted attention. Amongst the images of remarkable persons set up by Pompey in his theatre was one of a woman of Tralles named Eutychnis, who had borne 30 children, 20 of whom had carried her body to the pyre (Pliny, vii, 34). The *acta* of the 11th of April, 5 B.C., reported that a citizen of Faesulae had sacrificed on the Capitol with 8 children, 28 grandsons, 19 great-grandsons,

and 8 granddaughters (*ib.*, vii, 60) ; this was recorded not merely as a curiosity, but as affording a vivid contrast to the ever-increasing celibacy and the low birthrate. The State chronicle of 354, under Diocletian and Maximin, reports that a woman in Rome named Irene had four children at once, three boys and a girl. A female slave of Augustus bore five children at once, and Augustus ordered the fact to be recorded on her tombstone after her death, which took place soon afterwards (Gellius, x, 2). It is repeatedly mentioned in the *Digests* that under Hadrian a woman of Alexandria, named Serapias, was brought to Rome, who bore four children at a birth, and forty days later brought a fifth into the world (Ulpian, *Digg.*, v, 4, 3 : sed et Laelius scribit se vidisse in Palatio mulierem liberam, quae ab Alexandria perducta est, ut Hadriano ostenderetur, cum quinque liberis, ex quibus quatuor eodem tempore enixa, inquit, dicebatur, quintum post diem quadragesimum). According to Gaius it was only a single birth (*ib.*, xxxiv, 5, 7) : Julianus, who says the same, adds : Et hoc et in Aegypto affirmatum est mihi (*ib.*, xlvi, 3, 36). This is certainly the same woman whose children, according to Phlegon of Tralles, were brought up at the expense of the emperor Trajan (*Mirabilia*, 58 in Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, iii, p. 623) : καὶ ἑτέρα τις γυνὴ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν πόλιν, πέντε ἐν ἐνὶ τοκετῷ ἀπεκύησε παῖδας, τρεῖς μὲν ἄρρενας, δύο δὲ θηλείας· οὗς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ Τραϊανὸς ἐκέλευσεν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χρημάτων τρέφεσθαι. πάλιν δὲ μετ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἄλλα τρία ἢ αὐτῇ γυνὴ ἔτεκεν (cp. S. W. Zimmern, *Geschichte des römischen Privatrechts*, i, 330). Phlegon also reports that he had seen a man 136 years of age, who had been shown to the emperor Hadrian (*Mirab.*, p. 610 : Φαῦστος Καίσαρος δοῦλος ἐκ Σαβίρων ἀπὸ πραιτωρίου Παλλαντιανοῦ ἔτη ρλς, ὃν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐθεασάμην, Ἀδριανῷ τῷ Καίσαρι ἐπιδειχθέντα). A friend of Porphyry the Neoplatonist had a slave, who understood the language of birds ; but his mother, being afraid that he might be sent as a present to the Emperor, made water in his ears while he was asleep, with the result that he lost the gift (Porphyry, *De Abstin.*, iii, 3, p. 220 Rhoer.).

Sometimes pretended fabulous creatures were brought to the capital from distant parts of the vast empire. Manilius, who (in the last days of Augustus) mentions (*Astron.*, iv, 101) 'the bodies of animals with human limbs', appears to have seen such creatures. A wild man is said to have been brought to Rome from the African desert, where there were supposed to be wild men and women (the latter of which some considered to be the origin of the Medusa legend). The date cannot be ascertained, for Pausanias who mentions the fact (ii, 21, 7) relies on an unknown writer, the Carthaginian Procles, son of Eucrates. Under Claudius a hippocentaur (a fabulous monster, half-man, half-horse) was caught alive on a mountain in Arabia and sent to the prefect of Egypt with other presents intended for the Emperor ; it died there, was preserved in honey, sent on to Rome, and shown in the imperial palace. Phlegon, who describes it fully, says (*Mirab.*, 63, Müller, p. 623) that any one who disbelieved it could see it, ἀποκρίνεται γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὀρίοις (ἔμπροσξ Xyl. and Jordan, *Topographie*, ii, 151 : ὀππελοῖς Meursius, ἠθσαυροῖς Bochart) τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τεταρχευμένος ὡς προσέειπον. Pliny also briefly refers to the creature (vii, 35). A satyr was sent to Constantine at

Antioch (sale infuso—ut ab imperatore videretur; Jerome, *Vit. Paul. Erem.*, ed. Vallars, ii, 7 f.; cp. J. Beckmann, *Gesch. d. Erfind.*, ii, 274). Up to Pliny's time Tritons and Nereids appear to have been only heard of, not seen. An embassy from Olisipo (Lisbon) to Tiberius announced that a Triton of the well known type had been seen and heard there in a cave, blowing a shell; that a Nereid, also of the usual type, but covered with scales in the human part of the body, had been seen on the same bank, and the inhabitants had heard the melancholy wail of the dying water-nymph (Pliny, ix, 9). Pausanias, however, saw a Triton in Rome (ix, 21, *ἐν τοῖς Ῥωμαίων θαύμασι*), with green hair, skin covered with scales, large teeth, the hands covered with shells like those of mussels, ending in a fish's tail. Poggio also mentions the appearance of a Triton, of which he saw a wooden model in Ferrara (Jakob Burckhardt, *Cultur der Renaissance*, p. 528).

In the year 17, when Asia Minor and several other countries were visited by an earthquake, a supposed relic from the heroic age was sent to Tiberius. In places where the earth had split asunder remains were found of bodies of enormous size. As a sample, a tooth from one of them, more than a foot long, was sent to Tiberius. Being asked whether he would like the whole body to be sent, he declined, being unwilling to disturb the rest of the heroes in their grave; but, in order to form an idea of its size, he ordered a geometrician, named Pulcher, to make a model of a head in proportion to the length of the tooth, which he then sent back (Phlegon, according to the grammarian Apollonius, *Mirabilia*, 43, Müller, p. 621).

These freaks of nature aroused fresh interest in Christian times. They proved the possibility of many of the statements in the Bible. Augustine remarked that there was nothing incredible in giants being born from the union of angels and mortal women, since shortly before the destruction of Rome by the Goths (410) a giantess had been publicly shown, whose parents were of the ordinary stature. Augustine had also seen the molar-tooth of a giant on the shore at Utica (*De Civitate Dei*, xx, 9; 23, 2). On the other hand, the freaks of nature, real and fictitious, such as pygmies, *skiapodes*,¹ et caetera hominum vel quasi hominum genera, quae in maritima platea Carthaginis musivo picta sunt, ex libris deprompta velut (?) curiosioris historiae (*ib.*, xvi, 8, 1), were used by unbelievers as arguments against the possibility of the descent of all men from Adam. Although Augustine regarded many of these supposed freaks as pure invention, he observes that there were certainly many men who, though wonderfully made, were still men and consequently descended from Adam. At Hippo Diarrhytus there was a man whose feet were almost crescent-shaped, with only two toes on each, and hands the same. Hermaphrodites undoubtedly existed, although they were very uncommon. Further, several years before, but during his time, a man had lived in the East who had two heads, two breasts and four hands; from the middle of the body downwards his limbs were single, but of remarkable length. As long as he lived

¹ [A fabulous people in Libya, the soles of whose feet were so large that they could turn them up and use them as umbrellas.]

many persons undertook the journey to the East on purpose to see him.

III. PROVINCIALS IN ROME.

(Vol. I, p. 14, l. 13.)

THE victories of Greek and Asiatic athletes, musicians, singers, flute and cithara players in the Capitoline and other Roman *agones* are frequently mentioned in their inscriptions (*CIG*, i, 247, 1440; ii, 2682, 3425, 3674; *Add.*, p. 1112, no. 2810 b; iii, 5804-6, 5919, 6829). On plastic artists from Greece and Asia Minor see vol. ii, pp. 322f. The majority of the sophists, whose lives are described by Philostratus, appeared in Rome. On the influx of Greek savants into Rome (in Strabo's time especially from Tarsus and Alexandria), cp. Bernhardt, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, § 82, 2, vol. 1², p. 497 ff. On the grammarians, who settled in Rome during the period from Augustus to Trajan, see E. A. Gräfenhan, *Geschichte der klassischen Philologie*, iii, 32-67.

The following poets of the Anthology mention their stay in Rome: Antipater of Thessalonica (ep. 27), Jacobs, ii, p. 102; Crinagoras (ep. 24), *ib.*, p. 134; Antiphrilos of Byzantium (ep. 16), *ib.*, p. 158; Leonidas of Alexandria (ep. 8), *ib.*, p. 175; Lucillius, *ib.*, iii, p. 29. Greek, Oriental and Egyptian physicians and astrologers in Rome will be spoken of later. Here we may add a few examples of provincials, who came to Rome, some of them at a very early age, to finish their education. From Rhegium (*CIG*, iii, 6112):—

δῶρα δὲ Μουσῶν καὶ βρέφος ὦν ἀγαπῶν,
δωδεκέτης ἦλθον Ῥώμην, φίλε, τῆς με καλύπτει
ἥδε νέον βῶλος πατρὶ λιπόντ' ἀχέα.

From Lugdunum (Boissieu, *Inscr. de Lyon*, p. 499): *Memoriae A. Vitellii Valerii*. Hic annorum X in studiis Romae de[functus]. A beautiful youth from Messene in Arcadia studied law in Rome (Philostratus, *Apoll. Tyan.*, vii, 42). Epitaph of one Titus Oclatius Athenagoras Nicomedensis juris studiosus on the Via Labicana (Henzen, 7235). Other instances of provincials studying law in Rome in E. Kuhn, *Die städtische und bürgerliche Verfassung des römischen Reichs*, i, 88, 608; O. Karlowa, *Römische Rechtsgeschichte*, i, 674. Epitaph of a youth of Salona who died in his twenty-second year (*CIL*, iii, 2, 6414: nam studiis jam Rome (*sic*) laetantem invida Fortuna repenti funere mersit).¹ From Leptis the future emperor Severus: octavo decimo anno publice declamavit. Postea studiorum causa Romam venit (*Vita*, 1). Journeys to Rome and residence there for study are mentioned by Julianus, *Digg.*, v, 1, 18 § 1; Scaevola in Ulpian, *Digg.*, xii, 1, 17; Ulpian, xlvii, 10, 5, § 5; and Modestinus, l. i, 36: Titio, quum esset Romae studiorum gratia, epistola missa est a magistratibus patriae suae, ut porrigeret imperatori.

It can only be an accident that no such evidence is forthcoming from the first two centuries. From the beginning of the empire there must have been a constant influx of provincials into the capital for purposes of study; Seneca mentions this as one of the usual

¹ [According to note in *CIL*, the inscription was found at Plastova near Scardona.]

inducements for foreigners to come to Rome (*Consol. ad Helvium*, 6, 2). See also Tacitus, *Dialogus de Oratoribus*, 20: Juvenes, qui profectus sui causa oratores sectantur, saepe in colonias ac provincias suas scribunt; also *ib.*, 10. Suidas, s.v. *Μαρκίανός*: οὗτος συνήν Μουσωνίῳ ἐκ Παμφυλλίας· φιλόκαλος γὰρ ὢν καὶ φιλάγαθος ὁ Μουσώνιος τοὺς πανταχόθεν εἴλκε παρ' ἑαυτὸν, ὥσπερ ἡ μαγνήτις τὸν σίδηρον.

IV. EMBASSIES TO ROMAN EMPERORS FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

(Vol. I, p. 17, l. 2.)

IN his *Mémoire où l'on discute la réalité d'une mission arienne* (*Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, x, p. 226) Letronne throws doubt upon several of the supposed Indian embassies to the Roman emperors. In particular, following Mannert, he doubts the reality of the embassy of King Porus or Pandion, lord over 600 kings, to Augustus, referred to by Strabo (xiv, 686; xv, 719) on the authority of Nicolaus of Damascus, who had met it at Antioch. As he observes, the account rather gives the idea of a company of Indian jugglers eager to get the best price for their curiosities, than of the embassy of a powerful Indian prince: three ambassadors (the reputed sole survivors of a larger number), bearing presents consisting of eight slaves almost naked, an armless man, three large adders, a snake ten ells long, a river-tortoise three ells long, and a large bird: their credentials, a Greek letter written on parchment.¹ One of the members of the embassy was the Indian, who voluntarily burnt himself to death at Athens.

Although Letronne's suspicions deserve consideration, he is certainly wrong in regarding all the Indian embassies to Augustus referred to by ancient writers as one and the same. Augustus' own statement on the Marmor Ancyranum shows this idea to be inadmissible: 'that embassies from Indian kings had frequently been sent to him, which had never happened before in the case of a Roman general' (Mommsen, *RGDA*³, p. 132 f., from which Suetonius, *Augustus*, 21, followed by others, has borrowed). At least one such embassy was known as early as 17 B.C., in which year Horace says that the proud Scythians and Indians had recently (*nuper*) petitioned Augustus (*Carmen saeculare*, 65; cp. *Odes*, iv, 14, 41: Te Cantaber non ante domabilis Medusque et Indus, te profugus Scythes Miratur).

In fact, we know that Augustus had received at least two embassies from India before 17 B.C.: the first during his stay at Tarraco in Spain (26 or 25 B.C.; Orosius, vi, 21; Jerome, *Chron.*, ad Ol. 188), the second in the island of Samos (20 B.C.). The latter is referred to at length by Cassius Dio (liv, 9). As he mentions the man without arms and the self-immolation of one of the Indians on the pyre, he evidently means the embassy seen by Nicolaus of Damascus. A further statement, however, makes it probable that he has confused the report of the embassy of Nicolaus with a report of a later Indian embassy (about 12 or 11 B.C.). Dio says that amongst

¹ The use of parchment for writing purposes by the old Hindus is doubted by O. de Beauvoir Prieaulx (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xvii, 309).

the presents brought by the Indians were some tigers, the first that had been seen in Rome. Is it likely that Nicolaus, who describes item by item the presents brought by the ambassadors whom he met at Antioch, would have omitted this 'truly royal present'? (O. de B. Priaulx, as above, p. 313).

Now, we know from the statement of Pliny, to all appearance taken from the *acta diurna*, that Augustus, on the occasion of the dedication of the theatre of Marcellus on the 4th of May, 11 B.C., exhibited, for the first time in Rome, a tame tiger in a cage (Pliny, viii, 65). Is it conceivable that Augustus postponed for nine years the exhibition of a curiosity that had never been seen before (Varro declared that it was impossible to catch a tiger alive, *De ling. lat.*, v, 20), and ran the risk of the valuable animal dying in the interim? Against such a supposition we have the express statement of Suetonius (*Augustus*, 43) that Augustus always exhibited objects of interest at once, without waiting for the show for which they were intended (*citra spectaculorum dies*), such as 'a rhinoceros in the Septa, a tiger on the stage, a snake 50 ells long in the Comitium? The tiger here mentioned is undoubtedly the one exhibited in the theatre of Marcellus—at a show certainly, but not one at which wild animals were common. Augustus, without waiting for the next wild beast hunt, took advantage of the first opportunity that offered itself for the exhibition.

If, then, the first (tame) tiger in Rome (according to Pliny) was exhibited in 11 B.C.; if this exhibition (according to Suetonius) to all appearance took place soon after the arrival of the animal in Rome; if (according to Dio) the first tigers were brought to Rome by Indian ambassadors, for whom it would be comparatively easy to bring tame tigers with them, it follows that this embassy must have reached Europe in 11 B.C. or shortly before, and that Dio has confused two reports of two different embassies.

Nor can the statement of Florus (iv, 12) refer to the embassy of 20 B.C.: *Seres etiam habitantesque sub ipso sole Indi cum gemmis et margaritis, elephantos quoque inter munera trahentes, nihil magis quam longinquitatem vitae imputabant quam quadriennio impleverant; et tamen ipse hominum color alio venire caelo fatebatur.* Borghesi (*Œuvres*, ii, 96) has certainly shown it to be very probable that amongst the marks of respect decided upon by the senate on the occasion of Augustus's return to Rome in 19 B.C. was an entry on a car drawn by elephants (of which certainly Augustus made no use). The statue of Augustus on an elephant *biga* (the first of its kind, Pliny, xxxiv, 19) appears first on coins of this period, and stood over the arch of the Milvian bridge, which was finished in 16 B.C. Borghesi (p. 105) expresses the belief that the elephants brought by the Indian ambassadors in 20 B.C. (to which he refers the statement of Florus) suggested this distinction, and Mommsen (*RGDA*², p. 133) agrees with him. But the omission of the elephants in Nicolaus would be as inexplicable as that of the tigers; hence, Florus must be referring to another Indian embassy (of which Augustus according to the *saape* of the Monumentum Ancyranum had received at least three). Further, no special reason was needed for the decree of an elephant car, since Pompey had already desired to make his entry

in one on the occasion of his African triumph (81 B.C.), and had only been prevented from carrying out his intention by the narrowness of the gate (Pliny, viii, 4; Plutarch, *Pompey*, 14).

Specialists in Indian antiquities, who are convinced of the reality of the embassy described by Nicolaus, have attempted to determine by whom and whence it was sent, but have arrived at the most different conclusions. Lassen (*Indische Alterthumskunde*, iii, p. 59) takes the Porus of Nicolaus to be some descendant of the old Pançava nation, who founded an independent kingdom in the western Punjab, and was a snake-worshipper. A. Weber (in Mommsen, *RGDA*¹, p. 133) is of opinion that Porus is the people of the Pançava, Pandion the tribe of the Pandya in southern India (Lassen, i, 158). O. de Beauvoir Priaux (*On the Indian Embassy to Augustus*, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xvii, 1860, p. 309, where it is assumed that there was only one embassy) arrives at the conclusion that a Buddhist Hindu rajah in the north of the peninsula was persuaded by Alexandrian merchants to send an embassy with them for commercial purposes to Alexandria, whence it proceeded to Augustus (perhaps by way of Antioch to Samos). Lastly, Reinaud (*Relations politiques et commerciales de l'empire romain avec l'Asie orientale* in *Journal asiatique*, 1863), who also supports the view that there was only one embassy, considers that it was dispatched by a Buddhist prince of Bactriana, who is called Kanishka in a history written in Sanskrit, Kanerké and βασιλεὺς βασιλέων on his coins (on which half the legend is Greek), and was the most powerful Indian prince of his time (see A. Weber, *Indische Skizzen*, p. 99).

Reinaud (p. 189) also assumes a Chinese embassy to Augustus, on the evidence of Florus, iv, 2, Seres etiam (misere legatos) and the ode of Horace to Maecenas (iii, 29), in the eighth strophe of which he finds an allusion to it (Tu civitatem quis deceat status Curas et urbi sollicitus times Quid Seres et regnata Cyro Bactra parent Tanaisque discors), and in *Odes*, iv, 15, 23 an allusion to a treaty concluded with China. This assumption, however, is inadmissible, since Augustus would certainly not have omitted to mention a Chinese embassy in his list of those received by him.¹ In addition to the Indian, he only records embassies from the German peoples (*RGDA*², p. 104 f.: Cimbrique et Charydes et Semnones); from the kings of the Sugambri, Marcomanni, and Suevi (pp. 135 and 140); further the frequently mentioned embassy of the Scythians (between the Danube and the Dnieper) and Bastarnae (in lower Moesia beyond the Danube), of the Sarmatae on both banks of the Don, of the Albani and Iberi (in Shirwan, southern Daghestan, Grusia), of the Medes and Parthians (in Atropatene; *ib.*, p. 133 f.). The embassies of *plurinae aliae gentes* are not specified by name, obviously as not being of sufficient importance. Probably they included those of the Aethiopes and Garamantes mentioned in Rufius Festus (*Brev.*, 19) and Victor (*epit.*, i, 9), unless they wrote *abusi vocabulis Vergilianis* (*Æneid*, vi, 795: super et Garamantas et Indos proferet imperium; *RGDA*³, p. 133). Strabo (iv, p. 200) also speaks of an embassy of

¹ F. Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient* (1885), p. 305, says: The Chinese annals clearly insinuate that Kan Ying (A.D. 98) was the first Chinese who ever penetrated as far west as T'iao Chih (according to Hirth, Chaldaea).

British princes : *νυνὶ μέντοι τῶν δυναστῶν τινὲς τῶν αὐτόθι πρεσβεύουσι καὶ θεραπέλαις κατασκευασάμενοι τὴν πρὸς Καίσαρα τὸν Σεβαστὸν φιλίαν, ἀναθήμενὰ τε ἀνέθηκαν ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ καὶ οἰκίαν σχεδὸν τι παρεσκευάσαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὅλην τὴν νῆσον.* Augustus himself mentions the presence of two British kings Dumnobellaunus, whose gold coins have been found in Kent and Essex, and Tim . . ., more correctly Tinc . . ., son of Commus, whose coins have been found, especially in Sussex (*RGDA*¹, p. 139 f.).

Ambassadors from the Garamantes also visited Rome in the reign of Tiberius (A.D. 24) : *sequebantur et Garamantum legati, raro in urbe visi, quos Tacfarinate caeso percussa gens et culpa sociā satisfaciendum populo Romano miserat* (Tacitus, *Annals*, iv, 26).

In the reign of Claudius, according to Pliny (vi, 84), four ambassadors from Taprobane (Ceylon), the chief of whom was named Rachias, arrived in Rome. They were escorted by a freedman of Annius Plocamus, farmer of taxes on the Red Sea, who was supposed to have been cast ashore on Ceylon during a voyage round Arabia, and to have persuaded the king of the island (by his accounts of Rome and by the excellence of the Roman denarii)¹ to make overtures to the Roman Emperor. Letronne also contests the reality of this embassy, chiefly on the ground of the absurdity of some of its statements, e.g. that the Great Bear and the Pleiades were not visible in Ceylon. Lassen, who takes no offence at these 'inventions' (p. 216), is of opinion (p. 61) that the embassy was sent by King Kandramukhaçiva (Chandra-Mukha-Siva, A.D. 44-52). O. de B. Priault (*On the Second Indian Embassy to Rome*, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xviii, 345), who also regards the ambassadors as actual representatives of an actual prince, explains their false statements as due to misunderstanding, since no one but Plocamus' freedman understood their language, and that probably only very imperfectly. He thinks that the ambassadors were not real Sinhalese, but belonged to the Tamil stock, who frequently penetrated from south Hindustan into Ceylon, and were ruled by rajahs, whose court was at Nalloor (pp. 357-360; J. Emerson Tennent, *Ceylon*, i, p. 532).

Pliny further mentions an Arabian embassy which visited Rome during his time : *qui mea aetate legati ex Arabia venerunt, (de ture) omnia incertiora fecerunt* (xii, 57). This was probably one of the embassies sent by Charibael, king of the Sabaeans and Homerites of southern Arabia, to ask for the friendship 'of the Emperors' (Vespasian and Titus, as Gutschmid also assumes); see *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, 23, and cp. the chronological abstract, *συνεχέσι πρεσβείαις καὶ ὄμοις φίλοις τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων*. The inhabitants of Hadramaut (Chatramotitae), whose chief town Sabattha was the chief centre of the incense trade, at that time were included in the Sabaean kingdom (Kiepert, *Lehrbuch der alten Geographie*, 167).

After his return to Rome (106) from the Dacian war Trajan received numerous embassies from barbarian peoples, including Indians (Dio, lxxviii, 15 : *πλείστοι ὄσαι πρεσβεῖαι παρὰ βαρβάρων ἄλλων τε καὶ Ἰνδῶν*). Letronne, who wrongly throws doubt even upon this Indian embassy, believes (with Reimar) that it came from southern Arabia (included under India), and was due to the recent

¹ *Quod pares pondere denarii essent, cum diversae imagines indicarent a pluribus factos.*

conquest of Arabia Petraea by Palma (Dio, lxxviii, 14). In itself it is very probable that Indian princes after this event endeavoured to gain the friendship of Trajan, who ten years later penetrated as far as the Persian Gulf and only very unwillingly abandoned his designs on India on account of his advanced age (Dio, lxxviii, 28; cp. Reinaud, p. 369). The ambassadors were present at the spectacles provided by Trajan where they occupied the seats of the senators. Hadrian and Antoninus Pius received ambassadors from Bactriana (*Vita*, 21: reges Bactrianorum legatos ad eum amicitiae petendae causa supplices miserunt), the latter also from Hyrcania and India (Victor, *epit.*, 15, 4: ad quem etiam Indi, Bactri, Hyrcani legatos misere; Appian, *praef.*, 7: βάρβαροι ἔθνη περιχρὰ καὶ ἀκερδῆ, ὧν ἐγὼ τινὰς εἶδον ἐν Ῥώμῃ πρεσβευομένους τε καὶ διδόντας αὐτοὺς ὑπηκόους εἶναι).

The Indian embassy to Elagabalus, which the Gnostic Bardesanes met, is the first whose reality is admitted by Letronne, although not entirely without reserve. Lassen (p. 62) and Reinaud (p. 376) assume that it was sent to Marcus Aurelius (Lassen calls him Antoninus Pius); but it is clear from Stobaeus (*Ecl.*, i, 3, 56) that the emperor was Elagabalus: 'Ἴνδοι οὐ ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ ἐξ Ἐμψῶν εἰς τὴν Συρίαν Βαρδῆσανη τῷ ἐκ Μεσοποταμίας εἰς λόγους ἀφικόμενοι: cp. Porphyry, *De Abstinentiā*, iv, 17, p. 355: Βαρδῆσανης ἀνὴρ Βαβυλωνίος, ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν γεγονώς καὶ ἐντυχὼν τοῖς περὶ Δαμάδαμον πεπεμμένους Ἴνδοις πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα. From the name of one of the ambassadors (Sandanes), Lassen concludes that the sender of the embassy ruled over that part of the Malabar coast which is called Ariake of the Sandani and less correctly Sandani; in Stobaeus, however, the name is Σανδάλης.

In the description of Aurelian's great triumph (A.D. 274) in Vopiscus (*Vita*, 33) the ambassadors of foreign peoples present in Rome are enumerated in addition to the captives (as Reinaud, p. 389, 1, correctly observes); for Aurelian had not been at war with the Axomitae, Indi and others, and no captives from these tribes could have figured in his triumph; further, the words *cum suis quique muneribus* show that the preceding names refer, not to captives, but to ambassadors. The ordinary punctuation must, however, be altered; perhaps the word *legati* (although not indispensable) has dropped out. After enumerating the wild animals in the procession the writer proceeds: gladiatorum paria octingenta praeter captivos. [legati] gentium barbararum Blemmyes, Axomitae, Arabes eudaeomones, Indi, Bactriani, Hiberi, Saraceni, Persae, cum suis quique muneribus. Gothi, Alani, Roxolani, Sarmatae, Franci, Suevi Vandali, Germani religatis manibus captivi processerunt. inter hos etiam Palmyreni. A car, richly ornamented with gold, silver and precious stones, was one of the presents sent by the King of Persia. Tacitus (afterwards emperor) speaks of the same embassies and their presents (*ib.*, 42): illum (Aurelianum) Saraceni, Blemmyes, Axomitae, Bactriani, Seres, Hiberi, Albani, Armenii, populi etiam Indorum veluti praesentem venerati sunt deum. Illius donis, quae a barbaris gentibus meruit, refertum est Capitolium. Reinaud rightly observes that this triumph was the last great festival of pagan Rome.

The numerous embassies of barbarian peoples to Constantine, of foreign appearance, in their national costume, the bearers of valuable presents, are described by Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, iv, 7; he speaks of Blemmyes, Indians and Ethiopians, and (in 8) of an embassy from the King of Persia. In iv, 50 he further mentions ambassadors from east India (*Ἰνδῶν τῶν πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἡλίον*), who reported that Indian princes rendered homage to Constantine by setting up paintings and statues of him. Letronne rightly considers this incredible, but admits that the embassy might really have been sent by a prince of northern India (cp. Reinaud, p. 393; see also Hirth as above, p. 305, and on the despatch of a Syrian merchant Ts'in-lun to Ta-ts'in with 10 male and 10 female dwarfs (222-252), whose arrival is not mentioned in the Chinese annals).

The embassies which Julian received at Constantinople in 362 were intended for Constantius (Zonaras: *ἐχηρημάτιζε δὲ καὶ πρὸς βασιλεῖσιν ἐκ διαφορῶν ἐθνῶν σταλεῖσι πρὸς τὸν Κωνσταντῖον*) and, as Gibbon has observed (chap. xxiv),¹ could not possibly have arrived in time, if they had not been dispatched till after Julian's accession, as is asserted by Ammianus (xxii, 7, 10): *proinde timore ejus per finitimos longeque distantes explicato, legationes undique solito ocus concurrebant: hinc Transstigritanis pacem obsecrantibus et Armeniis, inde nationibus Indicis certati cum donis optimates mittentibus ante tempus (?) abusque Divis et Serendivis; ab australi plaga ad famulandum rei Romanae semet offerentibus Mauris; ab aquilone et regionibus solis; per quas in mare Phasis accipitur, Bosphoranis aliisque antehac ignotis legationes vehentibus supplices, ut annua complentes sollemnia, intra terrarum genitalium terminos otiose vivere sinerentur.* It is generally recognized that *Serendib* is Ceylon; according to Letronne (p. 234) the *Divi* can only be looked for on the south or south-east coast of the western Indian peninsula; on the other hand, Reinaud (p. 401) says: *quant au mot dib, c'est probablement une île de la mer Rouge, appartenant à ce qu'on nommait alors l'Inde citérieure.*

V. THE POPULATION OF ROME.

(Vol. I, p. 17, l. 13.)

FROM the facts at our disposal we can only form an incomplete and conjectural estimate of the population of Rome. We shall do no more than attempt to examine individual data as carefully as possible and to justify the conclusions to be drawn from them. The details communicated to me by C. Rodbertus (died 1875) have been of great service. I assume the reader to be acquainted with the examination of the subject by E. von Wietersheim (*Geschichte der Völkerwanderung*, i, 1859, pp. 259-265).² A criticism of the latest

¹ These embassies had been sent to Constantine. Ammianus, who unwarily deviates into gross flattery, must have forgotten the length of the way, and the short duration of the reign of Julian.

² Pietro Castiglioni (*Della popolazione di Roma dalle origini ai nostri tempi in Monografia della Città di Roma*, ii, 1878, pp. 187-395), arguing from the census lists, arrives (p. 251) at the conclusion that in the reign of Claudius the whole population of Rome was about 1,250,000 (950,000 free citizens, 300,000-350,000 slaves), di cui metà abitante nelle 14 regioni, che son quelli—che potevansi mantenere col grano provveduto per l'annua consumazione di Roma.

view—that of Beloch (*Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt* 1886, pp. 392–413) will be found at the end of this section.

The estimates of Bunsen, Zumpt, Höck and Marquardt are based upon the statement of Augustus that in 749 A.U.C. he had given 'trecentis et viginti milibus plebis urbanae sexagenos denarios viritim' (Mommsen, *RGDA*², p. 58). I now agree with Marquardt (*Staatsverwaltung*, ii², p. 119), after Hirschfeld's convincing statement (*Die Geldeverwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, in *Philologus*, xxix), that the 320,000 of the 'plebs urbana' only include those citizens who were qualified to vote, not freeborn male children. Dio expressly states (liv, 16, A.U.C. 747) that the free female population of Rome was considerably smaller than the male: ἐπειδὴ τε πολὺ πλείων τὸ ἄρρεν τοῦ θήλεος τοῦ εὐγενοῦς ἦν, ἐπέτρεψε καὶ ἐξελευθέρας τοῖς ἐθέλουσι, πλὴν τῶν βουλευόντων, ἀγασθαι. There being nothing to settle the question, I reckon (with Wietersheim) the free female population to be about 17 per cent. less than the male (5 per cent. in accordance with the usual proportion in great modern cities, and 12 per cent. owing to the lack in Rome of free female domestics from other places).¹ The usual but quite arbitrary estimate of knights and senators and their families as 10,000 is too low; the 3,000 *judices quadringenarii* and their families must have equalled that number, and they by no means comprised all the knights in Rome (Madvig, *Verfassung und Verwaltung*, i, p. 176); at the *transvectio* on the 15th of July, which was never attended by all those who had a right to take part in it, 5,000 knights put in an appearance in the reign of Augustus (Dion. Halic., vi, 13) and, to judge from the increasing frequency of the equestrian title on inscriptions, their number was being continually augmented (Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, iii, 1, 491). Consequently the number of the knights and the members of their families may be reckoned at 15,000 during the reign of Augustus; the 600 (at least) senatorial families (Madvig, i, 128) may have numbered 2,000. The number of non-Romans (residing temporarily, for a considerable period, or permanently in the capital) may be assumed, for purposes of comparison, to be twice that of the foreign population of Paris at the time of its greatest splendour under Napoleon I (Dureau de la Malle, *Écon. polit.*, i, 370). The number of soldiers did not amount to 30,000 (Wietersheim), but about 20,000; in the time of Augustus, when only three praetorian cohorts were stationed in Rome (Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, ii², p. 476), only about 13,000. Consequently, for 749 we get the following figures:—

¹ The following estimates of the population of Rome in modern times are borrowed from Castiglioni's tables (p. 351); the large preponderance of males is undoubtedly due to the clergy.

					Male.		Female.		Total.
1600	..	..	..	..	63,133	..	46,596	..	109,729
1700	..	..	..	..	88,929	..	60,518	..	149,447
1800	..	..	..	..	80,580	..	72,424	..	153,004
1877	..	..	..	..	160,184	..	122,030	..	282,214

According to the *Censimento della popolazione del Regno d'Italia al 31 Dec. 1882*, vol. iii, there were 796 females in Rome to 1,000 males, and 137 boys under 10 years; see Beloch (*Bevölkerung*, p. 401). The same proportion being assumed, Rome would have contained (in 759) 254,720 free adult females of the *plebs*; but this is not permissible, for the reason given above,

- (1) 320,000 free grown up males belonging to the plebs.
- (2) 265,600 free grown up females belonging to the plebs.
- (3) 17,000 senators and knights with their families.
- (4) 13,000 soldiers.
- (5) 60,000 foreigners.

675,600

With the exception of (1) and (4), these figures are useless for real statistical purposes; and there are absolutely no trustworthy data for estimating the number of freeborn children of both sexes, or of the slaves. As to the first, it can only be affirmed with certainty that it was considerably less than the number of children in modern large cities, marriages being less frequent and less prolific. It is perhaps doubtful whether the effects of infanticide and exposure (Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer*, i², 3 and 4) were more ruinous than the enormous infant mortality of modern times, the reasons of which are well known. Duruy (*Hist. des Romains*, v, 16) remarks: En pleine civilisation moderne le nombre des enfans trouvés a été en France de 125,997 en 1861, malgré la suppression des tours, avec une moyenne annuelle de 203 infanticides. In the time of the Revolution the number of exposed children rose from 23,000 in 1790 to more than 63,000 in 1802 (Taine, *Origines de la Fr. c., Révolution*, iii, p. 108, 1); as early as 1796 it reached 50,000 (out of about 800,000 births; in the foundling hospitals $\frac{1}{4}$ of the foster-children died; see Sybel, *Geschichte der Revolutionszeit*, iv, 440).

As for the slaves, Marquardt (*Staatsverwaltung*, ii², 123) has adduced a number of weighty arguments in support of his view, that they were at least half as numerous again as the free. But it does not seem to me that so high an estimate is justified.¹ It must be remembered, first of all, that most of the *plebs urbana* were poor people, or even *proletarii*, few of whom had slaves, while persons of moderate means found the maintenance of slaves a very heavy burden owing to the high price of provisions (Juvenal, iii, 166: *magno Servorum ventres*). In Petronius' colony a well-to-do freedman might certainly be able *viginti ventres pascere* (mostly slaves; *Petron.*, 57), but not in Rome. The entire household of Umbricius, who was not quite without means, could be taken on a single *reda* (Juvenal, iii, 10), and he lights himself home with the end of a candle (286).

Juvenal's Naevolus in his straitened circumstances has only one slave, yet he will be obliged to buy another; but even if his yearly income should reach 20,000 sesterces, he does not want more than four, two of whom are to be skilled workmen, so that they may bring in more than they cost to keep (Juvenal, ix, 64-66, 142-146). We cannot even conjecture the number of the wealthy households (in which large numbers of slaves were kept) or of the *servi publici*, so that I make no attempt to estimate the total number of slaves.

¹ Castiglioni estimates the slaves in Rome from 700-800 A.U.C. at a half, from 800 onwards at two-thirds of the male burgess population. Beloch (p. 404) thinks that the proportion of slaves to freemen was 1 to 2. Apart from other objections, a slave population of 280,000 in a total population of 850,000 (870,000 including the garrison) in 749, could hardly have increased to an alarming number by the year 24.

That it was very large, however, is shown by the statement of Tacitus (*Annals*, iv, 27) that in the year 24 Rome was terrified by the fear of a slave war: *urbem . . . jam trepidam ob multitudinem familiarum, quae gliscebat immensum minore in dies plebe ingenua* (cp. also iii, 53). But a male slave population of e.g. half a million (the female must have been very much smaller) was enough for that. I would also observe that it is unsafe to argue from the 400 slaves in the house of Pedanius Secundus (Tacitus, *Ann.*, xiv, 42), the man of the highest position in Rome at that time, that the *average* number of domestics in rich and well-to-do households was very large. In 12 A.D. Augustus, in order to check the growing luxury of persons in exile, ordered that they should not possess more than 125,000 *denarii* (500,000 sesterces, about £5,000), or more than 20 slaves or freedmen (Dio Cassius, lvi, 27). May we not assume that these two standards were proportionate to each other? If a man required many more servants in Rome than in places of exile, life in the latter was much cheaper; and it is not to be believed that the number of servants would have been set down as very small in relation to property for reasons of security, since a large property offered a much better opportunity for dangerous undertakings than a large number of servants.

Assuming the above figures to be approximately correct, we can only say that the population of Rome in 749 probably exceeded a million; but, owing to the varying estimates of the number of slaves, we cannot say by how much.

On the analogy of the changes in the population of modern large towns, we must assume in the case of Rome (to the time of the epidemic in the reign of Marcus Aurelius) a constant increase, only temporarily arrested by pestilence, famine, and civil war. In 1788 the population of Paris was 599,569, in 1836 899,315, in 1856 1,178,262, in 1860 (after the enlargement of the city) 1,525,235, in 1866 1,825,300. In 1600 the population of London was 150,000, in 1760 676,000, in 1811 1,304,000, in 1841 1,948,000, in 1881 3,816,483, in 1886 (estimated) 4,149,533. In 1709, after the union with Cölln and the adjacent suburbs, the population of Berlin was 55,000, in 1749 110,000, in 1825 220,000, in 1855 440,000, before 1873 880,000, on the 1st of December, 1885, 1,315,297; the increase (about 4 per cent. yearly) is twice as large as that of London and Paris, and is only rivalled by that of New York (Lammers, *Berliner städtische Selbstverwaltung*, in the *Deutsche Rundschau*, Feb., 1882, p. 182).

Owing to the great difference in the numbers of the male and female inhabitants of Rome and the resulting limitation of marriage, the growth of the population by births must have been considerably less than in a modern large town. In any case, the number of children of the wealthy classes born in wedlock was far smaller than in the nineteenth century in a great part of Central Europe. At the beginning of the 'thirties in Naples, Würtemberg, and Bohemia there were five or six children of a single marriage, in Hesse, Mecklenburg, Prussia, Russia, and the Netherlands four or five. The legislation of Augustus, with its punishments and rewards (e.g. the *ius trium liberorum*), framed in reference to the well-to-do classes especially, produced no effect (Tacitus, *Ann.*, iii, 25). The fact

that this legislation did not extend to the poorer classes is no proof that marriages were more frequent or more prolific amongst them, as is assumed by Pöhlmann (*Übervölkerung der antiken Grossstädte*, p. 48, 7). It is quite conceivable that Augustus only had in view the promotion of prolific marriages in the middle classes; it is also possible that he regarded this as unattainable in the case of the proletariat. On the other hand, Pöhlmann is right in saying that the passage (Dion. Halic., ix, 51) quoted by Rodbertus only refers to the rarity of marriage amongst the country day-labourers, not amongst the city proletariat. Further, it must be borne in mind that amongst slave populations the proportion of births is always unusually low (Wappäus, *Allgemeine Bevölkerungsstatistik*, i, 157). Lastly, considering the unhealthiness of Rome and the frequent occurrence of devastating calamities we are justified in assuming an extraordinarily high rate of mortality.¹

On the other hand, the irresistible and many-sided attractiveness of Rome, with the absence of restrictions on migration, probably brought about a larger increase of population by additions from without than in any modern large town. 'The emancipations of slaves *en masse* also contributed to its growth, since undoubtedly the place of those who obtained their freedom was in part at least filled from without' (Rodbertus).

Of course it is impossible to determine the rate of increase. The number of recipients of the *congiarium* (320,000) in 749, compared with 250,000 in the distributions from 710 to 742, does not justify us in assuming with Mommsen (*RGDA*², p. 60), that the number of the plebs increased from 250,000 to 320,000 during the years from 710 to 749; as early as 708 Caesar found 320,000 recipients of free corn (Marquardt, *StV*, ii³, 118) and the munificence of Augustus in 749 may have been unusual. Nor is it safe to conclude from the statement (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 41) that Augustus during the dearth of 759 *tesserae nummariae* duplicavit, that there was a very considerable increase of population during the ten years 749-759 (as Rodbertus does, in discussing the real value of money in antiquity in Hildebrand's *Zeitschrift für Nationalökonomie*, xiv, 386 note). Rodbertus identifies the *tesserae nummariae* with the *tesserae frumentariae*, and concludes from their duplication that from 749 to 759 the number of the plebs (with 200,000 recipients of corn gratis from 752) rose to more than 400,000. But it is at least doubtful whether the *tesserae nummariae* are really (with Benndorf, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des attischen Theaters*, in *Zeitschrift für Oester. Gymn.*, xvi, 1875, pp. 592 ff. and 621, 1) to be taken as *frumentariae*, or (with Marquardt, *StV*, ii³, 125 and Mommsen, *RGDA*², p. 26) as tickets for the purchase of corn at a reduced price.³ The communication of Tiberius to the senate during the scarcity of the year 32 (Tacitus, *Ann.*, vi, 13: *quanta majorem quam Augustus rei frumen-*

¹ No doubt infant mortality was very high, but I am not inclined to believe (with Pöhlmann, p. 27, 2) that the sepulchral inscriptions distributed over four or five centuries are conclusive on the point. According to Beloch (p. 48) the epitaphs in the 1st, 2nd and 10th *regiones* of Italy show that 289 persons out of 1,000 died before the age of 16, as compared with 540·4 in Prussia in 1876.

² Hirschfeld also has abandoned his former view (*VG*, 131, 1) and now agrees with Marquardt and Mommsen.

tariae copiam advectaret) is perhaps a stronger argument for an increase of the population.

But if the population of Rome in 749 amounted to more than a million, allowing for a considerably smaller increase than in the case of the large towns of Europe in modern times, it might have risen to a million and a half or more in 70 or 80 years.

A statement in Josephus (*B.J.*, ii, 16, 4) on the consumption of corn in Rome, derived from an official document (cp. *Ind. lect. Regimont aestiv.*, 1873), probably dates from this period. The document was a *breviarium totius imperii*, drawn up under the same headings as that composed by Augustus and read in the senate after his death (Suetonius, *Aug.*, 101; Tac., *Ann.*, i, 11). Like the latter it probably contained a list of the *regna* and *provinciae*, no doubt the source of the statements that Thrace was a five days' journey (of the imperial *tabellarii*) in breadth, and a six days' journey in length: that Asia contained 500 cities, Gaul 305 tribes, and (in round numbers) 1,200 cities: that Asia was under a proconsul, Achala and Macedonia under a governor with six lictors (Mommsen, *StR*, i², 369, 2). Also a list of the *tributa* and *vectigalia*, the source of the statements that the population of Egypt (Alexandria not included) was 7,500,000 according to the poll-tax lists, and that the tribute from Judaea was not a twelfth of the tribute from Egypt. *Largitiones ac necessitates*: that Egypt supplied one-third, Africa two-thirds of the annual corn supply required by Rome. *Classes*: the Pontus fleet of forty ships of war with a personnel of 3,000. *Quantum militum sub signis ubique esset*: cp. Marquardt, *StV*, ii², 453 ff. Josephus could hardly have had the opportunity of utilizing such a document before he settled in Rome, where he wrote the history of the Jewish war about the year 75 (cp. Paret, *Josephus' Geschichte des jüdischen Krieges*, introd., p. 19).

In the *Epitome de Caesaribus* (2) it is stated that under Augustus 20,000,000 *modii* of corn were supplied every year by Egypt to Rome. There is no doubt that this figure is taken from an official source, and it is at least probable that this source is Augustus' *Breviarium totius imperii*, since the historians certainly utilized it as much as his *Index rerum gestarum* (Mommsen, *RGDA*², p. ix). In this case the 20,000,000 *modii* would be the budgetary amount of corn to be supplied to Rome by Egypt as fixed under Augustus.

Marquardt (*StV*, ii², 126, 6) assumes that the amount mentioned in the *Epitome* was still contributed by Egypt in the time of Josephus, and, since it formed a third of the total amount required, reckons the latter at 60,000,000 *modii*. From this he draws a conclusion as to the population. On the other hand, Rodbertus observes that the double tithe contributed by Egypt both under Augustus and in the time of Josephus (Marquardt, *ib.*, 196, 3) was only a proportionate impost, which varied with the produce of the harvest. 'The 20,000,000 *modii*, even, in Augustus' time, could accordingly only be taken as an average figure for five or ten years. But during the interval down to the time of Vespasian are we to assume that the productive development of Egypt ceased? 20,000,000 *modii* suppose a harvest of 100,000,000 in the time of Augustus. In the first century of the empire the provinces were especially flourishing.

If the production of Egypt rose during this period from 100,000,000 to 150,000,000 *modii*, the fifth in Vespasian's time brought in 30,000,000, and the application of the figures to the population gives a different result'. The fact that according to the passage in Tacitus (*Annals*, vi, 13) the total import of corn in 32 was greater than in 14, also justifies us in believing that the third of the total required, supplied by Egypt under Vespasian, amounted to more than the impost of 20,000,000 *modii* under Augustus.

Hence it may be assumed as probable that under Vespasian Rome consumed more than 60,000,000 *modii*, and that the population was really larger than would appear from calculations based upon this rate of consumption. In attempting to ascertain the number of the people from the consumption of corn, we must not (as Marquardt has already observed) reckon 5 *modii* monthly (or 60 *modii* yearly) as the average consumption per head. For this ration of gratuitous corn was given with the intention that it should be more than enough. Slaves, who lived almost entirely on grain, in Cato's time received 4 to 4½ *modii* (Marquardt, *ib.*, 110 ff.). But at Rome certainly only part of the slaves and the poorest inhabitants lived exclusively on grain; vegetables also were one of the chief articles of food (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xix, 52); the better to do amongst the plebs and upper classes consumed other articles, while women and children needed considerably less than hardworking slaves. Consequently, the average consumption of corn probably amounted to less than 4 *modii* per head.

Assuming a consumption of 4 *modii* per head monthly a total consumption of 60,000,000 *modii* would give a population of 1,250,000; with a consumption of 3½ *modii* the total would be 1,714,285.

Further, the expressions used by Josephus in regard to the deliveries of corn from Egypt and Africa (τῇ 'Ρώμῃ σίτον μηνῶν τεσσαρῶν and μηνῶν ὀκτώ τὸ κατὰ τὴν 'Ρώμην πλῆθος τρέφουσι) leave scarcely any doubt that the total amount required by Rome was fixed officially during the reign of Vespasian. It may be assumed that the state granaries always contained more than a year's supply, in case of navigation being interrupted, or any other emergency.

Another official statement of Vespasian's reign may also be utilized in estimating the population of Rome. The survey begun in 74 gave 13,200 paces as the circumference of the inhabited part of the city (Jordan, *Topographie*, ii, 85-87), or 13.13 Roman *miglia* (1 Roman *miglio* = 1484.9 metres; *mille passus* = 1478.7). The length of the wall of Aurelian (not including the projections of the 251 rectangular towers) was, according to Bernardini 10.58, according to Nolli 11.13 *miglia* (Jordan, *ib.*, i, 343, note 9). His statement on p. 334 that these figures denote the length of the wall on the left bank, is an error. In the measurement given by D'Anville, quoted in Preller, *Roma, StRE*, vi, 507, namely, 12,345 Roman paces, the projections are evidently included). Its area, according to Dureau de la Malle (*Écon. pol.*, i, 347) is 1396.469 hectares; according to Beloch (p. 404) only 1230 (not including the river).

De la Malle's calculation (*ib.*, 406), that the assumed area of 1396 hectares was inhabited by 560,000 people, hardly needs refutation.

Zumpt (*Stand der Bevölkerung*, p. 62, note) has already observed, that if De la Malle had argued from the population of the most crowded quarter of Paris in 1821 (the fourth *arrondissement*), where 46,624 people occupied 51·63 hectares, he would have arrived at nearly double the number. But in the year 74 it is not a question of the area enclosed by the Aurelian wall (1,230 hectares, if Beloch is right), but of a considerably larger area. If the circumference of the wall was 11·13 miles, the area of Rome (supposing a similar figure) in the time of Vespasian, with its circumference of 13·13 miles, amounted to 1,712 hectares; if the circumference of the wall was 10·58, the area in 74 under the same assumption was 1,894 hectares.

For that time we must assume a greater density of population than even in the most thickly populated of modern large cities, owing to the greater height of the houses and the greater narrowness of the streets. In addition to this, as already observed by Wietersheim (p. 260) we must take into consideration the radical difference between ancient and modern dwelling-houses, 'such as is most vividly shown by the example of Pompeii. Protection against the weather was the only thing considered in ancient houses; the furniture was limited to what was absolutely essential; so that at least four of the Pompeian rooms or chambers could be contained in a tolerably large modern room. Even in later times, down to the Middle Ages, the accommodation was extremely limited, and no essential alteration took place till the last three or four centuries'.¹

Certainly, thousands of dwellings were merely 'sleeping rooms' (Rodbertus), as is shown by numerous allusions to dark rooms which could not be entered without stooping (Martial, ii, 53; iii, 30); many probably slept in sheds (Tacitus, *Hist.*, i, 86; cp. Horace, *Odes*, i, 4, 13, *pauperum tabernas*, *Ars Poetica*, 229; Nissen, *Pompeianische Studien*, p. 600); it is clear that attics and garrets were often used as lodgings (Juvenal, iii, 159 ff.; Suetonius, *Gramm.*, 9; Pöhlmann, p. 98), and a considerable number may have spent the night in the open air or under the archways (Martial, x, 5, 7).² But above all it must be remembered that the population of Rome consisted in great part of slaves, who certainly as a rule had the poorest sleeping accommodation. Consequently, if we must assume a denser population in ancient Rome than even in Naples (where in 1881 1,470 persons lived in quarters only a hectare in extent near the harbour), certainly many more than 650 lived on a single hectare, which Beloch regards as the highest possible average number.³ On this calculation, Rome in 74 would have had 1,117,000 inhabitants to 1,800 hectares (the mean between 1,712 and 1,894); consequently, in reality their number must have been considerably

¹ In some quarters of Naples the sleeping apartments (all without windows) of 4 to 5 square metres are divided by a horizontal partition wall into an upper and a lower room and afford shelter in favourable circumstances to no less than 20 human beings, in addition to various animals. (W. Kaden in *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, 15 Dec., 1873.)

² Pöhlmann wrongly takes these and other *foveae* for cellar-lodgings. There may have been some in Rome, but there is no evidence of it.

³ Neither the imperial palaces swarming with inmates nor the Circus Maximus with its shops in the arches of the lowest storey are to be included amongst the uninhabited public buildings (Beloch, p. 409) which are to be deducted from the total area.

larger. Here we may mention again that the amount of water supplied by the aqueducts in 97 under Frontinus' administration was more than sufficient for a population of 2,000,000 (Pöhlmann, p. 143).

In spite of the ravages of the epidemic in 79, and other set-backs from time to time, there must have been on the whole a constant increase in the population down to the beginning of the epidemic in 167; and, supposing the correctness of the results hitherto obtained, we must assume with every probability that it exceeded 1,500,000 in the first half of the second century.¹ As there can hardly have been much more space available for new buildings in the interior of the city, and many were probably pulled down to make room for the splendid edifices (chiefly erected during the period from Vespasian to Hadrian),² the suburbs must have continually extended from 74 to 167. As a matter of fact, the number of the police districts (*vici*) of Rome from the year 74 to the time of Constantine increased from 265 to a total between 307 (304) and 423 (nearer the former). Five *regiones* (I, X, XII, XIII, XIV), which in 136 contained 66 *vici*, had 143 under Constantine (Jordan, *Topographie*, i, 315). The two *regiones* that formed the west end, the ninth (Campus Martius) and the fourteenth (Transtiberina), especially increased rapidly and constantly; under Constantine their circumferences were 32,500 and 33,388 Roman feet respectively, more than twice the circumference of all the rest (with the exception of the thirteenth, Aventinus). The fourteenth (6.6 Roman *miglia* in extent) was consequently larger than the modern Trastevere, since the fortifications which surround the latter (excluding the castle of Sant' Angelo) are in all only 5.5 Roman *miglia* in length. If this circumference of the fourteenth region be added to the length of the Aurelian wall on the left bank, the total circumference of Rome under Constantine is, according to Bernardini (8.96 + 6.6) 15.56, according to Nolli (9.51 + 6.6) 16.11 Roman *miglia*; consequently, considerably greater than in 74 with a correspondingly greater area.³

Further, since it is probable that the suburbs in particular suffered from the devastating effects of the great epidemic, which raged under Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (chiefly amongst the lower classes), the Aurelian wall might have excluded an area, which 100–150 years earlier was thickly populated, but at that time was a desert. But it also still excluded a suburban population, which, as Rodbertus concludes from the *Vita Elagabali* (27), must have been considerable. At his death Severus left a supply of corn for seven years (*septem annorum canonem*), 75,000 *modii* of which could be given out daily (*Severus*, 8; 23). Of Elagabalus it is said :

¹ Pöhlmann (p. 23), while rejecting every attempt to solve the question of ancient populations with the data at our disposal, nevertheless says that imperial Rome may once have reached the figure of 2,000,000 (p. 123), but can scarcely have exceeded it.

² On the other hand space was gained by the removal of the *vestibula*. They are last mentioned by Juvenal (l, 132) in the last years of Trajan; on the other hand, at a time which Gellius (born 130–134) could still remember, none can have existed (xvi, 5, 3). Probably they disappeared under Hadrian, no doubt in consequence of the increased street traffic.

³ Jordan's assumption of 900 hectares for the time of Constantine, according to him rather too high than too low (*Topographie*, i, 543), is an impossible one.

jusserat et canonem P.R. unius anni meretricibus, lenonibus, exoletis intramuranis dari, extramuranis alio promisso, quum eo tempore juxta provisionem Severi et Trajani (*v.l.* Bassiani, Hirschfeld, *Getreideverwaltung Roms in Philologus*, xxix, 24) septem annorum canon frumentarius Romae esset. 'Provisio in the administration of the corn supply is a technical expression for a rough calculation or provisional estimates' (Rodbertus). By *extramurani* the biographer evidently means the inhabitants of the suburbs (outside the fourteen *regiones*), in accordance with the language of his day, when the Aurelian wall was already built. If, then, such a promise was made to the *meretrices lenones exoleti* of the suburbs, their numbers must have been considerable, and the suburbs, where they formed an important part of the population, must have been of considerable extent.

From the amount of the corn supply of Severus, Hirschfeld (p. 25) concluded that at that time a great decrease in the population of Rome had already taken place. He supposes that by far the largest part of the corn in Rome had been sold by the State, since the system of taxation in kind left little for private trade (Rodbertus), which, besides, could not hold out against State competition (pp. 23, 33). And since only 75,000 *modii* daily (27,375,000 yearly) were supplied by the *canon* of Severus, he estimates the total requirements of Rome at that time at about 30,000,000 *modii*, which would give a population of 625,000 or 714,285. On the other hand, according to Rodbertus the amount of the *canon frumentarius* had nothing to do with the population. 'It was not the general grain supply of Rome, but the regular budgetary figure of the State grain-quantum, which was kept in view and fixed at Rome for frumentarian requirements (market department, pauper department, institutions)'.

Lastly, attempts have repeatedly been made to ascertain the population of Rome at that time from the 1790 (1782) *domus* and 46,602 (44,171) *insulae* mentioned in the description of the city written between 312 and 315 (?). Wietersheim (pp. 251-265), who thinks that *insulae* must mean not only whole houses, but also parts of houses separated by walls up to the top, arrives at a population of 1,400,000 to 1,450,000. Marquardt (*StV*, ii², 125) says: 'In 1872 in Paris one house was occupied by 28.84, in Berlin in 1871 by 57.14 persons; reckoning 29 to a house in Rome, this gives 1,332,637 inhabitants, with 57, 2,619,321; taking an average of 35, we should get 1,608,335'. But it is evident that all conclusions drawn from the number of persons living in the houses of modern large cities as to the number living in those of Rome are more than problematical (Pöhlmann, p. 22). Besides, the meaning of *insulae* in the description of the city cannot be settled with certainty. Jordan (*Topographie*, i, 543) arrives at the result, that it is impossible to consider them as anything but houses. On the other hand, O. Richter (*Insula in Hermes*, 1885, pp. 91-100) defines them as 'the blocks of dwelling-houses (amongst which entire houses might be included), regarded administratively as a whole, which existed in the time of Constantine; that is to say, a conception which cannot be represented topographically'. Beloch (p. 408) considers them to be

' separated family apartments, somewhat corresponding to the fire-places (*fuochi*) of medieval Italian statistics '.

The statement of Olympiodorus in Photius (*Bibliotheca*, pp. 59, 30-33) on the corn requirements of Rome soon after 410 (Hirschfeld, pp. 26, 37) is too uncertain to be utilized. In 500 Rome appears to have been very deserted; for at that time Theodoric gave *populo Romano* et *pauperibus annonas singulis annis, centum viginti milia modios* (Anon. Valesii; Ammianus Marcellinus, ed. Wagner and Erfurdt, p. 622): at the earlier rate of distribution 120,000 *modii* would only have been enough for 2,000 persons.

The most recent investigator of the subject (J. Beloch, *Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt*, pp. 392-413), who regards all previous attempts to settle the population of Rome as 'lamentable' failures, arrives at the result that for the year 5 B.C. it may be estimated at 800,000 in round numbers (without Ostia), and that it remained practically stationary to the time of Diocletian (pp. 404, 394, 412). This result is based mainly on the assumption that the superficial area of 1,230 hectares surrounded by the Aurelian wall is not only almost equal in circumference to the fourteen *regiones* of Augustus, but was not essentially increased in all later enlargements of the city (p. 404); whereas as early as the time of Vespasian it was wider in circumference, and, consequently, its superficial area was considerably greater, and still further increased in later times. The number of the recipients of corn (320,000), for which a total population of 800,000 appears far too low, is explained by Beloch as including the inhabitants of the Campagna within a radius of perhaps 20 or 30 miles: 'We may assume that the proletariat, to a distance of about 40 kilometres, regularly poured into Rome for the distributions of corn, and were consequently included in the lists of those who had a claim to it. A circle described round Rome with a radius of 40 kilometres extends to Caere, Ostia, Ardea, Velitrae, Praeneste, Tibur, Cures, Soracte, and Lacus Sabatinus' (p. 402). But for several reasons it is inconceivable that the mere influx of the inhabitants of these places entitled them to be put on the lists of the recipients. Not only would the feeding of the country population at the cost of the State have been as useless an expenditure as the feeding of the proletariat of the capital was an imperative necessity; but only the latter could be called *plebs Romana* and *urbana* by Augustus (*RGDA*¹, 59, 1; Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 461, 2). These indications are alone sufficient to show the impossibility of Beloch's assumption, and therefore of his estimate as a whole. The statement of Aurelius Victor, that the supply of corn from Egypt under Augustus amounted to 20,000,000 *modii* is to all appearance derived from an official source; but it is rejected by Beloch, who quite arbitrarily assumes that Victor has 'evidently' confused it with the total supply of corn and has stated the amount in round numbers (p. 411, 2). Lastly, Beloch's view, that the population of Rome remained stationary for three centuries, is contrary to all analogies. Certainly, as he observes (p. 393), the situation of Rome was unfavourable, living dear, the climate unhealthy, and only factitious causes raised it to the rank of a great city. But this is the case to a greater degree in St. Petersburg, whose population,

notwithstanding, rose from 191,846 (including soldiers) in 1784 to 320,000 in 1826, and 532,241 in 1852.

VI. ON THE USE OF VEHICLES IN ROME.

(Vol. I, p. 20, l. 4.)

THE republican regulations as to the use of vehicles in the city remained unaltered under the empire, except that as a rule women were no longer permitted to drive (Mommson, *StR*, i², 378, 3). Caesar's municipal law of 709 forbade the use of vehicles in the streets of Rome, during the first ten hours of the day, starting from sunrise, *i.e.* at the time when pedestrian traffic was greatest. Exceptions were made in the case of conveyances used: (1) for public buildings, temples, and house-breaking; (2) by certain persons (the Vestals, the *rex sacrorum*, the *flamines* at public sacrifices, and generals at a triumph; the privilege of the Vestals was subsequently bestowed upon some of the empresses); (3) at public games, specially the circus procession; (4) in the case of conveyances which had arrived in the city during the night, but only if they were empty or were used for the removal of public rubbish (Pöhlmann, p. 131; cp. Marquardt, *Röm. Privatl.*, ii², 729).

This regulation, which limited the conveyance of all heavy loads (especially material for private buildings) and (with few exceptions) personal carriage traffic to the time before sunrise or the two last hours of the day, appears to have continued in force during the first two centuries; at least, I am not aware of any authority against this. Caligula's order to those who brought the news of the supposed conquest of Britain—*ut vehiculo ad forum usque et curiam pertenderent*—is evidently reported by Suetonius as an act of madness (*Caligula*, 44). Where heavily loaded carts are spoken of as passing through the city by day, there is no doubt that they were employed on public buildings, for which there was such a mania at that time. Such are the following passages.

festinat calidus mulis gerulisque redemptor,
torquet nunc lapidem nunc ingens machina tignum,
tristia robustis luctantur funera plaustris.

(Horace, *Epp.*, ii, 2, 72).

Alfenus libro II Digestorum (*Digg.*, ix, 2, 52 [53] §2): In clivo Capitolino duo plaustra onusta mulae ducebant; prioris plaustrum muliones conversum plaustrum humeris sublevabant, quo facile mulae ducerent, [inter] superius plaustrum cessim ire coepit, et quum muliones qui inter duo plaustra fuerunt e medio existiissent, posterius plaustrum a priore percussum retro redierat et puerum cujusdam obtriverat; dominus pueri consulebat cum quo se agere oporteret. (Here *humeris sublevabant* is a conj. of C. W. Müller: F² has *plastrumori subl.*; but see Mommsen's note). Plutarch, *Galba*, 8, 4: Ἀπόριον δὲ τινα τῶν κατηγορικῶν ἀνατρέψαντες ἀμάξας λιθοφόρους ἐπήγαγον. Juvenal, 3, 254:

longa coruscat
serraco veniente abies, atque altera pinum
plaustra vehunt; nutant alte populoque minantur.

nam si procubuit, qui saxa Ligustica portat
axis et eversum fudit super agmina montem,
quid superest de corporibus ?

Accordingly, when Hadrian vehicula cum ingentibus sarcinis urbem ingredi prohibuit (*Vita*, 22), this absolute prohibition (later than the above passage, written under Trajan) has nothing to do with the law, as Dirksen observes (*Civilist. Abhandlungen*, p. 278). But the conveyance of enormous loads was not forbidden out of any consideration for pedestrians, who might have been injured just as much by smaller ones, but because of the dangerous effect of the shaking on houses, pavements, and *cloacae*. Cicero, *Pro Scauro*, 22, 45 : quum diceres—in privatam domum vectas esse tantas moles, ut satis dari damni infecti coegerit redemptor cloacarum, quum in Palatium plaustris extraherentur. This passage is quoted by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xxxv, 6 ; xxxvi, 106), where the indestructibility of the *cloacae* is extolled : trahuntur moles superne tantae, non succumbentibus cavis operis, etc. Pliny, *Panegyricus*, 51 : non ut ante immanium transvectione saxorum urbis tecta quatiuntur : stant securae domus, nec jam templa nutantia. These dangers were evidently the origin of Hadrian's prohibition, the details of which we do not know. In the general terms in which it is stated, it is meaningless : for there were some enormous loads which could not be divided, e.g. monoliths. Hadrian himself had the colossus of Nero transported by 24 elephants (*Vita*, 19).

As far as I know, there is no trace of vehicles being used by any one in Rome during the first two centuries (apart from the exceptions specified in the *lex Julia* and later). On the contrary, the lines of Juvenal (iii, 236) :

redarum transitus arto
vicorum inflexu et stantis convicia mandrae
eripient somnum Druso vitulisque marinis,

show that the use of the *redae* was limited to the night. They are travellers' vehicles, arriving, departing, or passing through the city. Juvenal (vii, 179 : anne serenum expectet spargatque luto jumenta recenti ?) refers to a drive in the open country, not in the streets of the city. The guests, whom Domitian terrified by a pretended funeral banquet, were sent away τοὺς μὲν ὀχήμασι, τοὺς δὲ φορτοῖσι παραδούς (Dio, lxvii, 9) : Lucius Verus (*Vita*, 5) provided his guests with vehicula cum mulabus et mulionibus cum juncturis argenteis, ut ita de convivio redirent : in both cases after the tenth hour of the day. Apart from this, however, it may be supposed that the emperors did not always trouble themselves about the regulation. The statement in Philostratus (*Apoll. Tyan.*, viii, 7, p. 133, 53 ed. Kayser), referring to Domitian's informers, τὸ μὲν ἵπποτροφεῖν αὐτοὺς κατὰ ζευγῶν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκκυκλεῖσθαι λευκῶν is of no weight, except for Philostratus' own time. Galen expressly testifies that no one drove in Rome (ed. K. xi, p. 299, where he relates that a rich man drove from his house in the suburbs to the place ἐνθα τῶν ὀχημάτων ἀποβαλεῖν εἰς αἰθρὰν εἰσισμένοι). When Annia Faustina, daughter of Marcus Annianus Libo (consul 128 ; Borghesi, *Cœuvres*, iii, 224) drove to visit the sick Commodus at the third hour of the day

(Galen, *De praenot. ad Epig.*, xii, ed. K. xiv, p. 661), she probably enjoyed this privilege as related to the imperial house.

Plautianus (A.D. 205) appears to be the first person mentioned as using a carriage in Rome. According to Dio (lxxvi, 4), when summoned by Severus (certainly at a very late hour of the day), οὕτως ἤρχειθῃ—ὥστε τὰς ἡμέρας αὐτὸν πεσεῖν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ. Possibly a carriage was at that time one of the distinctions of the *praefectus praetorio*, as later of the high imperial officials generally (Bethmann-Hollweg, *Hdb. d. Civilproc.*, p. 59, 20). But there is no doubt that at the beginning of the third century it was by no means unusual for private persons to drive in Rome. Soon afterwards, the use of a carriage decorated with silver (*Vita L. Veri*, 5, quoted above) appears to have been a regular privilege of the senatorial order: Alexander Severus, *Vita*, 43, carrucas Romae et redas senatoribus omnibus ut argentatas haberent permisit; interesse Romanae dignitatis putans ut his tantae urbis senatores vectarentur: Aurelian, *Vita*, 46, dedit praeterea potestatem ut argentatas privati carrucas haberent (i.e. allowed them to use them in Rome, for permission was not needed for outside), quum antea aerata et eborata vehicula fuissent. Perhaps the alteration is to be attributed to the influence of Orientalism. In Ammianus' description (xiv, 6) the enormous carriages (carrucae solito altiores) and the dangerous driving in the city are prominent features.

In the other imperial towns the regulation was no doubt frequently transgressed.¹ Claudius issued an edict to remind travellers to pass through the towns of Italy on foot or in a sedan-chair or litter (Suetonius, *Claudius*, 25). Yet Seneca, writing under Nero, mentions the rattling of carriages passing through (*Epp.*, 56, essedas transcurrentes) as one of the causes of the unceasing noise at Baiae. Riding in large towns was again forbidden by Hadrian (*Vita*, 22), riding and driving by Marcus Aurelius (*Vita*, 23), and Aurelian (*Vita*, 5) before his accession, although wounded, did not venture to enter Antioch in a carriage (quia invidiosum tunc erat vehiculis in civitate uti), but rode on horseback. Certainly, however, the imperial *legati* at that time used carriages in their provinces: ex quo factum ut in vehiculo etiam legati sederent qui antea pedibus ambulant (*Severus*, 2). Artemidorus, who seems to have written under Commodus (ed. Reifferscheid, *praef.*, p. vii), speaks of riding in towns as a peculiar privilege of free men, but the reference is certainly to processions: according to the same passage, the use of carriages was confined to the priestesses: *Oneirocritica*, i, 50: φημί δὲ ἀγαθὸν ἐλευθέραις γυναιξίν ἄμα καὶ παρθένοις πλουσίαις τὸ διὰ πόλεως ἄρμα ἐλαύνειν. Ἀγαθὰς γὰρ ἱερωσύνας αὐταῖς περιποιεῖται. Πενιχραῖς δὲ πορνείαν τὸ διὰ πόλεως ἰππάζεσθαι προαγορεύει· δούλοις δὲ ἐλευθερίαν. Ἴδιον γὰρ ἐλευθέροις τὸ διὰ πόλεων ἰππεύειν. According to Philostratus (*Vit. Soph.*, ii, 10, 2) the sophist Hadrianus, the successor of Herodes

¹ At Pompeii the remains of a stable have been found on the high road before the gate of Herculaneum. The *stationes* of the *cisiarii* (cab-drivers, who carried travellers) were certainly always before the gates. In an inscription from Cales (*CIL*, x, 4660) a *chivus* is mentioned as paved ab Janu (sic) ad cisiarios port[ae] Stellatinae; at Pompeii extra portam Stabianam, *CIL*, x, 1064, viam a milliario ad cisiarios, qua territorium est Pompeianorum (consequently outside the city).

Atticus in the chair of oratory at Athens drove to his lectures. The anecdote (*Philogelos*, 138) of a centurion of Sidon, who wanted to have a man punished for driving through the market, may belong to a later date; driving through the market places probably continued to be forbidden, when it was allowed in the streets.

VII. ROMA AUREA, AETERNA, SACRA.

(Vol. I, p. 29, l. 6.)

OF course *aurea* was never an official epithet. Ovid, *A.A.*, iii, 113: *simplicitas rudis ante fuit: nunc aurea Roma est et domiti magnas possidet orbis opes*. Martial, ix, 59, 1: *in septis Mamurra diu multumque vagatus, hic ubi Roma suas aurea vexat opes*. *Vita Prescen. Nig.*, 12 (a translation of a Greek epigram): *hunc reges, hunc gentes amant, hunc aurea Roma*. Ausonius, *Cl. urb.*, 1: *Prima urbes inter, Divum domus, aurea Roma*. Juvenc., *Libri evang.* iv, praef. 2: *aurea Roma*. (Cp. Jordan, *Topogr.*, ii, 374, 425).

Of the other two epithets (Wilmanns, *Ex. Inscr. Ind.*, p. 454; *Tibull.*, ii, 5, 23, *Romulus aeternae nondum firmaverat urbus moenia*) *aeterna* became official under Hadrian, who built the temple Venus and Roma (Preller, *R.M.*, ii², 356, dedicated on the foundation day of the city, April 21st), of which there are coins with the legend *VRBS ROMA AETERNA* (Roma sedens in templo d. globum s. hastam; Eckhel, *D.N.*, vi, 510 f.).

According to Jordan (*Forma Urbis*, p. 8) Rome was called *sacra* in the sense in which that word was applied to everything connected with the emperor and his household (Hirschfeld, *VG*, 96, 1) under Severus, who 'stamped it as the imperial city both in reality and name' (Hirschfeld, 174, 1). The oldest official inscription in which the epithet is found (*VRBI SACRAE REG. XIII*; *CIL*, vi, 1030, Jordan, *F.U.*, 1) belongs to his reign. The coin referred to by Preller (*R.M.*¹, 709, 1) on which Severus is called *sacerdos urbis* (which would be hardly conceivable if this were the origin of the name) is a forgery (Jordan, *ib.*, and on Preller, *R.M.*, ii, 358, 2). In Africa (Cirta, Thamugadis) there are municipal *sacerdotes urbis* of high rank; also in Noricum and Pannonia (Jordan, *ib.*, ii, 355, 2). Certainly this cult may have been first introduced into the provinces under the Severi; perhaps the title *urbs sacra* first became official at that time. But it already occurs in the inscription of a corn-dealer at Praeneste of the year 136 (*CIL*, xiv, 2852, 12: *notus in urbe sacra*),¹ and thus may have come into existence as early as the building of the temple of Venus and Roma.

VIII. THE OFFICIALS *A RATIONIBUS*, *A LIBELLIS*, *AB EPISTULIS*.

(Vol. I, p. 34, l. 17.)

THAT these three offices were considered of far greater importance in the second century than in the first is most clearly shown by the rank of those who held them and the offices which they previously

¹ Also in the epitaph of L. Nerisius Mithres (*CIL*, ix, 4796, l. 6). On the occasion of Circus games in December, 196: *καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ Βασιλίδαν καὶ Ἀθῆνας ὀνομάσαντες ἕως τότε τοιαῦτα πάσχοντες; ἔκραζαν* (Dio, lxxv, 4).

or subsequently filled. I shall accordingly give a list, as far as possible in chronological order, of the officials in question for this period, so far as they are known to me, together with a statement of other offices held by them as mentioned in inscriptions or elsewhere, so far as is necessary. A number of corrections and additions to this and the previous edition, for which I am indebted to my friend Otto Hirschfeld, are enclosed in square brackets and signed H. The nature of these offices (and also of the *a studiis*, *a cognitionibus*, *a memoria*) has been exhaustively investigated by Ed. Cuq, in his *Mémoire sur le Consilium Principis d'Auguste à Dioclétien* (in the *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'académie des inscriptions*, tom. ix, 1884, pp. 311-503; cp. especially pp. 356-401).

(a) **A Rationibus.**

There is no evidence of this title under Augustus; it first appears under Tiberius as the name of a subordinate official of the imperial household. It was borne by the directors of the central office for the administration of the imperial finance, which had certainly existed since the beginning of the empire (Mommson, *StR*, ii³, 2, 1001, 1), but was first raised by Claudius' freedman Pallas to be one of the most important and influential court offices. Hadrian made it one of the equestrian procuratorships, and its holders (now called *procuratores a rationibus*), though now and again freedmen, regularly assumed the highest position amongst the equestrian procurators, both as regards rank and salary. They had an assistant of lower rank and a considerable number of officials, for the most part freedmen (cp. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 30-33, where also the known subordinate officials of the office *a rationibus* are given).

Inscriptions of the second half of the second century also mention the title *procurator summarum rationum*, who is certainly not identical with the *procurator a rationibus*, as assumed by Marquardt (*StV*, ii³, 308).¹ Hirschfeld thinks that it refers to the sub-director of the fiscal administration, upon whom Marcus Aurelius probably bestowed a higher rank and a more honourable title. The title *procurator a rationibus* must have been replaced not much later by that of *rationalis* (καθολικός), commonly used in the third century for the superintendent of the fisc (Hirschfeld, pp. 33-40).

In enumerating the officials *a rationibus* I ignore the subordinate officials (for these see Hirschfeld, *VG*, 32 f.; *CIL*, vi, 8417-8431). All those to whose names the simple *a rationibus* is added (without being particularized as *adjutor*, *tabularius*, and the like) must be regarded as supreme directors, in the absence of definite reasons to the contrary.

Antemus Ti. Caesaris Aug. l. a rationibus accensus delat. ab Aug. *CIL*, vi, 8409 (Mommson, *StR*, i³, 336, 1).

Ti. Claudius Aug. l. Actiacus a rationi(b). Doni, vii, 139, p. 900 = *CIL*, vi, 8412.

Ti. Claudius Felix Aug. l. a rationibus. Orelli, 4377 = *CIL*, vi, 8413. Hardly identical with the well-known procurator of Judaea,

¹ [This is clear from the fact that the *proc. summ. rat.* is promoted to the *ab epist. lat.* (*CIL*, vi, 1564). No importance need be attached (Marquardt, 308, 5) to Greek names of the office in literature and inscriptions. H.]

who is called Claudius Felix by Suidas, s. Claudius and Zonaras, vi, 15, but by Tacitus, *Hist.*, v, 9, Antonius Felix [so Henzen, 5404; cp. Nipperdey on Tacitus, *Ann.*, xi, 29, vii, 54, and Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xviii, 6, 6; xx, 7, 1. H.].

Ti. Claudius Aug. l. Abascantus a rationibus. Grut., 588, 2 = *CIL*, vi, 8411.

M. Antonius Antoniae Augustae l. Pallas (Mommsen, *Index Plin.*) a rationibus under Claudius and Nero till 55 (died 62); see schol. Probi ad Juv., i, 108. The inscription (*CIL*, vi, 2, 11965): dis manibus Antonius Asclepiades Pallantis l. fecit sibi et Juliae Philumene conjugii carissimae, found on the Via Tiburtina, where the monument of Pallas stood (Pliny, *Epp.*, vii, 29) is rightly referred to him by Matranga (*Bull. dell' inst. arch.*, 1853, p. 136). The names Antonius and Julia also point to the first century, to the end of which the letters and relief appear to belong. On the other hand, Borghesi identified him with M. Antonius Pallas, cos. suff. 167, perhaps because Pallas is called a freedman of Claudius by Suetonius and Zonaras.

Carpus Aug. l. Pallantianus (Orelli, 1797) was adjutor of Claudius Athenodorus praef. annonae (Orelli, 3200 = *CIL*, vi, 8470), probably under Nero; cp. Hirschfeld, *Getreideverwaltung* in *Philologus*, xxix, p. 28; *CIL*, xiv, 2833 [M. Antonius Pallantis l. Nobilis] with the note).

Claudius Etruscus' father, perhaps the successor of Pallas, apparently administered the office under Domitian and died about 91.

Atticus Aug. l. a rationibus, known from the inscription of his wife Claudia Attica (Orelli, 1494 = *CIL*, x, 6640), found at Nettuno and set up in Domitian's eleventh consulship (85). [The same Atticus is mentioned in an inscription of the Despuig museum (Bouer, *Museum D.*, n. 37 = *CIL*, vi, 8410): dis manibus Fortunati Attici Aug. lib. a rationib. lib. tabular. Fructus imp. Caesaris Domitiani Aug. Germanic. Atticianus tabular. a rationib. amico carissimo: where Fructus is a slave who has passed from the possession of Atticus into that of Domitian. H.] An Abascantus Aug. a rat. Attic(ianus) *CIL*, vi, 8408. Epaphra Aug. l. Atticianus *ib.* 8451.

Crescens Aug. l. a rationibus, Spon., *Misc.* p. 210 = *CIL*, vi, 8414 [probably a Flavius or Claudius (Crescens Neronis libertus, Tac., *Hist.*, i, 76), as his sister is Flavia Aug. l. Daphne. H.].

The fragment from Ameria in Muratori, 921, 1: . . . l. l. a rationibus, etc. (better in Doni, p. 310, p. 187) is not quite clear; Nero seems to be mentioned in it. [The inscription appears to me open to grave suspicion. H.]

Diadumenus Aug. lib. a rationibus Aniceto lib. Fabretti, 477, 150 = *CIL*, vi, 8415. No doubt identical with *CIL*, x, 3347 (Misenum) Diadumenus a rationib. [according to La Vega's copy D. A(ug. l.) a rationib. H.]; cp. Lanciani, *Acque e acqued.*, p. 216, and *Bull. com. d. R.* 1886, p. 104, 1158 (lead pipes in the Villa Casali): Diadumeni Aug. [l. a rationib.] Ti. Claud. Felix f. [On the other hand probably different from Orelli, 2946: Diadumeno Aug. l. praeposit. ordinato ultro a Divo Tito viii cos. (A.D. 80)—died A.D. 120: cp. Murat., 879, 1. H.].

Philotimus Aug. l. a ration. *CIL*, vi, 8416.

R.L.M.

D

Later than the time of Hadrian, freedmen as well as knights still filled the office. The earliest of the former is

T. Aurelius Aug. lib. Aphrodisius *proc. Aug. a rationibus* (Grut., 371, 2 = *CIL*, xiv, 2104). As the praenomen shows, he was manumitted by Antoninus Pius before the latter's adoption by Hadrian, when Antoninus was still called Titus Aurelius Fulvus.

Ti. Claudius Secundinus L. Statius Macedonicus (Murat., 690, 6 = Kellermann, *Vigg.* 31 = *CIL*, v, 1, 867 [Aquileia]) was *praef. leg. Tra[janae]* and rose from the procuratorship of the provinces of Lugdunensis and Aquitania to be *proc. a rationibus*, and afterwards *proc. annonae*. [Cp. Murat., 915, 9. In his inscription *CIL*, v, 1, 867 Mommsen supplies *proc. provinc. Lugdunens. et Aquitan[icae] a rationib. Aug.* Rather Aquitan. [*proc.*] *a rationib. Aug.*: cp. *Philologus*, xxix, 32, 18. A son of this Secundinus is perhaps referred to in *CIL*, vi, 1605. H.]. His date is defined by a lead-pipe found at Portus, *CIL*, xiv, 2008a: Imp. Antonini Aug. Pii sub cur. Cl. Secundini ra[tion] (rather a ration.) et Anni Phlegontis Aug. lib. ex off. Demetri liberti.

L. Valerius Proculus (according to the inscription on him in Malaca, *CIL*, ii, 1970 = Henzen, 6928; better *ib.*, p. 522) after holding various important procuratorships became *proc. provinciarum trium Galliarum, proc. a rationibus Aug. praef. annonae praef. Aegypti* (the *praef. Aegypti* is confirmed by Henzen, 7420 e, the *praef. annonae* (in the year 144) by Grut., 255, 1-3; consequently, according to the analogy of similar equestrian official careers the *procuratio a rationibus* may with certainty be assumed as having been held by him). Cp. Hirschfeld, *Getreideverwaltung*, *Philologus*, xxix, 30, 11.

Bassaeus Rufus, of humble origin, under Marcus Aurelius worked his way up by his military ability to the highest equestrian offices (Dio, lxx, 15; Orelli, 3574; cp. Henzen, iii, p. 372 = *CIL*, vi, 1599). After having been procurator in several provinces, lastly in Belgica and the two Germaniae, he became *proc. a rationibus*, then *praefectus annonae* or *vigilum*, *praefectus Aegypti* (between 161 and 166), lastly *praef. praetorio*. Cp. Hirschfeld as above, p. 31, 14 and *VG*, p. 226 foll. His immediate successor was perhaps

Ti. Cl. Vibianus Tertullus *CIL*, iii, 6574 (Ephesi ad aedem Dianae): ΤΙ. ΚΛ. ΟΥΪΒΙΑΝΟΝ Τέρτυλλον τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐπιστολῶν καὶ τῶν καθ' ὅλου λόγων τῶν μεγίστων αὐτοκρατόρων καὶ ἐπαρχῶν οὐκ ὀλίγων—Spectatus Augg. nn. lib. adjutor tabul. ob merita ejus.

P. Licinius Papirianus *proc. M. Aureli et d. Veri a rationibus*, *CIL*, viii, 1641.

Cosmus Aug. lib., who administered the office, while Bassaeus Rufus was *praef. praet.* At Saepinum (Altilia), where the Bojano gate once stood, through which the path (il tratturo) goes, along which the sheep are driven back from Apulia into the Abruzzi, there is still to be seen the inscription (Mommsen, *IRN*, 4916 = *CIL*, ix, 2438; after 166 A.D., cp. the notes), which contains copies of three official letters. The third of these is addressed by Septimianus (lib. Aug. adjutor a ration.) to Cosmus: cum conductores gregum oviaricorum, qui sunt sub cura tua in re praesenti subinde quererentur per itinera callium frequenter injuriam se accipere a stationariis

et magistratibus Saepino et Boviano eo quod in transitu jumenta et pastores, quos conductos habent—dicentes fugitivos esse et jumenta abactia habere—retineant et sub hac specie oves quoque dominicae sibi pereant in illo tumultu: necesse habuimus etiam atque etiam scribere, quietius agerent, ne res dominica detrimentum pateretur; et cum in eadem contumacia perseverent, dicentes non curaturos se, neque si tu eis scripseris haut fieri rem, rogo, domine, si tibi videbitur, indices Bassaeo Rufo et Macrinio Vindici praefectis praetorio eminentissimis viris, ut epistulas emittant eosdem ad magistratus et stationarios etc. Cosmus accordingly approaches the *praef.* who in accordance with his desire give instructions to the officials of Saepinum. The same Cosmus and the same Septimanus (*sic*) in Murat., 896, 2 = *CIL*, vi, 455; cp. Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 159. The inscription is dated . . . I Kal. Octobr. [L. Venuleio Apronia]no II et L. Ser[gio Paulo II: 168 A.D.]. As in this fragment Cosmus is called a *rationibus* *Augg.*, the two Augusti Marcus Aurelius and L. Verus (died 169) are meant. [The same Cosmus on a lead pipe, *AdI*, 1857, p. 69 (Romae in Aventino = Lanciani, *Acque e acqued.*, p. 237, 173; according to the same, his house was in the 13th *regio*, *ib.* 303): Cosmi Aug. lib. a rat. H.] His immediate successor was perhaps

Euphrates, who filled the office after 168. Galen, xiv, 4: ἦν δὲ [M. Antonin.]τηνικαῦτα διὰ τὸν Γερμανικὸν πόλεμον ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰστρον χωρίοις ἐμοῦ παραιτησαμένου τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἐκείνην. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν ὑπὸ Δημητρίου τοῦ ἀρχιάτρου σκευαζομένην ἀντίδοτον ἐπήνει, μετὰ θάνατον αὐτοῦ γράψας Εὐφρατεῖ τῷ καθολικῷ, παρ' οὗ τὰ πρὸς τὴν σύνθεσιν ἐλάβανεν ἀπλὰ φάρμακα, δηλῶσαι τίς αὐτῷ παρὴν τῶν λαμβανόντων σύνταξιν αὐτοκρατορικῇ, καὶ πυνθόμενος ἐμὲ διὰ παντὸς αὐτῷ κατὰ πάσας τὰς συνθέσεις παραγεγενῆσθαι, σκευάζεσθαι μὲν ἐκέλευσεν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τὴν ἀντίδοτον. Marcus Aurelius was away on the Danube from 168 to 174, during which time Galen practised as a physician and was engaged in literary work at Rome. This passage seems to show that the *proc. a rationibus* also exercised supervision over the imperial *horrea*.¹

Aelius Achilles was *rationalis* (*i.e.* procurator *a rationibus*) in 193, according to the edicts addressed by him and (his adjutor) Cl(audius) Perpetuus Flavianus Eutychus to the officials of the department of public buildings: Wilmanns, *Ex. Inscr.*, 2840 = *CIL*, vi, 1585 a and b: cp. Hirschfeld as above, p. 36.

Zosimus. Bronze stamp in the Kircher Museum (unpublished): Zosimi a rationibus. Hirschfeld as above, p. 32, 3.

Knights of uncertain date:—

C. Junius Flavianus (Grut., 426, 5 = Or., 3331 = Boissieu, *Inscr. d. Lyon*, p. 240) attained the same office by the same steps. He had been *tr. mil. leg. VII Gem.*, a name given to the legion under Vespasian: Hirschfeld, as above, 32, 17.

M. Petronius Honoratus (*CIL*, vi, 1625 a and b), after holding the military offices, was *proc. monet. proc. xx her. proc. prov. Belg. et duarum Germaniarum proc. a ration. Aug. praef. ann. praef.*

¹ Lurius Lucullus, to whom the answer of Commodus to the complaint of the imperial *coloni* of the *saltus Burunitanus* is addressed (Mommsen, *Hermes*, xv, 1880, p. 385; *CIL*, viii, 10570, col. iv, 4) was not a procurator, but the leader of the complainants (Karlowa, *Röm. Rechtsgesch.*, i, 630).

Aegypti (according to Labus in the last years of Marcus Aurelius, cp. Franz, *CIG*, iii, p. 131) pontif. minor; Hirschfeld as above, 31, 15. [Cf. Roulez, *Mém. de l'ac. de Bruxelles*, xvii (1843), p. 40. H.]

L. Julius Julianus (according to Barnabei's reading L. Ve[hil]ius G[ratus] Julianus), according to his inscription found in the Tiber, after holding several posts as an officer in the Parthian and Germanic war (in both of which he distinguished himself) became proc. Aug[g.-et] pr[aep.] vexillationis per Achaïam et Macedoniam et in Hispanias, adversus Castabocas (*sic*, 178-9) et Mauros rebelles (176-7); he then held various procuratorships, including one with a military command (last in Britain, 183-4); became prefect of the fleets at Ravenna (185) and Misenum (186); received the office a ration[ibus] 187, the prefecture of the corn supply 188 (between M. Petronius Honoratus and M. Aurelius Papirius Dionysius); lastly, succeeded Cleander as *praef. praet.* 189, and was put to death by Commodus (Hirschfeld, *VG*, 229, 49 and 52, which with Barnabei I regard as identical). See Barnabei, *Di un' epigrafe onoraria a L. Julio Juliano*, in *Notizie degli Scavi*, Dicembre 1887.

Cn. Pompeius Homullus Aelius Gracilis Cassianus Longinus (Mur., 735, 4 = Fabr., 128, 47 = Kellermann, *Vigg.*, 36 = *CIL*, vi, 1626), was proc. Aug. prov. Britanniae, proc. provv. Lugdun. et Aquitan. before he was proc. a rat. [The inscription is by his heirs, and was presumably set up after his death. H.]

M. Aurelius Julianus. *CIL*, vi, 1596: Aurelio Juliano a rationibus et a memoria, cp. Fabretti, 573, 395 (M. Aurelii Juliani a memoria) and *CIL*, xiv, 2463 with the notes; perhaps identical with the similarly named praefectus praetorio: *CIL*, v, 4323; Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 32, 3. He had a villa on the Via Ardeatina (Lanciani, *Acque*, p. 304).

The fragment in Muratori, 768, 5 (wanting in Kellermann) [runs according to De Minicis *Iscriz. Fermane*, p. 215, no. 628 = *CIL*, ix, 5440: Proc. Aug. a rationib.—*praef. vig.* p. c. d. d. p.; more correctly explained in *AdI* (1839, p. 44) patrono coloniae, etc. H.].

Forged and wrongly read inscriptions: L. Mummius Achaicus *praef. coh. trib. mil. ab epist. T. Caes. divi Aug. item a rat. etc.* Grut., 1073, 7 = Orelli, 3567; cp. Henzen, iii, 372. Further, Gruter, 414, 8, regarded by Henzen, *Jahrb. der Alterthumsfr. im Rheinl.*, xiii, 95 as badly copied [cp. Borghesi, *AdI*, 1846, p. 319 ff. Also Donati, 308, 7; 320, 4; Murat., 979, 3 = *CIL*, vi, 5, 3089; further, *CIL*, ii, 396*. The Speratus M. Nonii a rationibus in Gruter, 588, 4 should be (as in *CIL*, v, 413) Speratus M. Nonii Agathonici. H.].

Third and fourth centuries:—

Aurelius Eubulus of Emesa, perhaps *libertus*, under Elagabalus τοὺς καθόλου λόγους ἐπιτετραμμένος (Dio, lxxix, 21): cum plerosque eunuchos rationibus et procurationibus praeposuisset Heliogabalus, hic illis et veteres sustulit dignitates (*Alex. Sev.*, 23).

Felicissimus. Fuit sub Aureliano etiam monetariorum bellum, Felicissimo rationali auctore . . . monetarii auctore Felicissimo ultimo servorum, cui procurationem fisci mandaveram, rebelles spiritus extulerunt (*Aurelian.*, 37). Cp. Mommsen, *De Caesi Saturn. tit.*, in *Nuove Mem. d. Inst.*, ii, p. 324.

Aemilius Victor v(ir) p(erfectissimus) a rat. in the time of Diocletian. Henzen, notes to 5887 = *CIL*, vi, 1120.

Basilus Donatianus v.p. rationalis, same period, *ib.*, 1121.

Julius Antoninus rationalis under Maximian, *CIL*, iii, 325.

Geminus Festus v.par. (vir perfectissimus a rationibus?) under the same, *Eph. Epigr.*, iv, p. 278, 795.

(The inscription of a procurator a rat. fisc. Constantini Aug. ñ—, Murat., 83, 2 from Ligorio, is not genuine.)

(b) A Libellis

Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 202, 2: the title of a freedman of Tiberius acceptor a subscr(ptionibus) (Wilmanns, 384 [= *CIL*, vi, 5181] with note) no doubt corresponds to the *a libellis* in use after the time of Claudius.

C. Julius Callistus. So he is called in Scribonius. Josephus, *Antiq.*, xix, 1, 10: Κάλλιστος ἀπελεύθερος δὲ τοῦ Γαίου κτλ. [Neither in this lengthy passage nor in Dio, lix, 29 (murder of Caligula: ἐν οἷς ἦν ὁ τε Κάλλιστος καὶ ὁ ἐπαρχος) is any office spoken of; both would probably have mentioned it, if he had held it at the time. H.] In Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxvi, 10 he is described as Caesaris Claudii libertorum potentia notus. Under Claudius ἐπὶ ταῖς βίβλοις τῶν ἀξιώσεων ἐτέτακτο, Zonar., 563 D. By a sempstress he had a daughter, who became the mother of Nymphidius Sabinus (Plutarch, *Galba*, 9, 1). [Since, according to Tacitus (*Ann.*, xi, 29), in the year 48 Callistus was as powerful as Narcissus and Pallas, who were respectively *ab epistulis* and *a rationibus* (cp. *Ann.*, xii, 1), he evidently still held the office of *a libellis* at that time. H.] The passage in Scribon. Largus, *praef.* 23: tradendo scripta mea latina medicinalia deo nostro Caesari—divinis manibus laudando consecrasti does not justify the conjecture of Bücheler (*Conjectanea in Rhein. Mus.*, xxxv, 327), that he was also *a studiis*. His predecessor was perhaps

Polybius, also *a studiis* (Sueton., *Claud.*, 28), *a libellis* according to Seneca (*Cons. ad Polyb.*, 6, 5; cp. 5, 2). Seneca's treatise was composed before 44: Jonas, *De ordine librorum L. Annaei Senecae philosophi*, p. 30. He was put to death at the instigation of Messalina, whose lover he had been, in 47 or 48 (Dio, lx, 31, Tillemont, *H.d.E.*, i, p. 374). A Ti. Claudius Polybianus occurs in *CIL*, vi, 2, 12402.

Doryphorus (τὸν τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς βιβλία διέποντα, Dio, lxi, 5), the successor of Callistus, one of the most powerful freedmen of Nero and his boon companion (Sueton., *Nero*, 29), was said to have been poisoned (in 62) for having opposed the marriage of Nero and Poppaea (Tac., *Ann.*, xiv, 65). His successor was probably

Epaphroditus (*a libellis*, Suetonius, *Nero*, 49), who assisted Nero to take his life, for which he was executed by Domitian (Sueton., *Domit.*, 14; Dio, lxvii, 14—according to Dio's chronology this was a year before Domitian was murdered). He is sometimes mentioned by Epictetus (*Diss.*, i, 1, 20; i, 19, 16; i, 26, 11), who was his slave. The Epaphroditus, to whom Josephus dedicated his *Anti-*

quities and *Autobiography*, must be a different person, since in ch. 65 of the latter work the death of Agrippa II (101) is assumed; see S. Paret, *Des Joseph. Gesch. des jüdischen Krieges*, introd. p. 23. The identification of an Epaphroditus Aug. l. a cubiculo, whose *villicus* Atticus had a certain Claudia Prima as *contubernalis* (Lanciani, *Miscell. epigr. in Bull. com. d. R.*, v, 1877, p. 172, 153), with the freedman of Nero is at least doubtful.

Entellus (ὁ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς βιβλία διέπων, Dio, lxvii, 15), under Domitian, is mentioned by Dio (not by Suetonius) as having taken part in the conspiracy against the emperor. Martial (viii, 68) sang the praises of his glasshouses. M. Ulpius Aug. lib. Cladus Entellianus occurs in Wilmanns, 286.

Dis manibus T. Fl. Capitolini Hermes Aug. lib. a libellis et Flavia Irene parentes filio dulcissimo v. a. viii. m. v., *CIL*, vi, 8614; also (8615-8617) the inscriptions of some subordinate officials.

Only three *equites* of the second century are known to me as having held this office. T. Haterius Nepos, according to his inscription (Borghesi, *AdI*, 1846, p. 313 [*Œuvres*, v, p. 3] = Henzen, 6947), after holding the military offices, was first censitor Brittonum Anavionens. (an unknown people; but cp. *BdI*, 1867, p. 40), then proc. Aug. Armeniae major. (between 114 and 117), ludi magni, hereditarium, a censibus, a libellis Aug., praef. vigilum, praef. Aegypti. He held the last office 126 A.D.; consequently, the *a libellis* probably at the beginning of Hadrian's reign.

Mommsen's earlier view (*StR*, ii², i, 398) that a *libellis* may have been the first century term for the office later called a *censibus*, appears incompatible with this inscription (to say nothing of the difference of the two offices); the same may be said of Marquardt's view (*StV*, ii², 217) that a *libellis et a censibus* denoted only one office. The combination of the two (so also in the fragment *CIL*, iii, 259 [Ancyra] . . . a libellis et c[ensibus]) is explained by Hirschfeld (*VG*, 18, 4) by the fact that the head of the census department would be best informed as to the circumstances of the petitioners and the justice of their claims, which certainly in part had reference to taxation. Mommsen, in his most recent explanation (*StR*, iii, 490), that the department a *censibus* was a subdivision of the office a *libellis*, dealing with requests for admission into the equestrian order and the senate (in which evidence of property was of especial importance), leaves it undecided, 'whether the title a *censibus et libellis* belongs to the whole department usually called a *libellis*, or how the titles a *libellis* and a *censibus* are related to each other'. [It is certainly very probable that, even if the two offices were different, a close connexion existed between them, and they were often managed by the same chief director. H.]

C. Julius Celsus (Boissieu, *Inscr. de Lyon*, vii, p. 246 = Henzen, 6929), having been procurator in several provinces, lastly in Lugdunensis and Aquitania, became a *libellis et censibus*; as an honour to him, his son was in amplissimum ordinem ab imp. Antonino Pio allectus.

M. Aurelius Dionysius Papirius. Marini, *Atti d. fr. Arv.*, p. 798 = Franz, *CIG*, iii, 5895: *Μ. Αὐρήλιον Παπίριον Διονύσιον τὸν κράτιστον καὶ ἐνδοξότατον ἐπαρχὸν Διγύπτ[ου] καὶ ἐπαρχὸν εὐθενίας, ἐπὶ βιβλικοῦ*

δω[ν] καὶ ἀναγνώσεων τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ¹ ἐπαρ[χον] ὀχημάτων καὶ δοικητῶν τα[χθέντα] καὶ περὶ τὴν Φλαμινίαν ἐπι[τηδειῶν] σύμβουλόν τε τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ (Mommson, *StR*, ii³, 2, 1031, 2). Perhaps the inscription in Orelli, 2648 = *CIL*, x, 6662: [a libellis imp. Commodi ?] Pii Felicis Aug. ducenariorum praef. vehicul. a copis Aug. per viam Flaminiam centenariorum consiliario Aug., etc. (cp. Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 101, 1), refers to the same person. Franz considered him identical with the *praef. annonae* Dionysius Papirius, who was put to death in 189 (Dio, lxxii, 12-14): on the other hand, Henzen (*AdI*, 1857, p. 97) has pointed out, that the *praefectura annonae* preceded the *praefectura Aegypti*. Sievers (*Philologus*, xxvi, p. 42), who maintains the identification, assumes a degradation of Dionysius from the *praefectura Aegypti* to the *praefectura annonae*, to which the passage in Suidas (s.v. εὐδοκῶσης) might refer: Ἀδριανός. ὁ δὲ Κλέανδρος εὐδοκῶσεν τὸν ὑπατοῦς τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἀρχῆς κωμῶδων, καὶ παραλύει αὐτὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς οὐδὲν ἀδοικοῦντα. That such a degradation, although certainly extremely rare, was by no means impossible, is proved by the case (quoted by Hirschfeld, p. 28) of Arrius Varus *praef. annonae* in 71: Varus praetorianis praepositus vim atque arma retinebat. eum Mucianus pulsum loco, ne sine solacio ageret, annonae praefecit. Consequently, there is no doubt of the identity of the Dionysius Papirius of the inscription and of Dio; cp. Hirschfeld, p. 32, and *VG*, p. 269, 5.

If none of the above appears to have risen higher than the *praefectura Aegypti*, this is either accidental or the inscriptions are previous to the end of their career. Papinianus, who was *magister libellorum* under Severus, as is well known, afterwards became *praefectus praetorio*. Similarly, under Alexander Severus, Ulpian, after holding the office *a libellis* (cp. Hirschfeld, p. 33); also C. Caelius Saturninus, whose inscription is discussed by Mommson in the *Nuove mem. d. Inst.* [Other evidence of the office of *magister libellorum*: Henzen, 6518 = *CIL*, vi, 1628: *praef. vigil.*—*magistro a li(bellis) ma(gistro a ce(ns)ibis)*. Orelli, 2352 = *CIL*, vi, 510: *magister libellorum et cognit. sacrar.* Gruter, 151, 6 = *CIL*, xii, 1524: *ex magistro scrinii libellorum. Digg., prooem. § 9: magister sacrarum libellorum et imperialium cognitionum.* Aurelius Arcadius Charisius *magister libellorum* (fourth cent.) *Digg.*, i, 11. A sub-director in the beginning of the third century, Fabretti, 689, 107 = *CIL*, vi, 180: dedication to Caracalla, Geta Julia Aug. by Antonius (?) lib. proximus a libellis. Gruter, 587, 7 = *CIL*, vi, 8615: M. Aurelio Aug. lib. Tertio a libellis adiutori. Other subordinate officials in Cuq, *Le consilium principis*, p. 370. Gruter, 587, 8 = *CIL*, vi, 5 n. 3245 * is not genuine. Similarly Orelli, 3215 = *CIL*, vi, 5 n. 3379*: M. Caecilius Paullinus a libellis fisci f. H.]

¹ Mommson (*StR*, ii³, 926, 1 but not in ed. 3) takes ἐνὶ βιβλ. καὶ ἀνὰ. to be one office — a *libellis*: similarly, Cuq, *Le magister sacr. cogn.* (*Bibliothèques des écoles françaises*, xxi [1881], p. 108). Bücheler, *Conjectanea in Rhetic. Mus.*, xxxvii, 328 takes (certainly wrongly) ἐν ἀνὰ. to mean a *studiis*. Hirschfeld understands by it a *recitationibus Augusti*, i.e. the official whose duty it was to draw up the addresses to be delivered by the emperor (cp. Dirksen, *Manuale*, s.v. recitare. e.g. oratio D. Marci quam in castris praetoris recitavit), perhaps an extension of the duties of the department *a libellis* introduced under Marcus Aurelius.

(c) *Ab Epistulis.*

The treatise of Egger, *Observations historiques sur la fonction de secrétaire des princes chez les anciens* (Paris, 1858), did not become known to me until after the first edition of this section had appeared. I am indebted to it for some supplementary remarks, which I have always acknowledged.

1. *Before Hadrian.*

Justin, xliii. 5, 11 : Trogus . . . dicit . . . patrem quoque sub C. Caesare militasse epistularumque et legationum, simul et anuli curam habuisse.

This office is not the same as that of an imperial private secretary. As Hirschfeld observes (*VG*, 202, 3), it is the latter that is meant by Suetonius, when he says that Augustus 'officium epistularum detulit' to Horace. He wrote to Maecenas (Suetonius, *Vit. Horat.*) : ante ipse scribendis (O. Jahn, *Philologus*, xxviii, 10 : rescribendis, comparing Sueton., *Aug.*, 45, epistulis legendis ac rescribendis ; rather rescribendo) epistulis amicorum sufficiebam, nunc occupatissimus et infirmus Horatium nostrum a te cupio abducere : veniet ergo ab ista parasitica mensa ad hanc regiam, et nos in scribendis epistulis juvabit. *Regiam* (which Mommsen, *StR*, ii², 2, 764, 4 considers a clerical error) is in my opinion unobjectionable, if it be regarded as a humorous expression (like *parasiticam* derived from the *palliat*) : Hirschfeld's suggestion *reclam* does not seem to me even possible. Augustus' will was partly written by his freedmen Hilario and Polybius (Sueton., *Aug.*, 101) ; Polybius read it before the senate (Dio, lvi, 32). [Polybius Divi Aug. l., Gruter, 75. 9 = *CIL*, xiv, 3539. H.]

From the time of its institution, the office was held by freedmen till the second half of the first century. It is in itself very probable that from the beginning it was divided into Greek and Latin departments. In spite of this division, however, the supreme control (at least after the time of Claudius, when these three court offices first acquired their great importance) was evidently in the hands of a single director ; this is proved by the high position which Narcissus held together with Callistus and Pallas and could only hold as exclusive head of his office, and from the fact that Abascantus under Domitian carried on the correspondence with both the Greek and Latin speaking provinces. On the other hand, in the second century each of the two departments appears to have been constituted an independent office, perhaps by Hadrian ; the fact that in that century officials were called *ab epistulis* without any further addition is by no means a proof of the contrary ; for it can hardly be doubted that not only the heads, but also the subordinate officials—*adjutores*, *proximi* (*CIL*, xiv, 2815), *tabularii*, *scriniarii* (*CIL*, x, 527), *ab epistulis* (cp. Cuq, p. 391)—were called simply *ab epistulis* for the sake of brevity. One Libanus Caesaris vern. *ab epistulis*, who died in his seventeenth year (Gruter, 586, 7 = *CIL*, vi, 8597), was no doubt only a subordinate.

Although in the second century also freedmen exceptionally held the office *ab epistulis* (i.e. apparently as heads), this may be explained from the fact that the division of the office into two independent

bureaus had diminished the importance of each of the latter. But probably Hadrian's rule of filling these offices only by members of the equestrian order was on occasion arbitrarily departed from. Perhaps we should also hear of freedmen *a libellis* in the second century, if we had more inscriptions relating to the holders of this office. The fragmentary inscription (*CIL*, vi, 3836) of a person unknown, of praetorian rank (at earliest belonging to the third century), who managed the Greek department, is unique. It concludes (in descending scale): [misso] ad juniores legendos per Aemiliam ab epistulis Graecis cur. Ocriculorum praetori quaestori.

The *ab epistulis* in the first century, so far as they are known from inscriptions, have already for the most part been enumerated by Borghesi (*Adl*, 1846, p. 324). Those who were undoubtedly subordinate officials I shall not notice here. The inscriptions of the city of Rome are now to be found in *CIL*, vi, 8596-8613.

[C. Julius Styrax *ab epist. lat.* Murat., p. 926, 21 = *CIL*, vi, pt. 5, n. 864 *. Titulus a Ligorio interpolatus. H.]

Januarius Caesaris Aug. *ab epistulis.* Gud., p. 199, 10 = Spon., *Miscell.*, p. 205 = *CIL*, vi, 8596.

[Gruter, 578, 6 = Orelli, 2437 = Mommsen, *IRN*, 6851 = *CIL*, vi, pt. 5, n. 963 *, 964 *: Agriae Triphosae vestifcae Livius Theona *ab epistulis graec. scribe a lib. pontificalibus coniugi sanctissimae b.d.s.m.* On the same stone (Orelli, 41): Byrae Canacianae Liviae Aug. ser. a veste magn. Ti. Claudius Alcibiades mag. a bybliotheca latina Apollinis item scribe *ab epistulis lat.* is a forgery by Ligorio. Henzen, *Zu den Fälschungen des P. Ligorio in Comment. Mommsen*, p. 633.]

Ti. Claudius Aug. l. Philologus *ab epistulis.* Murat., 2043, 2; Jahn, *Spec. epigr.*, p. 93; *CIL*, vi, 8601 s. [Borghesi, *Œuvres*, v, 297, with probability considers him to be the pupil of Pudens, the grammarian, procurator of Aemilia Lepida (Gruter, 653, 2; Borghesi, v, 296). H.]

Ti. Claudi Aug. lib. Eudaemonis *ab epistulis, etc.* *CIL*, vi, 8600.

Ti. Claudio Augusti liberto Primioni *ab epistulis, etc.* *CIL*, vi, 8603.

Narcissus. His death (*Tac., Ann.*, xiii, 1) took place before the burial of Claudius (Seneca, *Apocol.*, 13, 1). Narcissi Aug. lib. *ab epistulis* (on a copper pipe), Murat., 911, 1. Narcissi Aug. l. *ab epistulis* (on a lead pipe, in fundamentis S. Ignatii. Fabretti, *Inscr. ant.*, p. 543, 408). Narcissi Aug. l. *ab epistul.* (lead pipe, *Bull. comm. d. R.*, 1886, p. 104, 1160). His house was in the ninth *regio* (Lanciani, *Le acque*, p. 303).

Burrus. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xx, 8, 9: καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Καισαρίᾳ δύο πρῶτοι Σύρῳ Βούρρον (παιδαγωγὸς δὲ οὗτος ἦν τοῦ Νέρωνος τάξιν τὴν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐπιστολῶν πεπιστευμένος) πείθουσι πολλοῖς χρήμασιν αἰτήσασθαι παρὰ τοῦ Νέρωνος αὐτοῖς ἐπιστολὴν ἀκυροῦσαν τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἰσπολιτείας· καὶ Βούρρος τὸν αὐτοκράτορα παρακάλεσας ἐπέτυχε γραφῆναι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν. He is not to be confounded with Africanus Burrus (ὁ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἐπαρχος, *ib.*, 8, 2)¹, and was no doubt a freed-

¹ Mommsen (*Provinces of the Roman Empire*, Eng. tr., ii, p. 206 n.) considers him to be the same, since in his idea παιδαγωγὸς in Josephus corresponds to rector imperatoriae juventutis, the title given to Afranius Burrus in Tacitus (*Ann.*, xiii, 2).

man. The son of Parthenius, Domitian's *cubicularius*, was also called Burrus (Martial, iv, 45).

Secundus. Σεκούνδος ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν γενόμενος τοῦ Ὀθωνος, Plutarch, *Otho*, 9, who quotes him as his authority on the emperor's final resolutions. [As the epithet ὁ ῥήτωρ seems to indicate that he was an orator of reputation, we may identify him with Julius Secundus, one of the speakers in the *Dialogus* of Tacitus; he was one of the 'celeberrima ingenia fori' (*Dial.*, 2), and a friend of Quintilian (x. 3, 12), who praises his elegance of style (xii, 10, 11). He died at an early age (x, 1, 120). H.] He was probably an *eques*; 'the fact that Tacitus expressly mentions (*Hist.*, i, 58) that Vitellius appointed *equites* to posts in the imperial household usually given to freedmen, does not exclude the probability that Otho did the same', Mommsen, *Cornelius Tacitus und Cluvius Rufus in Hermes*, iv, 322, 1.

Dionysius Suidas: Διονύσιος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, ὁ Γλαύκου υἱός, γραμματικὸς, ὅστις ἀπὸ Νέρωνος συνῆν καὶ τοῖς μέχρι Τραϊανοῦ¹ καὶ τῶν βιβλιοθηκῶν προῦστη καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν καὶ πρεσβειῶν ἐγένετο καὶ ἀποκριμάτων.² ἦν δὲ καὶ διδάσκαλος Παρθενίου τοῦ γραμματικοῦ· μαθητὴς δὲ Χαυρήμονος τοῦ φιλοσόφου, ὃν καὶ διεδέξατο ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ. C. W. Müller's identification of him (*Geogr. min.*, p. xvi) with the author of the *Περὶ ῥήσεως* is impossible. The latter wrote under Hadrian, as he himself states in the acrostic (109-134, 513-522 of the poem—ἐμὴ Διονυσίου τοῦ ἐντὸς Φάρου—Θεὸς Ἑρμῆς ἐπὶ Ἀδριανοῦ discovered by G. Laue (*Zeit und Heimath des Periegeten Dionysios in Philologus*, xlii, [1882], p. 175). If Dionysius, when twenty-five years old, succeeded Chaeremon, who was summoned to Rome about the year 50 to undertake the education of Nero, he would have been ninety-two in 117; according to Suidas, he did not live till that year. The grammarian might be the father and teacher of the poet.

Fortunatus Aug. lib. verna paternus ab epistulis accensus patron. divo Aug. Vespasiano lictor curiat. viat. honor. et dec. cos. et pr., Orelli, 3197 = *CIL*, vi, 1887; and his brother

Epaphroditus Aug. l. ab epistulis in the same inscription. [Perhaps the person to whom Josephus addressed his works. H.] His *Antiquities* appeared in 94 (xx, 11); *Autobiography* about 103; *Against Apio* probably later (cp. Paret, *Gesch. des jüdischen Krieges*, 21-24).

T. Flavius Aug. l. Protogenes ab epistulis, Gruter, 586, 5 = Muratori, 901, 2.

T. Flavius Aug. l. Epictetus ab epistulis a copis mil. lictor curiat. Orelli, 2922; cp. Henzen, iii, p. 246 (Mommsen, *Rhein. Mus.*, vi, 23) = *CIL*, xiv, 2840.

¹ I.e. who lived in the period from Nero to Trajan. Suidas evidently borrowed from a list of the learned men of that age.

² The latter office, also held by Claudius' physician in ordinary, C. Stertinius Xenophon (τὸν ἀρχιατρὸν τῶν θεῶν σεβαστῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἀποκριμάτων, *Bull. d. Corr. hellén.*, 1881, p. 473), cannot be identical with the Greek secretariat, as Mommsen (*Provinces of the Roman Empire*, Eng. tr., i, p. 361 n.) assumes; its duties consisted in receiving the Greek deputies and replying to their requests (cp. Cuq, *Consil. principis*, p. 398 and authorities there given: *CIG*, 1625; Keil, *Syll. inscr. boeot.*, p. 118; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xiv, 10, 6; Dio, iv, 27). According to Hirschfeld, *VG*, 205, 2, it was a branch of the *ab epistulis*.

T. Flavius Aug. l. Euschemon qui fuit ab epistulis, item procurator ad capitularia Judaeorum. Orelli, 3345 = *CIL*, vi, 8604.

[T. Flavius Aug. l. Hermes ab epistulis Graecis vix. ann. xviii, m.v. d. xiii. Orelli, 1727; cp. Henzen, iii, p. 154, a forgery. *CIL*, vi, 5, 3247 *.]

T. Flavius Aug. l. Ilias ab epistulis Latinis. Murat., 901, 3.

Flavius Alexander Aug. lib. ab epistulis Latinis. Murat., 905, 10 = *CIL*, vi, 8610.

T. Flavius Aug. l. Thallus ab epistulis Latinis, *CIL*, vi, 8911.

Flavius Abascantus. *CIL*, vi, 8598: D.m.L. Amyro Abascanti Aug. lib. ab epistulis l. Domitia Nereis conjugi optimo; 8599: Thallo Abascanti Aug. lib. ab epistulis lib. Hirschfeld (*VG*, p. 209, 1) distinguishes the contemporary Abascantus of Henzen, 6524, since the office *a cognitionibus* was certainly at that time included under the *ab epistulis*, and therefore could not have been held subsequently to the latter, as we should have to assume if the two Abascanti are regarded as identical. The inscription in question (*CIL*, vi, 8628) runs: Diis manibus T. Flavi Aug. lib. Abascanti a cognitionibus Flavia Hesperis conjugi suo, etc. On the tombstone is a representation of Scorpis, the famous charioteer in the reign of Domitian (Martial, x, 50, 53; xi, 1, 15), whose patron Abascantus probably was. Cuq (*Le magister Sacrar. cognit.* in *Bibliothèque des écoles françaises*, xxi, p. 163) considers the identification probable, and the *a cognitionibus* to be the office last held by him, consequently higher than the *ab epistulis*. Perhaps the *balneum Abascanti* in the second regio (Preller, *Regionen der Stadt Rom*, p. 115) was built by one of them. The name T. Flavius Abascantus is of frequent occurrence: *CIL*, vi, 3, 17975 (D.m.T.Fl. Abasc.), 18073, 18140, xiv, 2191. Tiles with the inscription C. Flavi Abascanti Restitutus fec. (*Bull. comm. d. R.*, 1886, 286, 1291-3). A Ti. Claudius Abascantian., son of T. Flavius Abascantus and Claudia Stratia (*CIL*, vi, 2, 14895). The inscription in Fabretti (249, 29): Antistia L. f. Priscilla Abascanti Aug. lib. ab epistulis l.l. d.d. is not genuine (*CIL*, vi, 5, 3060 *).

Cn. Octavius Titinius Capito praef. cohortis trib. milit. donat. hasta pura corona vallari proc. ab epistulis et a patrimonio, iterum ab epistulis divi Nervae eodem auctore ex S. C. praetoriis ornamentis ab epistul. tertio imp. Nervae Caesar. (Trajani Aug. Ger. praef. vigilum Volcano d.d., Orelli, 801 = *CIL*, vi, 798.) Mommsen, *RGDA*², 179: intellegitur Domitiano cujus nomen more solito suppressum est et ab epistulis fuisse et procuratorem a patrimonio (cp. Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 41, 1): then *ab epp.* to Nerva, then to Trajan. See Mommsen, in *Hermes*, iii, 37, 5: Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 17; viii, 12.

M. Ulpius Aug. l. . . . ab epistulis. Orelli, 1641.

M. Ulpius Aug. l. verna (? Verna) ab epistulis latinis. Orelli, 2997.

M. Ulpius Aug. l. Eros ab epistulis Graecis. Gruter, 587, 2 = *CIL*, vi, 8607.

[Ionii Aug. l. ab epistulis. On a lead pipe. Fabretti, 539, 60. H.]

Acindynus Aug. lib. ab epist. lat. *CIL*, vi, 8609.

Ulpia Athenais Glypti Aug. lib. ab epistulis uxor. Orelli, 1641 = *CIL*, xiv, 3909.

The above survey shows that before the time of Hadrian the office was for the most part held by freedmen; it also follows from the inscriptions which mention other offices held by them that at that time it was not very highly thought of. It should also be mentioned, that a certain Bassus was Aug. lib. prox. ab epistul. Graecis proc. tractus Carthaginiensis (Gruter, 586, 9 = Henzen, 6935 = *CIL*, vi, 8608); he was no doubt a freedman of Claudius, his son's name being Claudius Comon (cp. Eichhorst, *Quaest. epigr. de procuratoribus*, p. 28). As under Claudius preference was not usually given to freedmen, this case may be regarded as a deviation from the rule. On the other hand, the career of Titinius Capito is very similar to those of the equestrian presidents of the *officium ab epistulis* after Hadrian.

2. After Hadrian.

C. Suetonius Tranquillus, son of Suetonius Laetus, tribunus angusticlavus of the thirteenth legion Gemina P.F., probably obtained the office through his patron C. Septicius Clarus (*praef. praet.* 119), together with whom he appears to have been dismissed in 121; cp. Tillemont, *Hist. des emp.*, ii, p. 389; Suetonius, ed. Roth, *praef.* p. viii), on the ground of having shown too little respect for the empress Sabina (*Vita Hadriani*, 11). Reifferscheid (*Sueton. Reliquiae*, p. 465) conjectures that he wrote the treatise *De Institutione Off.* (1) because he was himself *magister epistularum* to Hadrian, and (2) in consequence of the organization of the court offices by the emperor (Egger, as above, p. 27). Because Spartianus calls Suetonius *magister epistularum*, we must not assume that this expression was in use at that time; it does not occur in inscriptions of the second century.

C. Avidius Heliodorus, rhetorician, father of the pretender Avidius Cassius. *Vit. Avid. Cass.*, 1: homine (Casaubon, tamen) novo genitus Avidio Severo [read Syro: ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάσσιος Σύρος μὲν ἐκ τῆς Κύρρου ἦν, Dio, lxxi, 22. H.] qui ordines duxerat et post ad summas dignitates pervenerat (Dio, *ib.*, τὸν τὰς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῦ [Hadriani] διαγαγόντα, *ib.*, lxi, 3, where we should obviously read with Hirschfeld πρὸς τὸν Λουίδιον Ἡλιοδωρον ἰοῦ πρὸς τὸν αὐτοῦ ἴδιον Ἡλ., probably the Heliodorus mentioned in *Vita Hadriani*, 15, 16). He rose to be prefect of Egypt in the year 140 according to the inscription in a temple in Assuan (Syene). Aristides, *Or.*, xxvi, p. 339 J: ἡκεῖ δὲ μοι καὶ παρὰ Ἡλιοδώρου τοῦ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὑπάρχου (? ἐπάρχου) γενομένου γράμματα ἅμα τοῖς βασιλικοῖς. Cp. Leptone, *Recherches sur l'Égypte*, p. 246 ff. [and *Archäol. Zeitung* 1869, p. 123 = *CIL*, iii, 2, 6025: per C. Avidium Heliodorum *praef. Aeg.* H.] *Avid. Cass.*, 1: Quadrat. . . illum. . . adserit. . . apud ipsum Marcum praevaleidum. nam jam eo imperante perisse fatali morte perhibetur.

L. Julius Vestinus, probably a son of Claudius' friend of the same name (cp. appendix xi). *CIG*, iii, 5900: Ἀρχιερεῖ Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ Αἰγύπτου πάσης (cp. Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, ii, Eng. tr., p. 248, n. 1) Λευκίῳ Οἰηστίνῳ καὶ ἐπιστάτῃ τοῦ μουσείου καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ βιβλιοθηκῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς παιδείας Ἀδριανοῦ

ἐπιστολεῖ τοῦ αὐτοῦ αὐτοκράτορος [Suidas : Οἰησῆτινος Ἰούλιος χρηματίας σοφιστῆς ἐπιτομὴν τῶν Παμφίλου γλωσσῶν : cp. Borghesi, *AdI*, 1846, p. 325. H.] Cp. Letronne as above, p. 251 f. That ἐπιστολεὺς simply = *ab epistulis* (doubted by Letronne, p. 471) is shown by Phrynichus, p. 379, ed. Lobeck. Ἐπὶ τῇ παιδείᾳ, wrongly translated 'tutor' by Letronne and Franz, = *a studiis*. *CIL*, vi, 9520 : Dis manibus Niconi L. Juli Vestini ser. librar.—mater fec. f. carissimo.

An inscription found at Ephesus (Muratori, 453, 3 = 706, 3 = 2026, 4 = Waddington, *Voy. arch.*, 176 = *CIL*, iii, 431) enumerates the offices and dignities of a fourth secretary of Hadrian. The name is lost : Borghesi's opinion (*AdI*, 1846, p. 325) that the reference is to Vestinus cannot possibly be correct (as Hirschfeld observes), since in a Greek inscription on the same person (found in Syria ; *Bullet. de corresp. hellén.*, iii, [1879,] p. 257) . . . μωνι is found as part of the cognomen. The Ephesian inscription runs . . . proc. | imp. Caes. Trajani Hadrian | . . . as dioecesis Alexandr. | . . . oc. bibliothecar. Graec. et | Latin. ab epist. Graec. | proc. Lyc. | Pamp. Galat. Paphl. Pisid. Pont. | proc. heredita | . . . proc. provin | ciae Asiae | proc. Syriae | Hermes Aug. lib. adjutor ejus. [Perhaps his name was [Εὐδα]μων and he was a native of Egypt, where the name appears to have been particularly common ; cp. Benseler, p. v ; the beginning of his career would agree with this. I am inclined to identify him with the person named in *Vita Hadriani*, 15 : Eudae-monem prius conscium imperii (perhaps in reference to his office as secretary) ad egestatem perduxit, especially as Heliodorus is mentioned in the same passage. H.]

Celer (Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.*, i, 22, τεχνογράφος, i.e. author of a manual of rhetoric, βασιλικῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἀγαθὸς προστάτης, *ib.*). A speech of Dionysius of Miletus was attributed to him ; since he was his contemporary (Philostratus speaks of him as Διονυσίῳ τῶν ἐκ μειρακίου χρόνον διάφορον), he may have held the office (of course *ab epist. graec.*) under Hadrian. It is not quite clear from Aristides, *Or.*, xxvi, p. 335 J, whether he was still in office at that time. Aristides says that Plato had appeared to him in a dream and asked him, ποῖός τις, ἔφη, σοὶ φαίνομαι εἰς ἐπιστολάς ; μὴ φαυλότερος τοῦ Κέλερος ; τὸν γραμματέα δὲ λέγων τὸν βασιλικόν. καγὼ, εὐφήμει, ἔφη, τὸ καὶ μεμνησθαί σε τοιοῦτον (read τοιοῦτου) ὄντα ὅστις εἶ. Perhaps he is identical with the Greek rhetorician Caninius Celer, tutor of Lucius Verus (*Vita Veri*, 2) ; cp. Fabricius, *Bibl. Gr.*, vi, 126.

L. Domitio L. f. Quir. Rogato pontif. minor. proc. Aug. provinc. Dalmat. proc. monetæ Aug. ab epistulis L. Aelii Caesaris praef. equ. alae I Arauacorum trib. mil. leg. VI victric. praef. coh. I Fl. equitatae praef. coh. I Dalmatar. accenso velato Domitia Venusta marito optimo et sibi. *CIL*, vi, 1607 = Orelli, 2153.

Two freedmen of the succeeding period are known, perhaps under L. Verus, with whom freedmen had great influence :

L. Aurelius Aug. l. Secundinus ab epistulis latinis. Donati, p. 309, 4.

M. Aurelius Alexander Aug. lib. ab epistulis graecis. Gruter, p. 586, 8 = *CIL*, vi, 8606. [The order of his offices was perhaps : (1) p.p. tabell. stat. xx her., Henzen, 6568. (2) prox. ab epist. lat.

Visconti, *Mon. Gab.*, p. 126 = *CIL*, xiv, 2815 (lead pipe). (3) ab epp. graec. *CIL*, vi, 8606. H.] Cp. *VG*, p. 255, 1.¹

Amongst the *equites*, the Romans were of course ab epp. *lat.*, the Greeks ab epp. *gr.*, even where not expressly stated.

[Ab. epp. *lat.* Quint?ilio C.f. . . . [adlecto in amplissimum] ordinem inter praetorios iudici[o imp. Antonini Aug. ab epistu]lis latinis procuratori summarum ratio[num procuratori A]isiae iuridico Alexandreae ab epistulis [M. Aureli Caesaris ? procuratori] Macedoniae, ab commentariis Cornelii Re[pentini pr. pr.]. Henzen, *Nuove memor. d.I.*, 1865, p. 286 = *CIL*, vi, 1563. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 43, 1.

Sex. Caecilio Q. F. Quir. Crescenti Volusiano praefect. fab. sacerd. Curioni sacris faciendis advocato fisci Romae proc. [x]x her. ab epistu[l.] [di]vi Antonini ab [ep]istul. Augustorum patrono municipii d.d.p.p. (Thuburbo minus, between 161 and 169). *CIL*, viii, 1174.

T. Varius Clemens (in the inscription on him in his birthplace Celeia, also between 161 and 169, *CIL*, iii, 5215 = Gruter, 482, 5 = Seidl, *Monum. Celeiana*, p. 58) is called ab epistulis Augustor. proc. provinciae Belgicae et utriusque Germ. Raetiae Maur. Caesar[iensis] Lusitaniae Ciliciae praef. auxiliorum in Mauret. Tingitan. ex Hispania missorum, etc. (the expedition against the Mauri under Antoninus Pius; *Vita*, 3, Pausanias, viii, 43). A letter from him, when procurator of Mauretania, to M. Valerius Etruscus, *legatus* of Numidia (152) in the inscription on the tunnel at Saldæ: Mommsen, *Arch. Zeitung*, n.f. iii, 1870 = *CIL*, viii, 2728. He is perhaps the same as the Clemens mentioned by Dio (lxxi, 12, in the year 170) as prefect of Dacia (Tillemont, *Hist. des emp.*, ii, 610).

Tarrutenus (Tarrutenius) Paternus. Dio (lxxi, 12) expressly states that he was ab epp. *lat.* to Marcus Antoninus, and before 170, in which year he was appointed commander of the Cotini against the Marcomanni (Tillemont, *Hist. des emp.*, ii, 611): see Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 227 f. He had already been *praef. praet.* under M. Antoninus; Commodus removed him from office (183) by raising him to senatorial or consular rank (*Vit. Comm.*, 4; Dio, lxxii, 5) and then had him put to death. His successor was perhaps

Vitruvius Secundus, qui epistulas imperatorias curabat (*Vit. Comm.*, 4) who was his intimate friend and was put to death at the same time.

Manilius, ab epp. *lat.* to Avidius Cassius, with whom he had great influence (Dio, lxxii, 7); his name was Manilius Pudens (*ib.*, lxxi, 29); Hirschfeld, *VG*, 206, 2.

Ab epp. *gr.* Ti. Claudius Vibianus Tertullus ab epistulis graecis et a rationibus Augg. *CIL*, iii, 6574: see above, p. 34.

Alexander, surnamed Πηλοπλάτων. Philostratus, *Vit. sophist.*, ii, p. 571: ἐβάδιζε μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰ Παιωνικὰ ἔθνη κατακληθεὶς ὑπὸ Μάρκου βασιλέως ἐκεῖ στρατεύοντος καὶ δαδωκότος αὐτῷ τὸ ἐπιστέλλειν Ἑλλήνων. *Id.* p. 575: τελευτῆσαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οἱ μὲν ἐν Κέλτοις φασὶν ἐπὶ ἐπιστέλλοντα, οἱ δ' ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πεπαυμένον τοῦ ἐπιστέλλειν.

Cornelianus, rhetorician, probably the father of the rhetorician

¹ Perhaps also, as Cug, p. 385, 6 observes, the *ensor* mentioned in the *Digest*, xxiii, 2, 57, § 1 was ab epistulis: Divus Marcus et Lucius imperatores Flaviae Tertullae per Mensorem libertum ita rescripserunt.

Metrophanes (Suidas : *Μητροφάνης, Κορηλιανού ῥήτορος, Λεβαδεύς κ.τ.λ.* Amongst other works he wrote a treatise *Περὶ τῶν χαρακτήρων Φιλοστράτου*). Phrynichus, who dedicated his *Ἐκλογή* to Cornelianus, lived, according to Photius, under M. Antoninus and Commodus, who are therefore the βασιλεῖς meant in *Epit.* 418 ed. Lobeck : *πρώτιστον μὲν ἐν παιδείᾳ μέγιστον ἀξίωμα ἀπάντων ἔχοντα σὲ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐκ προκρίτων ἀποφανθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπιστολέα αὐτῶν*. Cp. p. 225 : *οὐ δὲ βασιλικὸς ἐπιστολεὺς ἐπιφανεῖς* and p. 379 : *ἐξελληνίσαν καὶ ἀττικίσαν τὸ βασιλικὸν δικαστήριον καὶ διδάσκαλος καθιστάμενος οὐ μόνον αὐτῶν τῶν λόγων (ἀλλὰ καὶ ?) οἷον χρὴ λέγειν, σχήματος καὶ βλέμματος καὶ φωνῆς καὶ στάσεως*. It is uncertain whether, as would appear from this passage, he also held the office *a cognitionibus* ; Hirschfeld (*VG*, 209, 1) doubts it. See p. 43 above. Mai identified him with Sulpicius Cornelianus, the friend of Fronto, whose home and studies he shared (*Ερρ. ad amicos*, i, 4 ; cp. *Epp. Gr.*, ed. Niebuhr).

Adrianus, sophist. Philostratus, *Vit. sophist.*, ii, 11, p. 256 ed. Kayser : *νοσούντι—κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην, ὅπου δὴ καὶ ἐτελεύτα, ἐψηφίσαντο μὲν τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ὁ Κορμόδος ξὺν ἀπολογία τοῦ μὴ καὶ θάττον, ὁ δὲ ἐπιθείσας μὲν ταῖς Μούσαις, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, προσκυνήσας δὲ τὰς βασιλείας δέλτους, τὴν ψυχὴν πρὸς αὐταῖς ἀφῆκεν ἐπιταφίῳ τῇ τιμῇ χρησάμενος*. Yet Suidas says : *μαθητὴς Ἡρώδου—ἀντιγραφεὺς τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ὑπὸ Κορμόδου ἐγένετο* (i.e. dictator epistularum, Salmasius on *Script. Hist. Aug.*, ii, 785), an expression employed by Suidas in accordance with later usage. [He is no doubt the Ἀδριανὸς ὁ ῥήτωρ, ὅπως σοφιστεύων, ἀλλ' ἐτι συνὼν τῷ Βοηθῷ, mentioned by Galen in *De Progn. ad Epig.*, ed. K. xiv, 627. H.]

A Sempronius Aquila ab epp. gr. Aug. is mentioned in an Ancyra fragment of uncertain date published by Ramsay in *Bull. d. corr. hellén.*, vii (1883), p. 20 = *Oesterreich. Mittheil.*, ix (1885), p. 123, 83 : *[δήμ]ου Ῥωμαίων, πρ[ι]τ[ο]ρα [ἀ]ποδεδειγμένον Σεμπρωνία Ῥωμανὰ θυγάτηρ Σεμπρωνίου Ἀκύλου γενομέ[ν]ου ἐπὶ ἐπιστολῶν Ἑλληνικῶν Σεβ[αστοῦ] τὸν γλυκίτατον ἀνδρα*.

In the inscription (*IRN*, 4618 = *CIL*, x, 4860) . . . [Gabini Te]r. Aspri pon[tificis] augur[is] [a patrimonio]o ? Augg. nn. et graph. [imp. Antoni]ni, etc., Borghesi's suggestion that *graph.* = *graphēi*, i.e. *ab epp. gr.* is impossible, as already observed by Mommsen.

In the third century the following are known :—

Antipater of Hierapolis, sophist, *ab epp. gr.* to Severus (Philostratus, *Vit. sophist.*, ii, 24, p. 265 ed. K.), tutor of Caracalla and Geta (*ib.*). Galen, *De Theriaca ad Pisonem*, p. 458, ed. K. xiv, p. 218 : *ὅποτε γούν Ἀντίπατρος, ὁ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς ἐπιστολάς αὐτῶν πράττειν* [read *τάττειν*, cp. Josephus, *Vita*, 65, *Ant. Ju.*, xx, 8, 9. H.] *πεπιστευμένος, καὶ διὰ τὸ σεμνὸν τοῦ ἥθους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἐητορικοῖς λόγοις ἐντελὴ παιδείαν μεγάλως ὑπ' αὐτῶν (Severus and Caracalla) τιμώμενος, τῇ νεφρτικῇ διαθέσει περπεσών, δεινὰ καὶ ἀνήκεστα ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους ἐπασχεν, ἀξιώσαντων αὐτῶν εἶδον τὴν περὶ τοὺς φίλους εἰς τὸ σώζεσθαι σπουδὴν, καὶ θαυμαστὴν τὴν περὶ λατρικὴν φιλοτιμίαν*.

Marcus Agrippa, *τάς τε διαγνώσεις καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολάς διοικήσας* (Dio, lxxviii, 13) for Caracalla, although the latter handed over to his mother Julia *τὴν τῶν βιβλίων τῶν τε ἐπιστολῶν ἐκατέρων πλὴν τῶν πάνυ ἀναγκαίων διοικήσιν* (lxxvi, 18 ; cp. lxxviii, 4). Mommsen (*StR*, ii²

926, 1; the note is omitted in the 3rd ed.) and Hirschfeld (VG, 209, 1) assume that Marcus Agrippa was first a *cognitionibus*, then *ab epistulis*: but cp. Cuq as quoted on p. 43 above. [In reference to Caracalla's assassination, it is stated (*Vit. Carac.*, 6): *non ignorantibus Marcio Agrippa, qui classi praeerat, et praeterea plerisque officialium.* H.]

Aspasius of Ravenna (Philostratus, *Vitt. sophist.*, ii, 33; cp. Egger as above, p. 17). He also held the professorship of rhetoric at Rome, *νέζων μὲν εὐδοκιμώτατος, γηράσκων δὲ ἔξιν αἰτῖα τοῦ μὴ ἐτέρῳ ἀποστήναι βούλεσθαι*. Philostratus addressed a letter to him on the art of composing the imperial letters (see vol. i, p. 56 and n.).

Maximus of Aegae, author of a life of Apollonius of Tyana (Philostratus, *Ap. Tyana.*, i, 3, 5, ed. K., p. 3, 3): *ἡξιώθη δὲ καὶ βασιλείων ἐπιστολῶν οὗτος εὐδοκιμῶν τὴν φωνήν* (ib., i, 12, 14 ed. K., p. 7, 7).

Calvisius Statianus—*ab epistulis latinis* Augustor. Veronensis patronus. Maffei, *Museum Veronense*, 116, 1 = Orelli, 3907 = *CIL*, v, 1, 3336 ['*litteris bonis*'], consequently belonging probably to the second century. H.]

Numisius Quintianus v.p. *ab epistulis latinis* Gordiani (239), Grut. 272, 2 = *CIL*, vi, 1088. Claudius Eusthenius, qui Diocletiano *ab epistolis* fuit. Hist. Aug. *Vit. Carini*, 18. [Eutropius *ab epp.* Constantini; cp. Tzschucke, praef. ad Eutrop., p. 9. After Constantine: Orelli, 2352; Codinus, *De Orig. Constant.*, p. 51; Libanius, ed. Reiske, iii, p. 438. Julian's secretaries Nymphidianus (Eunapius, *Vitt. Soph.*, p. 177 Boiss.) and Himerius (Tzetzes, *Chil.*, vi, 28). A magister epistular[um], *Bull. trimestr. des antiq. afric.*, 1885, p. 24, n. 694. Fragment by the *vir praetorius*, p. 41 above. Forgeries: Orelli, 3567 (cp. Henzen, iii, p. 372); Gudius, 202, 4; Doni, vii, 52, 156, viii, 37. H.]

The *officium a memoria* cannot be definitely shown to have been in existence until the time of Caracalla; it did not originate, as Mommsen thought, in the *a studiis*. Certainly Lipsius's emendation (*Elect.*, i, 12, adopted by Roth) in Suetonius, *Aug.*, 79 is very probable: Julius Marathus, libertus et a memoria ejus (MSS., etiam memoriam). In any case, as Cuq (p. 401) conjectures, the formal institution of the office was probably due to Hadrian; the oldest inscription in which it is mentioned, is Muratori, 892, 11 = *CIL*, vi, 8618: D.m. Ctesiae Aelii Cladei a memoria et cubiculo Aug. ser. M. Aurelius Julianus a rationibus et a memoria, *CIL*, vi, 1596 = xiv, 2463. Herodian, iv, 8, 4: *ἦν αὐτῷ* (Caracalla) *τις τῶν ἀπελευθέρων φίλτατος, Φῆστος μὲν νομα, τῆς δὲ βασιλείου μνήμης προεστῶς*. The same person appears to be meant in the corrupt passage of Dio (lxxviii, 32: *τὸν κατὰ τοῦ Ταράντου πρῶτον*) [and is no doubt identical with the Festus mentioned in *Vita Macrini*, 4: *Macrinum . . . donatum . . . anulis aureis patrocinantem sibi conliberto suo Festo*, obviously an imperial freedman. H.]. On the base of a statue of his wife or daughter at Tibur, *CIL*, xiv, 3638: *Marci Festi* [a cubic. ?] et a memor . . . Antonini Pii [felicitis]. The combination of the two offices (see Karlowa, *Rechtsgesch.*, i, 545) is also shown by Dio (lxxvi, 14), according to Hirschfeld's emendation: *ἐπεπίστευτο τὴν τε μνήμην* (for *γνώμην*) *αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν κοῦτῶνα*. Hist. Aug., *Vit. Pescen. Nig.*, 7: *Pauli et Ulpiani praefecturae, qui*

Papiniano in consilio fuerunt : ac postea quum unus ad memoriam, alter ad libellos paruisset, statim praefecti facti sunt ; *Alex. Sev.*, 31 : post meridianas horas subscriptioni et lectioni epistolarum semper dedit operam, ita ut ab epistolis et libellis et a memoria semper assisterent . . . nonnunquam . . . sederent, relegendibus cuncta librariis et iis qui scrinium gerebant ; *Carinus*, 8 : Junius Calphurnius, qui ad memoriam dictabat, talem ad praefectum urbis super morte Cari epistolam dedit. Cp. Boissieu, *Inscriptions de Lyon*, p. 252 (Eichhorst as above, p. 29). Orelli, 3195 and 3196 (= *CIL*, vi, 8619, imperial rescript to a certain Januarius lib.), 2352 (of the year 376), 3192 (same date), 6328 = *CIL*, x, 1727. Gruter, 151, 6 = *CIL*, xii, 1524. *Notitia dignit.*, ed. Böcking, ii, p. 414 *-416.* *CIL*, vi, 8619-8622. Gothofred., *Ad cod. Theod.*, ed. Ritter, ii, p. 93. *CIL*, xiv, 4062 = *Bull. comm. d. R.*, 1883, p. 237, 671 (sarcophagus) : D. m. Artemidori Aug. lib. adlect. a memoria q.v.a. xvii d. xvii Valeria Philoc . . . filio dulcissimo. [In the second half of the fourth century the author of the *Breviarium rerum gestarum*, Rufius Festus ; cp. Bernhardt, *RLG*⁴, p. 715, n. 516 (Teuffel, *RLG*⁴, Eng. tr., 416, 1) : 'the heading in the Bamberg MS. (eleventh cent.) is *breviarium Festi v.c. magistri memoriae*'. With this should be combined the notice in Bähr (*RLG*, ii⁴, p. 307, n. 12) that he is spoken of as *dictator* in MSS. H.] In the inscription Henzen-Orelli, 6328 = *CIL*, x, 1727, an Aurelius Symphorus Aug. lib. officialis vetus a memoria et a diplomatibus is mentioned ; the latter, probably a branch of the *a memoria*, also occurs by itself in Orelli, 2795 = Doni, xvii, 22 = Murat., 785, 4 (T. Aelius Aug. lib. Saturninus a diplomatibus) ; cp. Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 105 and 279 note. In the office a *codicillis* letters of appointments were drafted (cp. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii⁴, 805, 1). In the inscr. *CIG*, 4033, 4034 : *πρεσβεύσαντα ἐν Ἀσίᾳ ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς καὶ κωδικιλλῶν θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ, ἐπιστολῇ* is the imperial letter despatched from the secretariat, containing the notification of appointment perhaps accompanied by instructions, *κωδικιλλοὶ* the letters patent (cp. Waddington, *Mém. de l'Inst.*, 1867, p. 220 ; Karlowa, *Rechtsgesch.*, i, 541). A *codicillis* alone : Orelli, 2902 = *CIL*, xiv, 4011 ; Orelli, 2903, 5009 = *CIL*, vi, 8440 ; cp. Fronto, ed. Niebuhr, p. 102 (6311). M. Ulp. Aug. lib. Stratus adjutor a *codicillis*. *BdI*, 1862 (*CIL*, vi, 8441s.), p. 8. M. Ulpio Aug. lib. Laeto a *codicillis*, *Bull. comm. d. R.*, iii (1875), p. 162. Hirschfeld, as above (p. 60, 2 ; 205 n.) takes *codicilli* to mean testamentary provisions, and believes that the officials a *codicillis* were concerned with the administration of inheritances. The fact that T. Aurelius Egatheus a *codicillis* (*CIL*, vi, 8440) was once so employed is not sufficient to confirm this view, which is not very probable¹ (A Euphemus Lucillae Aug. a legatis, *CIL*, vi, 8434a).

The office a *memoria*, to which a considerable portion of the duties formerly performed by the *ab epistulis* and a *libellis* was transferred (apparently after the beginning of the third century), the time after Constantine constituted the imperial bureau, while the

¹ Hirschfeld, who adheres to his opinion, in order to show to what an extent the *ratio hereditatum* was subdivided, calls attention to the officials *ab auctorita[tibus] ratione heredit.* *CIL*, vi, 8439.

other heads of departments only retained preliminary functions, chiefly as examiners. The result was that they were driven more and more into the background, and were held to be inferior in rank to the *a memoria* (Hirschfeld, pp. 210-215 ; Cuq, p. 473).

IX. THE ORDER OF THE OFFICES HELD BY IMPERIAL FREEDMEN.

(Vol. I, p. 37, l. 6 from bottom.)¹

THE gradual promotion of freedmen on the imperial initiative to more important duties and positions at court (cp. Hirschfeld as above, p. 266) is best illustrated by certain inscriptions in which undoubtedly the offices held by various persons are specified in their proper (ascending or descending) order.

I cite first the fragments of two imperial rescripts to a freedman named Januarius. In the first, he is rewarded for the satisfactory performance of his duties as *proximus a memoria* by a yearly salary of 40,000 sesterces ; in the second, he is promoted to the *statio voluptatum*. The fragments, with the insertions of Mommsen and Hirschfeld (*CIL*, vi, 8619), read as follows : Januario [lib.] salutem. [Functus es per annos . . . ministerio officii me]moriae. in quo mihi probe et laboriose et ex dis[ciplina mea operam prae]buisti u]t indulgentiae meae praerogativam tanto magis cu[ra tua probaverit, quanto plus amoris tuo [?] min]isterio sit mihi conciliatum ; ideoque justum arbitratus sum [adaequare te] ceteris proximis, qui in aliis stationibus quadragena millia n. [accipiunt ; neque haec indulgentia c]uiquam mira videri potest cum iudicium meum fidei labori sed[ulitati tuae optimo jure tri]bui a me intelligatur. Bene vale.

[Januar]io lib. salutem. [Quoniam functus studio pecul]iare ministerio officii memoriae es et fides ac modestia qua semper et egisti et commendatio . . . magistri tui hortantur, ut te ad splendendam voluptatum statio[nem promoveam, defero tibi officium . . .] colliberti tui, nec dubito operam insumpturum, ut talem te [in eo praebeas, qualis esse debet, qui a]d latus principum tam diu egerit. Bene vale.

I next give the inscriptions, in which the careers of imperial freedmen are indicated.

1. Ti. Claudius Aug. lib. Bucolas praegustator tricliniarum (*sic*) proc. a munerib. proc. aquar. proc. castrensis cum. Q. Claudio Flaviano filio et Sulpicia Cantabra matre d.d. Found at Caere (*Bull. d. Inst. arch.*, 1840, p. 95 ; Henzen, 6337).

Bucolas began his career as a 'taster', an office filled during the reign of Claudius by the eunuch Halotas, who is said to have assisted in poisoning him (Suetonius, *Claud.*, 44). Other imperial tasters are mentioned in the inscriptions. Orelli, 2993 and *CIL*, vi, 602, 9003-9005 (9004 : collegium praegustatorum), x, 6324 (praegustator et a cubiculo Neronis) ; cp. Nipperdey on Tacitus, *Ann.*, xii, 66 and Marquardt, *Prl.*, i², 147, 8. Then he became superintendent of the table, a post mentioned elsewhere ; both in the imperial household (Orelli, 794,

¹ A great part of this article has already appeared in the *Programm* of the University of Königsberg (May 12th, 1861 ; Acad. Alb. Regim., 1861, iii).

cp. Henzen, iii, p. 78 = *CIL*, vi, 1884 : M. Ulpio Aug. lib. Phaedimo¹ Divi Trajani Aug. a potione item a laguna et tricliniarch. lictori proximo et a comment. beneficiorum [died 117, at the age of twenty-eight] and in private houses (Becker-Göll, *Charicles*, iii, 373). The Euphemus, no doubt an imperial freedman, whom Martial (iv, 8) asks to hand a copy of his poems to the emperor at table :

hora libellorum decima est, Eupheme, meorum,
temperat ambrosias cum tua cura dapes . . .
tunc admitte iocos

was probably Domitian's superintendent of table. Bucolas was next promoted to be business manager of the imperial gladiatorial games. The explanation of procurator a muneribus or munerum (Henzen, 6344) given by Borghesi (*BdI*, 1830, p. 123)—'che amministrava i regali fatti all' imperatore'—can hardly be correct, since it is highly improbable that there was a special department connected with such presents. Mommsen formerly held the view (now abandoned by him) that the reference is to the waterworks called *munera* (*StR*, ii², 951, 4; Hirschfeld, as above, p. 167, 1). On the permanent officials who administered the imperial *munera* cp. Hirschfeld, p. 177 f. A tabularius a muneribus in *Bull. comm. d. R.*, 1881, p. 43.

The office of *proc. aquarum*, next held by Bucolas, is one of the higher procuratorships: according to the inscription Orelli, 946 = *CIL*, x, 6569 (first half of the third century) it carried with it a salary of 100,000 sesterces. It has been discussed at length by Hirschfeld (*VG*, p. 161) and Lanciani (*Le acque*, p. 319). Both assume that it was instituted by Claudius, and give lists of officials, Bucolas being the first named (Lanciani puts him in the reign of Domitian). Finally, he became *proc. castrensis*, an office incidentally mentioned by Marini (*Atti d. fr. Arv.*, p. 956); Eichhorst's conjecture (*Neue Jahrbücher*, 1865, p. 207), that this was the manager of the *ludi castrenses*, is untenable. Hirschfeld has abandoned his earlier view (*Das aerarium militare in der Kaiserzeit*, in *Philol. Jahrb.*, 1868, p. 690), that the *procuratores castrenses* were the subordinate officials of the chief director of the administration of all the military funds, the *procurator rationis castrensis*. He considers (*VG*, 196–200) the titles *procurator castrensis*, *procurator rationis castrensis*, *procurator fisci castrensis* to be terms for one and the same official, the director of the imperial residence, who according to the inscription (Henzen, 6529: M. Aurelius Basileus vir ducenarius *proc. rationis castrensis*) received a salary of 200,000 sesterces. On the other hand, Mommsen (*StR*, ii², 2, 807, 2) observes that the city palace was never called *castra*, and, owing to the tendency of the Augustan principate to disguise the military government, could never have been so called. He considers the *proc. castrensis* to be the official appointed to look after the imperial *vestis castrensis* and camp and travelling equipments generally—a position hardly sufficient to explain the importance which must have been attached to it. [The tendency of the Augustan principate is not absolutely decisive as to the nature of an office which cannot

¹ A. M. Ulpius Phaedimus Aug. lib. a cubiculo (*CIL*, x, 6773).

be shown to have existed before the time of Claudius. And although at first it may only have been connected with the imperial quarters outside Rome, the instances quoted (*VG*, p. 198) show that in the third (and most probably in the second) century the functions of the *proc. castr.* extended also to the imperial palace inside—especially the activity of the *tabularius vat. castrensis* for the May festival of the Arval brethren to be held in the imperial palace in 219. H.] The *procuratores castrenses* are all imperial freedmen: Henzen, 6337, Muratori, 901, 1 (Ulpius Crater Aug. lib. *proc. castr.*); Henzen, 6344 (to be discussed under no. 4), 7419 d; ([Aur]elius Aug. [lib.] Saturninus *procur. cast.*); he appears to be identical with the Saturninus in Maffei, *Mus. Ver.*, p. 85, 2 (Saturninus Aug. lib. *proc. castrensis*); Orelli, 4008, cp. Henzen, iii, p. 436 (Aurelius Hermas Aug. lib. *proc. k.*); cp. *CIL*, vi, 8511 sqq.; *CIG*, 3888 (M. Αὐρ. Σεβαστῶν ἀπελεύθερον Κρήσκεντα ἐπίτροπον Λουγδούνου Γαλλίας καὶ ἐπίτροπον Φρυγίας καὶ ἐπίτροπον καστρήσιν. According to the last inscription the *procuratio castrorum* appears to have been the preliminary step to the procuratorship of a province; since the latter was rarely attained by freedmen, the *proc. castr.* must be regarded as one of the highest positions accessible to them. The inscription Orelli, 2972, *CIL*, xiv, 2932: Paeon Aug. lib. *proc. castr.* *proc. hereditat. proc. voluptat. proc. Alexandr. sibi posterisque suis* is genuine, though doubted by Henzen (iii, 246, cp. 508). Hirschfeld adds: Fabretti, 689, 108: M. Aurel. Stertinius Carpus una cum Carpo *proc. k. patre* and Fabretti, 196: xlv d.m. Primi-genio Epagathio Aug. l. *proc. f(isci) c(astrensis) delicio*. Forgery, by Ligorio: Gud., 37, 1; 60, 10; 191, 5.

2. P. Aelio Aug. lib. Liberali¹ *procuratori annonae Ostiensis. procuratori pugillationis et ad naves vagas. tribunicio collegi magni. decuriali decuriae viatoriae consul. decuriali gerulorum. praeposito mensae nummul. f. f. Ost. ornato ornamentis decurionatus col. Ost. patrono Laurentium vici Augustanor.* Henzen, *BdI*, 1875, p. 5 (Illustrazione di una lapide latina ritrovata a Castel Porziano); now *CIL*, xiv, 2045.

This inscription, which decides the position of the vicus Augustanus Laurentium, has been admirably explained by Henzen, from whom I take the following. The offices are enumerated in descending order. P. Aelius Liberalis, a freedman of Hadrian, began his career as director of a bank, established by the Roman central administration of the corn supply at Ostia (*mensa nummularia fisci frumentarii Ostiensis*), in which position he received from its senate the insignia of the decurionate. He then entered the corporation of the *geruli* (bearers of letters and official documents, Mommsen, *StR*, i³, 366, 3 and 4), who belonged to the public *apparitores*; next, the chief (consular) *decuria* of the *viatores* (*ib.*, p. 344); and then held the office of a tribune of the 'great college' devoted to the cult of the imperial house (*collegium magnum larium et imaginum*, etc.). By 'procurator pugillationis' and 'ad naves vagas' Henzen understands the procurator of the official delivery of letters (*pugillatio* in Sidon. Apol., *Ep.*, ix, 4 *pugillator* = letter carrier) by the mail-

¹ *CIL*, xiv, 2178 (Aricia): Aeliae Saeniae Nigrinae Aelius Liberalis *cojug. b.m.f.*

boats stationed at Ostia. On the other hand, Mommsen (*StR*, ii³, 2, 1030, 3) observes: 'it seems more probable to understand an official charged with the registration (*pugillatio*) of ships arriving in Latin harbours'. Hirschfeld, who agrees with Mommsen, adds (*VG*, p. 140): 'Since from about the time of Hadrian to Caracalla the *proc. portus* is replaced by the *proc. annonae*, this *proc. pugillationis et ad naves vagas* may have exercised some of the duties of the *proc. portus*, which were not included in the *procuratio annonae*, especially the control of in- and out-going ships'. Lastly, P. Aelius Liberalis became *procurator annonae* at Ostia. As *patronus* of the *Laurentes vici Augustani* (perhaps the *vicus* mentioned by Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 17 as near his Laurentinum) he was honoured by them with this inscription.

3. On the inscription *CIL*, iii, 348 (offices in ascending order): M. Aur. Aug. liber. Marcioni proximo rationum *proc. marmorum* *proc. prov. Britanniae* *proc. summi chorag.* *proc. prov. Frygiae*, see Hirschfeld, *VG*, 183, 2.

The following inscription (end of second or beginning of third century) shows some resemblance to the career of Bucolas:

4. M. Aurelio Augg. lib. Proseneti a cubiculo Aug. *proc. thesaurorum* *proc. patrimonii* *proc. munerum* *proc. vinorum ordinato a divo Commodo*. in Kastrense patrono piissimo liberti benemerenti sarcophagum de suo adornaverunt (on a large sarcophagus found near the Via Labicana; Henzen, 6344).

As the *procuratio patrimonii* was certainly a higher office than the *procuratio vinorum*, the order must be a descending one. [This is especially clear from *ordinatus a Divo Commodo* in *kastrense*: i.e. (first) appointed by Commodus to a post in the imperial palace, by which the lower, non-procuratorial positions are indicated, which, being merely preliminary steps to the procuratorships, are enumerated. H.] The office of chamberlain (*a cubiculo*) was consequently the highest of these held by Prosenes, to which he was appointed immediately after the administration of the imperial treasures, where no doubt valuables of all kinds were kept, especially clothing (*Vita Alex. Sev.*, 40: in thesauris vestem nunquam nisi annum esse passus est; cp. the passage quoted by Salmasius, *Cod.*, xi, 14: *privatae vel linteariae vestis magistri, thesaurorum praepositi vel baphiorum ac textrinatorum procuratores*, etc.; Hirschfeld, *VG*, 193, 1). 'Praepositus thesaurorum' in the latter passage = *procurator thes.* In the latest period the *praep. thes.* was one of the officials sub dispositione comitis sacrarum largitionum (*Notitia dign. Or.*, ed. Böcking, i, 82). Böcking prefers the plural, since in *Notit. Occ.*, x, i, c. 12 *praepositi thesaurorum* are mentioned. But these are provincial *thesauri*, each of which had its special superintendent, while in the case of the imperial treasure-houses there is no reason to assume that there was more than one administrator. [The *praepositus thesauris dominicis* (Henzen, 6871 = *CIL*, viii, 1322) is an officer, and these *thesauri*, instituted for military purposes (cp. *Hist. Aug.*, Gallieni, 3) are to be distinguished from the others. H.]

On the *procuratio patrimonii*, i.e. the administration of the imperial private property cp. Hirschfeld, pp. 23; 41, 3. The *pro-*

curatio munerum has been discussed above. There remains the *procuratio vinorum*. Different wine-producing countries of Italy were obliged to furnish wine for the capital; a special department and funds were appointed in this connexion. The chief official was called later *rationalis vinorum* (on the titles *procurator* and *rationalis* cp. Hirschfeld, pp. 36–38). *Not. Occ.*, ed. Böcking, ii, 1, p. 16,* cp. p. 194 * sqq.; Gothofred. on *Cod. Theodos.*, xiv, 6, 3 (ed. Ritter, v, 210): hinc titulus vinarius Symmacho lib. 7. epist. 95 et arca vinaria, id est, ratiocinium hujus praestationis vini. cujus quidem arcae vinariae rationes tractabat peculiaris Rationalis qui sub p.u. fuit, Rationalis vinorum ut docet notitia imperii. Several passages are there quoted, in which the *arca vinaria* is mentioned. In this department Erasinus Caes. n. ser. and Aelius Aug. lib. Eutychnus were appointed *adjutores a vinis* (Henzen, 6377, 6378 = *CIL*, vi, 9092, 9091). [The latter is perhaps the same as Eutychnus Caes. n.s. verna ped(isequus) a vinis, Muratori, 899, 6 (where it is wrongly explained) = *CIL*, vi, 8527, according to which as a slave he had held a lower post in the same department. H.] See also Jahn, *Spec. epigr.*, c. 31.

Prosenes died in 217, having embraced Christianity (according to the very probable assumption of De Rossi, *Inscr. Christ.*, i, 5, p. 9). On the right side of the sarcophagus, above a griffin, there is the following inscription: Prosenes receptus ad deum v non. . . . is sa . . . nia Praesente et Extricato II regrediens in urbe ab expeditionibus. scripsit Ampelius lib. The gaps are thus conjecturally filled by Mommsen: Prosenes receptus ad deum v non. [Ma]i [as] (vel [Jul]i[as]) Sa[me in Cephalle]nia Praesente et Extricato II regrediens in urbe[m] ab expeditionibus, who rightly assumes (against De Rossi), that the words scripsit Ampelius lib. are not to be connected with what precedes.

Several years older is the inscription of Casa Calda, found on a magnificent sepulchral memorial on the Via Appia, now *CIL*, vi, 1598. From Henzen's exhaustive commentary (*AdI*, 1857, p. 86) I quote the necessary explanations.

5. [L. Aurelius Nicomedes qui et] Ceionius et Aelius vocitatus est L. Caesaris fuit a cubiculo et divi Veri imp. nutr[itor].

[a divo Antonino Pio equo publico et sac]erdotio Caeniniensi item pontif. min. exornatus ab eodem proc. ad silic. et praef. vehicul. factus et ab imp. Antonino.

[Aug. et divo Vero cura copiarum exercit]us¹ ei iniunct. hasta pura et vexillo et corona murali donatus proc. summarum rat. cum. Ceionia Laena uxore sua hic situs.

The offices and distinctions of Nicomedes are all equestrian, and, although the insertion of *equo publico* is doubtful, they are certainly subsequent to his elevation to the equestrian order; consequently, his career cannot be compared with those of the other imperial freedmen. But while in other cases freedmen, upon whom *ingenuitas* was bestowed, in enumerating the positions filled by them, ignore those which involve *libertinitas*, these latter (L. Caesaris a cubiculo et divi Veri imp. nutritor) are in this instance quite exceptionally

¹ This line is supplied by Mommsen.

mentioned. Otherwise, all the priesthoods, offices, and decorations of Nicomedes are equestrian (Mommson, *StR*, iii, 1, 518, 4). The *sacerdotes Caeninenses* (Orelli, 96, 2180, 2533, 3349), like the *pontifices minores*, are always of equestrian rank. Similarly, the managers of the postal system (*praefecti vehiculorum*) known from other sources are all *equites* (Hirschfeld, p. 100, 3; Mommson, *StR*, ii³, 2, 1031), who after they had risen to the *praefectura alas*, were appointed imperial procurators—as *sexagenarii*, *centenarii*, and (in combination with the office *a copiis. Aug. per viam Flaminiam*; cp. Hirschfeld, p. 101, 1) *ducenarii*. On the *proc. summarum rationum* see p. 32; on the *cura copiarum*, Hirschfeld, 101, 1.

6. The latest inscription to be quoted (time of Alexander Severus), found near Corinth and copied by Cyriacus of Ancona (now *CIL*, iii, 536), is as follows:—

Theoprepen Aug. lib. proc. domini n. m. Aur. Severi Alexandri Pii Fel. Aug. provinciae Achaiae et Epiri et Thessaliae rat. purpurarum proc. ab ephemeride proc. a mandatis proc. at praedia Galliana proc. saltus Domitiani tricliniarcham praepositum a fiblis praepositum a crystallinis hominem incomparabilem Lysander Aug. lib. officialis.

Ψ[ηφισματι] Β[ουλης]

The offices are mentioned in descending order. Theoprepes was, accordingly, at first superintendent of the imperial crystal vessels (i.e. the valuable glass-ware), then of the buckles or clasps on clothes. As early as the last days of the republic military tribunes wore golden clasps: Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxiii, 39: sed in militia quoque in tantum adolevit haec luxuria, ut M. Bruti e Philippiis campis epistulae reperiantur frementis fibulas tribunicias ex auro geri. In the second century there was great extravagance in this respect. Hadrian, who wore clasps without jewels, was admired for his economy (*Vita*, 10; cp. the notes of Casaubon and Salmasius); on the other hand Gallienus wore golden clasps set with precious stones (*Gallieni duo*, 16). Aurelian (*Vita*, 16) even allowed common soldiers to wear golden clasps, whereas they had previously only worn silver ones. 'Fibula aurea cum gemmis' is mentioned as a present to a newly appointed military tribune in 238 (*Inscr. v. Thorigny*, ii, 10, in Mommson, *Ber. d. sächs. Ges.*, 1852, p. 241. The *fibula* in Martial (v, 41, 5, *trabeasque et Idus, fibulasque censusque*) is also to be understood as a distinction of the tribunes. Numerous statues and busts of the period show that cameos were frequently used for the adornment of belts and clasps. Probably the *praepositus a crystallinis* and the *pr. a fibulis* were both subordinates of the *praepositus thesaurorum*. The office of *tricliniarcha* has been already spoken of (p. 50f.); after this Theoprepes was appointed administrator of two imperial domains, the *saltus Domitianus* (cp. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 25, 3) and the *praedia Galliana* (*saltus Galliani qui cognominantur Aquinates in the 1st regio*, Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, iii, 116). He next became *procurator a mandatis*, i.e. he superintended the drawing up of the imperial instructions issued to proconsuls, propraetors, and procurators for the administration of the provinces (Dio, liii, 15; Pliny, *Ad Trajanum*, 56; often in the Digests, cp. Puchta, *Instit.*, p. 528, Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 206 n.). Lucian, *Pro Lapsu in Salutando*: τι δ'; οὐχὶ καὶ ἐν τῷ τῶν ἐπτολῶν βιβλίῳ, ὃ ἀεὶ παρὰ βασιλέως λαμ-

βάνετε, τοῦτο πρῶτον ὑμῖν ἐστὶ παράγγελμα, τῆς ὑγιείας τῆς ὑμετέρας αὐτῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι;

As far as I know, this office, like that of the *procurator ab ephemeride*, is only mentioned here. [The latter in all probability was created by Alexander Severus in imitation of Alexander the Great (*Vita*, 30, quem praecipue imitatus est; 64, se Magnum Alexandrum videri volebat; cp. 31 f.), whose *ephemerides* or day-books were kept by Eumenes of Cardia; cp. *VG*, 206, 1. H.] According to Casaubon's conjecture (on Suetonius, *Augustus*, 64), the custom (dating from the time of Augustus) of keeping a diary of the events of the imperial household (*commentarii diurni*) was imitated from the Macedonian court, which had borrowed it from the Persian. There is the more reason to believe this, since the latter appears directly or indirectly to have been the model of other Roman court institutions (see p. 59). The diary of Trimalchio (Petronius, 30) is perhaps a caricature of the imperial diary. Augustus forbade his daughter and granddaughter to say anything, which could not be inserted in it (Suetonius, *Aug.*, 64). Aurelian's biographer made use of his day-books (*ephemerides*) written on linen, in which he had had the events of the day set down (*Vita*, 1). On the basis of these day-books biographies of the emperors were written in diary form, such as the *ephemerides vitae Gallieni* by Palfurius Sura (*Gallieni duo*, 18) and the *ephemeris* of Turdulus Gallicanus, used by Vopiscus in the biography of Probus (*Vita*, 2). Their official *commentarii*, also frequently mentioned (Sueton., *Domit.*, 20; Tacitus, *Hist.*, iv, 40; Trajan *ad Plinium*, 95; Digg., iv, 6, 32), which were kept by slaves and freedmen, were different from these (cp. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 206, 1; *CIL*, vi, 8623; Mommsen, *StR*, ii², 2, 907 f.).

The last office held by Theoprepes was the administration of the imperial purple factories (Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 514) in Achaia, Epirus, and Thessaly: proc[uratore]m domini n[ostri] M. Aur[elii] Severi Alexandri Pii Fel[icis] Aug[usti] provinciae Achaiae et Epiri et Thessaliae rat[ionis] purpurarum. Perhaps the *ratio purpuraria* owes its origin to Alexander Severus, who seems to have been the first to sell purple from the imperial factories (Hirschfeld, *VG*, 193, 1).

X. ROMAN NAMES ASSUMED BY *PEREGRINI* AND FREEDMEN.

(Vol. I, p. 47, l. 6.)

GALBA's freedman Icelus, Marciani cognomine ornatus (Suetonius, *Galba*, 14) after his elevation to the equestrian order, took this *equestre nomen* (Tacitus, *Hist.*, i, 13) as a second *cognomen* (Tacitus, *Hist.*, i, 46). (R. Macke, *Die römischen Eigennamen bei Tacitus*, ii [*Progr. d. Gymn. zu Hadersleben*, 1888], p. 18; cp. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 426, 3.) A similar case (mentioned in Dio, lxxix, 16) is that of Aurelius Zoticus of Smyrna, the favourite of Elagabalus, who received the cognomen of his imperial master's grandfather Avitus. But freedmen also appear to have been sometimes permitted to make use of a more becoming cognomen in addition to their Greek or foreign one. If the examples of such double names (Phileros Aequitas, Eros Merula) chiefly belong to the last days of the republic and the early empire, the reason is that later the freed-

man-name was as a rule discarded; many freedmen (e.g. M. Verrius Flaccus, Sueton., *De grammaticis*, 17) in this manner appear to have acquired the pure equestrian name. Suetonius, *ib.*, 18: L. Crassicius generis libertini, cognomine Pasicles, mox Pansam se transnominavit Martial, vi, 17:—

Cinnam, Cinname, te jubes vocari.
non est hic, rogo, Cinna, barbarismus?
tu si Furius ante dictus esses,
fur ista ratione dicereris.

Such arbitrary alterations of name were a violation of legal provisions, which (as is shown in thousands of cases) must have forbidden a freedman to assume family *cognomina* usually borne by the nobility and *equites*.

On the other hand, while freedmen were especially fond of changing the Greek *cognomen* for a Roman, provincials of free descent, who possessed or received the rights of citizenship, and had no reason for concealing their origin, frequently seem to have borne a Greek as well as a Roman *cognomen*, sometimes before, sometimes after the latter. Thus, e.g. Α. Φορτίος Φόρτις Ἀσκληπιάδης, Πόπλιος Ἀἴλιος Φλαβιανὸς Ζωῆλος, Γ. Κλαύδιον Σειλιανὸν Πολύκριτον, Τιβ. Κλ. Μοντανὸν τὸν καὶ Ἡσύχιον, Αὔρ. Ἀγησιλάου Σεκούνδου, Τ. Στατίλιον Τιμοκράτη Μεμμιανόν, Πο. Ἀἴλιον Ἀρποκρατίωνα τὸν καὶ Πρόκλον (Borghesi, *Œuvres*, iii, 499). *Corp. Inscr. Att.*, iii, 698: τὸν ἐπώνυμον ἀρχοντα Μάρκον Αὐρήλιον Καλλίφρονα τὸν καὶ Φροντεῖον. To this class belongs Νικαεύς, ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων Ῥωμαίοις, Σηδάτος ὄνομα, τὸ δ' ἀρχαῖον Θεόφιλος (Aristides, *Or.*, xxvi, p. 324, Jebb; cp. p. 301); for the inscription on a Θεόφιλος Σηδάτιος (*sic*) found at Laodicea (*CIG*, 3937) no doubt refers to him or one of his relatives (Waddington, *Mém. de l'Inst.*, 1867, p. 256). Borghesi identified him with M. Sedatius C. f. Severianus cos. 150 (*CIL*, iii, 1575).

In the early empire *peregrini* also assumed Roman gentile names, for Claudius found it necessary to prohibit this (Suetonius, *Claud.*, 25: peregrinae condicionis homines vetuit usurpare Romana nomina duntaxat gentilia). Not only the assumption of non-Roman names, which may have frequently taken place when a man's position was changed (e.g. in Lucian, *Gall.*, 14, a certain Simon who had become wealthy calls himself Simonides), but also of Roman *cognomina* continued to be allowed. This was fairly common in the case of Greeks, Egyptians and Jews: e.g. Σιμωνίδης ὁ καὶ Ἀγρίππας ἐπικληθεὶς (Josephus, *Vita*, 76). For other examples see Letronne, *Rech. pour servir à l'hist. de l'Égypte*, p. 247 ff. (Διόσκορος Μακρεῖος, Ἡράκλειτος Οὐετρανός, Σαβινιανός Σαρατίων and so forth). Sometimes Greek names were translated into Latin. Suidas, s.v. Εἰρηναῖος and Πάκατος: Εἰρηναῖος (ὁ καὶ Πάκατος κληθεὶς Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτῳ) μαθητὴς Ἡλιοδώρου τοῦ μετρικοῦ, γραμματικοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέως. On the other hand, Roman names, except in poetry (Ianthis for Violantilla, wife of Arruntius Stella, Martial, vi, 21; vii, 15, 50), were only Grecized in familiar conversation. On both sides of the sarcophagus of Tertinia Victorina at Lyons (Orelli, 3030) χαίρε Νικασί—*in* laire Νικασί occurs, rightly regarded by Boissieu (*Inscr. de Lyon*, p. 310) as a Greek translation. Cp. *CIG*, 6739 (D. m. et memoriae aeternae Aur. Callistes—εὐθύμει Καλλίστη); also 4346, 6759, 6792 ff.

XI. THE FRIENDS AND COMPANIONS OF THE EMPEROR.

(Vol. 1, p. 70.)

It will be seen that, in deference to Mommsen's essay (*Die comites Augusti der frühern Kaiserzeit in Hermes*, iv, 120-131) I have essentially altered my former views. He proves beyond doubt that the imperial *comites* were developed from the proconsular,¹ that they were specially appointed by the emperor for each journey or expedition, and that consequently there were no permanent *comites* of the emperors in earlier times. This also shows that my assumption of the identity of *comes* and *amicus* was wrong. As the emperors chose their travelling companions from the circle of their friends, every *comes* was an *amicus*, but every *amicus* was not a *comes*.

But Mommsen's statement (p. 124, 1) that I sought the origin of the *comites* and *amici* in the ceremonial of eastern royal courts is not correct. In fact, I derived the institution of the *amici* from the party-spirit of republican statesmen, and only assumed that, in the development of the different *forms* under which the *amici* appeared, the ceremonial of oriental courts had even more influence than the custom of the republican period. If, in my remark that this was already the case in the earliest courts, I included that of Augustus, I think I may hold this view without disputing the assertion that 'in the Augustan state-organization no single feature reminds us of an oriental court, and it is especially characteristic of it that it avoids all such parallels'. But, considering the varied relations between the court and the East and the frequent visits of oriental princes (Mommsen, *RGDA*,² p. 41 f.; Schürer, *Neutest. Zeitschrift*, 216 ff.), it seems to me by no means improbable that oriental forms and customs, which not only left the state-organization unaffected, but were also compatible with Roman manners, made their way into the court in the time of Augustus. Augustus, who passionately refused the address '*domine*' as an insult (Suetonius, *Aug.*, 53), would have still less tolerated the 'barbarous custom' of adoration, which Caligula attempted to introduce. On the other hand, he could introduce from the East the custom of greeting his most intimate friends with a kiss,³ without any violation of custom.

As far as I know, the greeting of men with a kiss cannot be shown to have existed amongst the Romans in republican times,³ but occurs under Augustus. Lipsius also says (*Elect.*, ii, 6): *qui mos invaluit maxime, ut opinor, sub Augusto*. The first mention of the

¹ Cp. also Mommsen (*Die Gardetruppen der römischen Republik und der Kaiserzeit in Hermes*, xiv, p. 26) on the *φίλων ἰαη* (cohors amicorum praetoria), 500 strong, formed by Scipio Africanus in 133 B.C. according to Appian (*Hisp.*, 84) from his clients and friends.

² Mommsen himself also has essentially altered his view. In his *Provinces of the Roman Empire* (Eng. tr., ii, p. 5), he says that the regulations of the Parthian and Persian empires referring to the position of the dynasty 'recur with few abatements among the Roman Caesars, and are perhaps borrowed in part from those of the older great monarchy'.

³ Of course, members of the same family and on special occasions (such as thanksgiving festivals, Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 52, 111) those more distantly connected, were in the habit of kissing each other (Becker-Göhl, *Gallus*, i, 89); in Greece, on the other hand, it was unknown even at the time when it was usual in Rome. Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 7, p. 110: *ἐγὼ δὲ ἀναμνησθεὶς, χαίρει, ἔφη, Σωτᾶν καὶ προσελθὼν ἐφίλου αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ἕτερον· ὃ δὲ δημοσὺν ἐλέα σφόδρα, ὅτι ἐφίλου αὐτούς· τότε ἔγνω ὅτι ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οὐ φιλοῦσιν ἀλλήλους.*

custom known to me is in the year 6 B.C.; Suetonius says that Tiberius on his departure for Rhodes behaved with great formality, *ne verbo quidem cuiquam prosequentium reddito paucosque admodum in digressu exosculatus* (Suetonius, *Tib.*, c. 10). That the custom, even in the time of Tiberius, was almost exclusively limited to persons of distinction, is shown by Pliny's remark (*Nat. Hist.*, xxvi, 3) on the prevalent face eruption: *nec sensere id malum feminae aut servitia plebesque humilis aut media, sed proceres veloci transitu osculi maxime*. Since, therefore, from republican times the *amici* were separated into two classes at their reception (Mommson, as above, p. 128), the imperial practice, well attested later, of distinguishing his more intimate friends by a kiss, may well have originated under Augustus. The abolition by edict of the 'daily kiss' by Tiberius, the apparent unpopularity of this regulation, which drew forth a justification from Valerius Maximus, make it probable that at that time there were a number of persons at court, who claimed a daily kiss from the emperor by right of custom.

It was usual for Persians of equal rank to kiss each other on the lips; at the court it was the privilege of the 'kinsmen' to kiss the king (Duncker, *Gesch. d. Alt.*, iv⁴, 526, 4), a privilege which Alexander the Great reserved for his most intimate friends. Chares of Mitylene relates that at a banquet he offered the goblet from which he had drunk to one of his friends, who stood up and, having drunk to the king, did him reverence, kissed him, and then lay down again. Callisthenes, who had omitted to do him reverence, was not allowed to kiss him (Plutarch, *Alexander*, 54, 2; cp. Droysen, *Gesch. Alexanders*, p. 352). The institution of 'friends', which was common to the Persian, the Parthian,¹ the Nabataean (Strabo, xvi, 4, 21, p. 779), and probably to other oriental courts,² passed on (to all appearance from the Macedonian court)³ to the courts of the Diadochi (especially the Ptolemies and Seleucidae): cp. Letronne, *Rech. pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte*, pp. 58, 314. On the titles *συγγενής* and *φίλος* and the forms in which they were conferred under the Ptolemies, cp. Lumbruso, *Recherches sur l'économie politique de l'Égypte*, pp. 189-195; also *L'architetto Sostrato in Comm. in honorem Mommseni*, p. 32, and *L'Egitto*, pp. 150, 168-175. (Sostratus was *φίλος τῶν βασιλέων*, Strabo, xvii, p. 791; cp. Franz, *CIG*, iii, p. 290; so also *Ἀρχιμήδης, Ἰέρωνι τῷ βασιλεῖ συγγενῆς ὢν καὶ φίλος*, Plutarch, *Marcell.*, 14, 7). Cp. also the inscription from Arsinoë in Cyprus of the time of Ptolemy Euergetes II (Lebas-Waddington, 2781; *συγγενῆς*, *ib.*, 2787, 2796, 2821 A. As an order of precedence amongst the friends undoubtedly also existed at the court of the Ptolemies (*τῶν πρώτων φίλων* in an inscription in Le-

¹ The *μεγιστάνες*: Athenaeus, iv, p. 152, cp. Cless in *SIRE*, v, p. 1209; also the title *τῶν πρώτων φίλων* is found amongst the Arsacidae; S. Reinach, *Fouilles de Dêlos* in *Bull. d. corr. hell.*, vii, 349).

² Fragments of an inscription from Soada (in Syria) probably of the time of the Idumaeen kings: *βασιλέων φίλων* (Lebas-Waddington, 2303).

³ Diod. Sic. xvii, 31: after Alexander had been restored to health by the physician Philippos, *τὸν ἰατρὸν τιμήσας μεγαλοπρεπῶς, κατέταξεν αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς εὐνουστάτους τῶν φίλων*.

tronne, p. 58, cp. Plutarch, *De Exilio*, 7, p. 601), they were graduated as at the Persian court, the first place being held by *οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ φιλήματος*, as Lucian, using an apparently technical expression, calls those whom the prophet Alexander of Abonuteichos deemed worthy of his kiss (Lucian, *Alexander*, 41).

The fact that the custom of greeting the friends with a kiss (which certainly existed at the Persian and probably at other Oriental courts) was not known at Rome in republican times, while there is evidence of it during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, justifies the conjecture that it was transferred from the East to Rome. The use of the Roman expressions for the Persian king's friends (Curtius, vi, 5, 11: *fratremque Darei recepit in cohortem amicorum*; *ib.*, 26, 17: *aliquem amicorum ex prima cohorte*; cp. Mützell on the first passage) shows that during the early empire the Romans themselves were reminded by the latter of the friends of the Roman emperors.

Although this conjecture cannot be proved, it is to a certain extent supported by the fact that there is another institution of the Augustan court, also common to those of Persia and Macedonia: the keeping of a diary of all the events of the imperial household (see above). As far as I know, there is not the slightest trace of anything of the kind in the distinguished families of the republic, while other distinctions preserved in their family archives are frequently mentioned. Hence Casaubon (on Suetonius, *Aug.*, 64) says: *mos iste a Graecis (i.e. the Macedonians) ortus*.

Further, if a number of children of noble houses were brought up at court together with the emperor's children, as appears to have been common, we may perhaps conjecture, bearing in mind the facts mentioned, that in this case also the Persian and Egyptian custom set the example: *πάντες γὰρ οἱ τῶν ἀρίστων Περσῶν παῖδες ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις παιδεύονται* (Xenophon, *Anab.*, i, 9, 3; Duncker, *Gesch. d. Alt.*, iv⁴, 526-528). Diodorus's description (i, 53) of the bringing up together of the children born on the same day as Sesostris, gives an idea of the corresponding institution at the court of the Ptolemies; cp. Lumbroso, *Recherches*, p. 208 (*παῖδες σύντροφοι*), p. 209 (*παῖδες τῶν τιμωμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως*).

Lastly, the 'fire' carried in front (*i.e.* the fire-pan or torch, M. Antoninus, *Comment.*, i, 17), which under the Antonines and still later appears as a privilege of the emperor and empress, has already been derived from the Persians by Lipsius (Excursus to Tacitus, *Ann.*, i, 7): Xenophon, *Cyropaed.*, viii, 3: *καὶ πῦρ ὀπισθεν τοῦ ἄρματος ἐπ' ἐσχάρας μεγάλης ἄνδρες ἐκπορτο φέροντες* (Cyrus followed behind the chariot). On the other hand, Mommsen (*StR*, i³, 423) refers this custom to the 'torch-right' possessed by officials (the right of having lights carried before them by night), which was extended to the emperors, and later became their exclusive honorary right (cp. ii³, 806, 823).¹

I shall now give a list of the imperial friends and companions

¹ Mommsen, *StR*, i⁴, 424, 4: "It is possible that the Persian custom (Curtius, iii, 3, 9: *ignis—argenteis altaribus praeferebatur*; Ammian. Marc., xxii, 6, 34) may have influenced the imperial custom, but not probable, in so far as it depends upon the national religion." In my opinion, this connexion might easily have been ignored in Rome.

known to me in the first and second centuries (cp. the *Programm*, 'Recensio amicorum et comitum. Caesarum usque ad Severi tempora', in *Acad. Alb. Regim.*, 1873, iv, which is here reprinted with numerous additions).

Friends of Augustus. Senators. L. Cocceius Nerva. Seneca, *De Clem.*, i, 10, 1: Sallustium et Cocceios et Dellios et totam cohortem primae admissionis ex adversariorum castris conscripsit. In 37 B.C. Nerva accompanied Maecenas as Octavian's ambassador to Antony: cp. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 5, 28 and Haakh, *StRE*, ii, p. 473.

Q. Salvidienus Rufus, quem ad consulatum usque provexerat (Suetonius, *Aug.*, 66), was condemned to death before entering on office (he was *consul designatus* for the year 39 B.C.) Haakh, *StRE*, vi, p. 720.

M. Vipsanius Agrippa, consul 37, 28, 27 B.C., cp. e.g. Dio. liv, 29.

Q. Fabius Maximus Paullus, consul 11 B.C., died A.D. 14. Nipperdey on Tacitus, *Ann.*, i, 5; Plutarch, *De garrul.*, p. 508A; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vii, 150; Quintilian, vi, 3, 52; Henzen, *Acta fr. Arv.*, pp. 185, 240.

C. Asinius Gallus, consul 8. B.C. In 5 B.C., according to a letter of Augustus to the inhabitants of Cnidus, he was sent there to conduct a criminal investigation: Γάλλῳ Ἀσινίῳ τῷ ἐμῷ φίλῳ. L. Ross, *Inscr. ined.*, 312, l. 11 (cp. A. Nauck in *Philologus*, ix, 169); better M. Dubois, *Lettre de l'empereur Auguste aux Cnidiens* in *Bull. d. corr. hellénique*, 1883, p. 64 (Mommsen, *StR*, ii², 2, 959, 1).

Cn. Calpurnius Piso, consul 7 B.C. Patris sui legatum atque amicum he is called by Tiberius (Tacitus, *Ann.*, iii, 12).

Nonius Asprenas. Suetonius, *Aug.*, 56: cum Asprenas Nonius artius ei junctus causam veneficii, accusante Cassio Severo, diceret, consuluit senatum, quid officii sui putaret, cunctari enim se, ne si superesset, eripere legibus reum, sin deesset, destituere ac praedamnare amicum existimaretur. Dio, lv, 4 (9 B.C.): φίλῳ τε τινὶ δίκῃ φεύοντι συνεξηράσθη, προσηκουώσας τοῦτο τῇ γερουσίᾳ, καὶ ἐκεῖνον γε ἔσωσε κ.τ.λ. Perhaps L. Nonius Asprenas cos. suff. Kal. Jul. (A.D. 6); cp. Teuffel, *RLG* ⁴, 267, 2 (Eng. tr.).

Poppaeus Sabinus. Tacitus, *Ann.*, vi, 39: Fine anni (A.D. 35) Poppaeus Sabinus concessit vita, modicus originis, principum amicitia consulatum (A.D. 9) ac triumphale decus (A.D. 26; *Ann.*, iv, 47) adeptus maximisque provinciis per xxiv annos impositus, nullam ob eximiam artem, sed quod par negotiis neque supra erat; cp. Nipperdey on *Ann.*, i, 80; iv, 46; vi, 39; xiii, 45.

D. Junius Silanus in nepti Augusti adulter, quamquam non ultra foret saevitum, quam ut amicitia Caesaris prohiberetur, exilium sibi demonstrari intellexit (he did not return from exile until A.D. 20; Tac., *Ann.*, iiii, 24).

K n i g h t s. Q. Dellius: cp. Seneca, *De Clem.*, i, 10, 1 quoted above, and Drumann, *RG*, i, 391, 64.

Cornelius Gallus, quem ad praefecturam Aegypti (30 B.C.) ex infima fortuna provexerat (Suet., *Aug.*, 66). In 27 B.C. xliii aetatis suae anno propria se manu interfecit (Jerome); cp. Teuffel, *RLG* ⁴, 232 (Eng. tr.).

C. Cilnius Maecenas (died 8 B.C.); cp. Marquardt, *Hist. eqq.*, p. 79; Teuffel, *RLG* ⁴, 220, 6 (Eng. tr.).

C. Proculeius, brother of Maecenas' wife Terentia ; Dio, liv, 3 ; Tac., *Ann.*, iv, 40 ; Haakh, *StRE*, vi, 86.

Sallustius Crispus (died A.D. 20), incolumi Maecenate proximus, mox praecipuus cui secreta imperatorum inniterentur—aetate propecta speciem magis in amicitia principis quam vim tenuit (Tac., *Ann.*, iii, 30).

C. Matus ex equestri ordine d. Augusti amicus (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xii, 13).

Vedius Pollio eques R. ex amicis d. Augusti (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, ix, 77, Tac., *Ann.*, xii, 63). Son of freedmen parents, died 16 B.C. (Dio, liv, 23). Borghesi also refers the inscription *CIL*, ix, 1556 (Beneventum) to him : P. Veidius P. f. Pollio Caesareum Imp. Caesaris Augusto et Coloniae Beneventanae.

Friends of Tiberius. Senators. Lucilius Longus (cos. suff. A.D. 7, died 23) omnium illi tristium laetorumque socius, unusque e senatoribus Rhodii secessus comes (Tac., *Ann.*, iv, 15).

Cn. Cornelius Lentulus (Tac., *Ann.*, i, 27, cp. iv, 29). Consul 18 B.C., died A.D. 25. Cp. Nipperdey on Tac., *Ann.*, iv, 44.

Sentius Saturninus, husband of the Jewish proselyte Fulvia. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xviii, 3, 5 : καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος ἀποσημαίνει γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν φίλος ὡν Σατουρνίνος τῆς Φουλουίας ἀνὴρ ἐπισκῆψε τῆς γυναικὸς κελεύει πᾶν τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπελαθῆναι (A.D. 19). H.

S. Vistilius praetorius, quem Druso fratri percarum in cohortem suam transtulerat convictu principis prohibitus, commits suicide at an advanced age (A.D. 32 ; Tac., *Ann.*, vi, 9).

Cn. Calpurnius Piso (see above) writes before his death to Tiberius : et parenti tuo probatus et tibi amicus (Tac., *Ann.*, iii, 16).

Poppaeus Sabinus (see above).

L. Seius Tubero, brother of Sejanus, consul A.D. 18 (Cn. Lentulus et S.T.—primores civitatis, intimi ipsius amici, Tac., *Ann.*, iv, 29 ; cp. Nipperdey, and ii, 20 ; v, 6).

M. Cocceius Nerva (son of the friend of Augustus, Haakh, *StRE*, ii, 473) Caesari familiarissimus (Pompon., *Dig.*, i, 2, 2, 49) ; unus senator consulatu (A.D. 22) functus accompanied Tiberius to Capreae (Tac., *Ann.*, iv, 58) ; proximus amicorum (died A.D. 33 ; Tac., *Ann.*, vi, 26).

L. Salvius Otho tam carus tamque non absimilis facie Tiberio principi fuit, ut plerique procreatum ex eo crederent (Sueton., *Otho*, 1). He succeeded Galba in the consulship (A.D. 33 ; Suet., *Galba*, 6).

M. Aurelius Cotta Maximus Messalinus. Nothing appears to be known of his official career (cp. Nipperdey on Tac., *Ann.*, ii, 32). He was accused in 32, but Tiberius sent a written defence of him to the senate, repetito inter se atque Cottam amicitiae principio crebrisque ejus officiis commemoratis. *StRE*, vi, 2, 2356, 101. Henzen, *Acta fr. Arv.*, p. 179.

L. Pomponius Flaccus, consul 17, died 33, when *legatus propraetore* of Syria. Henzen, ib. 195.

L. Calpurnius Piso pontifex, consul 15 B.C., city prefect, 17–32, died in 32 at the age of eighty. Henzen, ib., p. 180. Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 42 : cum Pomponio Flacco et L. Pisone noctem continuumque biduum epulando potandoque consumpsit, quorum alteri

Syriam provinciam, alteri praefecturam urbis detulit, codicillis quoque juncudissimos et omnium horarum amicos professus. H.

Rank uncertain. Sex. Marius Hispaniarum ditissimus (Tac., *Ann.*, vi, 39); ὁ φίλος αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πλουτήσας καὶ δισηθείς τοσούτον (Dio, lvi, 22); defertur incestasse filiam et saxo Tarpeio deicitur (A.D. 33; Tac., *Ann.*, iv, 36).

Julius Montanus tolerabilis poeta, notus et amicitia Tiberii et frigore (Seneca, *Epp.*, 122, 11): perhaps the father of the senator Julius Montanus (died 56; Tac., *Ann.*, xiii, 25). Teuffel, *RLG**, 252, 13 (Eng. tr.); *SIRE*, iv, 489, 18.

Knights. L. Aelius Sejanus, praefectus praetorio A.D. 14-31; cp. Tac., *Ann.*, iv, 1 sq. and 59; Sueton., *Tiber.*, 55; *SIRE*, i², 345, 77.

Avilius Flaccus, prefect of Egypt 32-37. *CIG*, iii, p. 360: ἐν τοῖς ἐταίροις ἀριτεῖς παρὰ Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι. Philo, *Leg. in Gai.*, p. 517 M: κριτεῖς τῶν πρώτων φίλων παρὰ Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι, *ib.*, c. 19.

Curtius Atticus unus eques Romanus ex illustribus who accompanied Tiberius to Capreae (Tac., *Ann.*, iv, 58); Marino participi Sejanus Curtium Atticum opprresserat (*ib.*, vi, 10).

Vesularius Flaccus eques Romanus cui propior cum Tiberio usus erat (Tac., *Ann.*, ii, 28).

Vesularius Flaccus ac Julius Marinus ad mortem aguntur, e vetustissimis familiarium, Rhodum secuti et apud Capreas individui (A.D. 32; Tac., *Ann.*, vi, 10).

Pompeius Macer. Strabo, xiii, 2, 3: (Theophanes of Mytilene) νῦν—ἀπέλιπε Μάκρον Πομπήιον, ὃν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπίτροπον κατέστησεν ποτὲ Καῖσαρ ὁ σεβαστὸς καὶ νῦν (c. A.D. 18) ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἐξετάζεσθαι τῶν Τιβερίῳ φίλων. His son of the same name, eques Romanus illustris, died A.D. 33; cp. Nipperdey on Tac., *Ann.*, vi, 19.

C. Caesius Niger. *CIL*, vi, 2169: Dis manibus sacrum C. Caesio Q.f. Nigr. ex prima admissione ex quatuor decuris Curio Minor Caesia C. l. Theoris patrono et sibi. Mommsen says: Titulus cum positus sit aetate Augusti vel Tiberii (nam C. Caesar quintam decuriam addidit), hunc Nigrum significat alteri utri fuisse amicum primae admissionis (cp. *SIRE*, ii², 834, 2).

(P. Plautius Pulcher—comes Drusi filii Germanici, *CIL*, xiv, 3607.)

Friends of Gaius Caesar. **S**enators. Valerius Asiaticus cos. suff. under Tiberius, died A.D. 47 (Tac., *Ann.*, xi, 3); Asiaticum Valerium in primis amicis habebat—consularem (Seneca, *De Constantia sapientis*, 18, 2).

L. Vitellius ex consulatu (34) Syriae praepositus (Sueton., *Vitell.*, 2). Recalled, οὕτως αὐτὸν . . . ἠλώσατο, ὥστε ἐν τοῖς πάντι φίλοις αὐτοῦ νομοθεῖναι (Dio, lix, 27); cos. ii 34, iii 47, censor 48, died 51.

A. Vitellius L. f., afterwards emperor, born 15, Gaio per auri-gandi, Claudio per aleae studium familiaris, sed aliquanto Neroni acceptior (Sueton., *Vitell.*, 4; cos. 48).

C. Passienus Crispus (cos. II 44). Schol. Juv., iv, 81: Omnium principum gratiam appetivit, sed praecipue [C.] Caesaris, quem iter facientem secutus est pedibus (Valla: Thyberium [read Cajum] Caesarem per Alpes iter facientem secutus est: Matthias, *De schol. Juv.*, p. 26).

Knights. Naevius Sertorius Macro (cp. Nipperdey on Tac.,

Ann., vi, 15) is reckoned among Caligula's friends by Suetonius (*Calig.*, 26); Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 219.

Friends of Claudius. Senators. Ser. Sulpicius Galba, afterwards emperor, cos. 33, gratissimus Claudio receptusque in cohortem amicorum (Sueton., *Galba*, 7). Accompanied Claudius on his expedition to Britain in 43.

Three others who accompanied him on this expedition (see Hübner, *Das römische Heer in Britannien* in *Hermes*, xvi, [1881,] p. 525):

Valerius Asiaticus (cp. the friends of Gaius Caesar above). Tac., *Ann.*, xi, 3: Asiatici—recenti adversus Britanniam militia.

L. Junius Silanus, great-grandson of Augustus, betrothed to Octavia, Arval brother 42, praetor 48, died 49 (Tac., *Ann.*, xii, 3, 4, 8 with Nipperdey's notes).

Cn. Pompeius Magnus, betrothed to Antonia, elder daughter of Claudius. He and Silanus carried the news of the conquest of Britain to Rome (Dio, ix, 21). Both were put to death by Claudius (Suetonius, *Claud.*, 27–29; Seneca, *Apocol.*, 11).

T. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus (probably a nephew of Aulus Plautius) cos. suff. I 45 (B.)¹, II in a year unknown, legat. et comes Claudii Caesaris in Britannia. Orelli, 750 = *CIL*, xiv, 3608. On the position of the *legati pro praetore* as *comites* cp. Mommsen, *StR*, ii², 2, 853, 5.

Cn. Sentius Saturninus cos. 41 according to Eutropius, vii, 13: (Britannia) devicta per Cn. Sentium et A. Plautium, illustres ac nobiles viros.

IRN, 5245 (= *CIL*, ix, 2847) also refers to a *comes* in this expedition: . . . civ. . . . id. . . . regi sac. flam. . . . patric. leg. Caesaris pro . . . Claudii in Britannia ad . . . ro pr. in Hiberia ad sel. . . . ornamenta triumph. . . .

Paulus Fabius Persicus cos. 34. He is called nobilissimum virum, amicum meum by Claudius in his speech on the *jus honorum* of the Gauls, col ii, l. 24 ed. Nipp. Henzen, *Acta fr. arv.*, p. 186.

Seneca, *Apocol.*, 13 names as friends of consular rank put to death by Claudius:

(Q. Eutetius) Lusius Saturninus, cos. suff. between 15 and 17 (B.).

Pompeius Pedit cos. in a year unknown.

Cornelius Lupus cos. suff. 42 kal. Jul. (B.).

Ser. Asinius Celer cos. suff. 44 kal. Jul. (B.); cp. *SIRE*, i², 1867, 9d. Lusius Saturninus, Cornelius Lupus circumventos—Suillio (Rufo) objectabant (Tac., *Ann.*, xiii, 43; cp. Nipperdey on the passage).

P. Suillius Rufus cos. suff. 46 kal. Jul. (B.). Claudii amicitia diu prospere, nunquam bene usus (*Ann.*, iv, 31), in insulas Baleares pellitur (58; *Ann.*, xiii, 43).

L. Vitellius (see above) formidine C. Caesaris, familiaritate Claudii turpe in servitium mutatus (Tac., *Ann.*, vi, 32).

L. Vitellius and Caecina Largus (cos. A.D. 42). Accompanied Claudius on the journey to Ostia (A.D. 48; Tac., *Ann.*, xi, 33).

A. Vitellius (see above).

Petronius vetus convictor ejus (consequently before his acces-

¹ B = Borghesi, *Fasti consulares*.

sion; Seneca, *Apocol.*, 14), no doubt identical with P. Petronius (vir consularis, Sueton., *Vitell.*, 6; cp. Haakh, *StRE*, v, 1402, 11).

Julius Planta. Edict of Claudius on the citizenship of the Anauni (Mommsen, *Hermes*, iv, 102, l. 16): in rem praesentem misi Plantam Julium amicum et comitem meum, qui cum adhibitis procuratoribus meis quique in alia regione quique in vicinia erant, summa cura inquisierit et cognoverit, cetera quidem, ut mihi demonstrata commentario facto ab ipso sunt statuatur pronuntietque ipsi permitto (Mommsen, as above, p. 110).

K n i g h t s. Lusius Geta (praef. praet. with Rufrius Crispinus before Afranius Burrus *Ann.*, xii, 42) and

C. Turranus praef. annonae (cp. Nipperdey on *Ann.*, i, 7; Hirschfeld, *Über die Getreideverwaltung in Philologus*, xxix, 27) are called potissimi amicorum (*Ann.*, xi, 31).

L. Julius Vestinus. *Claudii oratio*, col. ii, 11: ex qua colonia (Vienna) inter paucos equestris ordinis ornamentum L. Vestinum familiarissime diligo et hodieque in rebus meis detineo. According to the inscription on a weight at Alexandria prefect of Egypt in the sixth year of Nero's reign: ἐπὶ Λευκίου Ἰουλίου Οὐρηστίνου ἡγεμόνος (Allmer and Terrebasse, *Inscr. ant. de Vienne*, ii, addit., p. 1; cp. Hirschfeld, *Zeitschr. f. öster. Gymn.*, 1877, p. 905, 2). He was perhaps the father of M. Julius Vestinus Atticus the consul and of Hadrian's secretary (see above). In 71 Vespasian entrusted him with the restoration of the Capitol (Tac., *Hist.*, iv, 53; cp. Nipperdey as above; Mommsen, *StR*, ii*, 2, 950, 3). Desjardins (*Un ami de Claude* in *Rev. de Philol.*, 1880, iv, p. 59; cp. *Géographie de la Gaule*, iii, p. 287) refers to L. Julius Vestinus the Viviers fragment, as restored by him: [L. Anto]n. L. f. Vol. Ve[stino Malloni Anni]o Romano, etc. The different gentile names make this identification improbable. Hirschfeld's restoration (*CIL*, xii, p. 310, 2452-4) is: M. Jun[i]o (sic) M. f. Vol[tinia] Vestino Malloni . . . oncanio Romano omnib. honorib. Vienn[ae] functo adlecto in amplissimum ordinem senat[orium] inter quaestorios, aedili curuli, praetori, legato provinc. Asiae. He observes: ad Vestinum Claudii imperatoris amicum civem Viennensem, qui in equestri ordine permansisse videtur, male Desjardins rettulit, quamquam ejusdem familiae eum fuisse, id quod jam Allmerus i, p. 223 suspicatus est, haut improbabile est.

F r i e n d s o f N e r o. S e n a t o r s. C. Petronius consul (*Ann.*, xvi, 18, year unknown)—dein—inter paucos familiarium Neroni adsumptus est (died in 66).

A. Vitellius cos. 48, afterwards emperor (see above).

T. Flavius Vespasianus, afterwards emperor, cos. 51 k. Nov. (B.); peregrinatione Achaica inter comites Neronis (Sueton., *Vesp.*, 4).

L. Annaeus Seneca, cos. suff. 57 (De Rossi, *Bull. Cr.*, 1886, p. 62; Henzen, *Arvali*, 34); writes to Nero: sed uterque mensuram implevimus, et tu, quantum princeps tribuere amico posset, et ego quantum amicus a principe accipere (Tac., *Ann.*, xiv, 54).

M. Julius Vestinus Atticus, perhaps son of L. Julius Vestinus (Nipperdey), cos. 65 (killed during his consulship soon after the 13th of April) ex intima sodalitate (Tac., *Ann.*, xv, 68).

R. L. M.

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M. Salvius Otho, afterwards emperor (born 32), flagrantissimus in amicitia Neronis (*Ann.*, xiii, 46, cp. 12; Plutarch, *Galba*, 19); summum inter amicos locum tenuit (Sueton., *Otho*, 2). Deicitur familiaritate sueta, post congressu et comitatu Otho, et—provinciae Lusitaniae praeficitur (in 58, Tac., *l.l.*); provinciam administravit quaestorius per decem annos (Suet., *Otho*, 3).

M. Annaeus Lucanus (born 39) revocatus Athenis a Nerone cohortique amicorum additus atque etiam quaestura honoratus non tamen permansit in gratia (died 55; Suetonius, *Vita Lucani*).

Montanus (probably Curtius Montanus, father of the poet mentioned in Tac., *Ann.*, xvi, 28 and 33; cp. Nipperdey on the latter passage and p. 68 below). Juvenal, iv, 136: noverat ille luxuriam imperii veteris noctesque Neronis.

K n i g h t s. Afranius Burrus praef. praet. from 51 (Tac., *Ann.*, xii, 42, cp. 69); died 62 (*Ann.*, xiv, 51). The passage in Tacitus (*Ann.*, xiii, 6), giving the substance of the city gossip at the time when the Parthian war was imminent, shows that he was one of the friends of Nero: Burrum tamen et Senecam multarum rerum experientia cognitos—datum plane documentum, honestis an secus amicis uteretur, si ducem amota invidia egregium, quam si pecunio-sum et gratia subnixum per ambitum deligeret.

Sofonius Tigellinus alendis equis amicitiam Neronis nactus (Schol. Juv., i, 155); intimis libidinibus adsumptus (Tac., *Ann.*, xiv, 51); up to 62 praef. vigilum then praetorii, died 69; cp. Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 221, 14.

Claudius Senecio adolescentulus decorus, liberto Caesaris patre genitus, in 55 privy with Otho to Nero's amour with Acte (Tac., *Ann.*, xiii, 12). In 65 he took part in the Pisonian conspiracy: e praecipua familiaritate Neronis speciem amicitiae etiam tum retinens (*Ann.*, xv, 50).

Cossinus, eg. R. amicitia Neronis principis notus (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xix, 93).

Friends of Galba. Senators. T. Vinus Rufinus cos. with Galba II (69) and put to death with him. Galbae amicitia in abruptum tractus (Tac., *Hist.*, i, 48; Henzen, *Acta fr. Arv.*, p. 200).

The three following were also friends of Galba.

M. Salvius Otho. Mane Galbam salutavit atque ut consueverat, osculo exceptus (Sueton., *Otho*, 6).

In addition to Vinus and Laco, Galba consulted, as to the choice of a successor,

Marius Celsus (cp. Nipperdey on Tac., *Ann.*, xv, 25; *Hist.*, i, 71), cos. kal. Jul. 69, and

Ducennius Geminus, cos. under Nero, praefectus urbi under Galba.

K n i g h t s. Cornelius Laco praef. praet. (Tac., *Hist.*, i, 14; Sueton., *Galba*, 14; Plutarch, *Galba*, 29), although he is nowhere expressly spoken of as a friend: Hirschfeld, p. 221, 7.

Pompeius Longinus. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 31: pergunt etiam in castra praetorianorum tribuni Cetrius Severus, Subrius Dexter, Pompeius Longinus—milites—Longinum manibus coercent exarmantque, quia non ordine militiae [provectus], sed e Galbae amicis fidus principi suo et desciscentibus suspectus erat. H.

Friends of Otho. Senators. L. Vitellius, cos. suff. 48. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 48: multos e magistratibus, magnam consularium partem Otho non participes aut ministros bello (Mommson, *StR*, ii³, 2, 853, 5), sed comitum specie secum expedire jubet; in quibus et Lucium Vitellium, eodem quo ceteros cultu, nec ut imperatoris fratrem nec ut hostis.

Marium Celsum cos. des. (see above)—statim inter intimos amicos habuit (Tac., *Hist.*, i, 71).

Suetonius Paullinus cos. suff. k. Mart. 42, II 66. Plutarch, *Otho*, 6: οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Κέλσον καὶ Παυλλίνον ἄλλως ἐφείλοντο συμβούλων ὄνομα καὶ φάων.

K n i g h t s. Licinius Proculus—intima familiaritate Othonis, chosen by the soldiers to succeed Laco as praef. praetorio (Tac., *Hist.*, i, 46; Hirschfeld, p. 221).

Friends of Vitellius. Senators. M. Cluvius Rufus (cos. under Tiberius or Caligula, certainly later than 41. B.) omitta Hispania (in 70) comitatu principis adjectus est (Tac., *Hist.*, ii, 65).

T. Catius C. Silius Italicus cos. 68 in amicitia Vitellii (Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 7), who in his conversations with Flavius Sabinus consulted him and Cluvius Rufus (Tac., *Hist.*, iii, 65).

C. Fabius Valens and

A. Caecina Alienus coss. kal. Sept. 69 (B.). It is clear from Tac., *Hist.*, ii, 92 that both are to be considered as friends of Vitellius in the special sense: munia imperii Caecina ac Valens obibant—variis in hunc aut illum Vitellii inclinationibus, nec unquam satis fida potentia, ubi nimia est. simul ipsum Vitellium subitis offensis aut intempestivis blanditiis mutabilem contemnebant metuebantque, nec eo segnius invaserant domos hortos opesque imperii.

Vibius Crispus (see under Vespasian and Domitian) was a regular table-companion of Vitellius according to Dio, lxxv, 2.

Friends of Vespasian. Senators. M. Antonius Primus in 61 condemned for forgery (Tac., *Ann.*, xiv, 40), in 70 senatorium ordinem recuperaverat, attached himself to Vespasian (*Hist.*, ii, 86), and received the consular insignia (*Hist.*, iv, 4); sed paullatim levior viliorque haberi, manente tamen in speciem amicitia (*Hist.*, iv, 80). Cp. Martial, x, 23 and Giese, *De personis a Martiale commemoratis*, p. 5 ff.

T. Clodius M. Eprius Marcellus et

Vibius Crispus, nunc principes in Caesaris amicitia—ab ipso principe cum quadam reverentia diliguntur (Tac., *Dial.*, 8); both were coss. suff. in 61 (Borghesi, *Æuvr.*, iv, 536).

C. Licinius Mucianus ter consul (Borghesi, *ib.*, iv, 345), I before 67, II 70, III 72. Henzen, *Acta fr. Arv.*, p. 190.

T. Rutilius Varus—q. divi Vespasiani, aed. cur. com. imperato[r.] Orelli, 3440 = *CIL*, x, 1258.

K n i g h t s. C. Plinius Secundus in 79 prefect of the fleet at Misenum. Distentus impeditusque—amicitia principum (Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 5).

Otacilius Sagitta. Murat., 2004, 2 = *CIL*, x, 2, 8038 (Epistula Vespasiani ad Vanacinarum [gentis Corsicanae] magistratus et senatores a. p. C. 72 IIII id. Octobr. scripta): Otacilius Sagittam amicum et procuratorem meum ita vobis praefuisse, ut testimonium

vestrum mereatur, delector. On the document cp. Mommsen, *StR*, ii^a, 1127, 1.

Ti. Julius Alexander (Mommsen, *Roman Provinces*, Eng. tr., ii, 246 n.) accompanied Titus as adviser in the expedition against Jerusalem: φίλων δὲ δοκιμώτατος εὐνοϊὰν τε καὶ σύνεσιν Τιβέριος Ἀλέξανδρος, πρότερον μὲν αὐτὸς τὴν Αἴγυπτον διέπων, τότε δὲ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἀρχὼν, κριθεὶς ἄξιος ἐξ ὧν ἐδεξιώσατο πρῶτος ἐγχειρομένην ἀρτί τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ μετὰ πίστει λαμπρὰς ἐξ ἀδελφου τῇ τύχῃ προσέθετο (Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, v, 1, 6. H.).

Friends of Titus. None known except the elder Pliny (cp. Suetonius, *Titus*, 7).

Friends of Domitian. Senators. Borghesi, *Annot. a Giovenale: Œuvr.*, v, 513 concludes from Juvenal, iv, 72 that all the advisers summoned by Domitian (except the two prefects) were consulars: vocantur ergo in concilium *proceres* quos oderat ille; in quorum facie miserae magnaeque sedebat pallor amicitiae; cp. 83, maria ac terras populosque regenti quis comes utilior? According to Bücheler's interesting conjecture (*Rhein. Mus.*, xxxix, 283), Juvenal's description of this cabinet council was a reminiscence of Statius' *De bello Germanico* (147, tanquam de Chattis aliquid torvisque Sygambri dicturus), of which Valla's scholia to Juvenal, iv, 94 have preserved four lines (Jahn, *Rhein. Mus.*, ix, 627 and Bücheler as above. The following took part in the conversation (the order is as given by Juvenal):

Pegasus (attonitae positus modo vilicus urbi) qui temporis Vespasiani praefectus urbi fuit. Teuffel, *RLG*⁴, 316, 1, Eng. tr. Consequently, he was city prefect for the second time under Domitian. [Borghesi, *Œuvres*, ix, p. 269, assumes only a prefecture. H.]

Vibius Crispus (see above and Borghesi, p. 520). Statius, *l.l.*: Nestorei mitis prudentia Crispi. Cp. Veiento.

M'. Acilius Glabrio cos. perhaps under Claudius or Nero, p. 521: Statius, *l.l.*: et prope Caesareae confinis Acilius aulae. His son of the same name cos. 91. Henzen, *Acta fr. Arv.*, p. 175.

Rubrius Gallus cos. under Nero, p. 521 ff.

Montanus, perhaps T. Junius Montanus cos. suff. 81, p. 523. [Rather (according to Nipperdey on Tac., *Ann.*, xvi, 33) the father of the Curtius Montanus mentioned there and in chap. 28. H.]

Pompeius, perhaps Cn. Pompeius Ferox Licinianus cos.; year unknown, p. 524 f.

L. Valerius Messalinus, cos. 73 and

A. Fabricius Veiento, cos. under Domitian; for both see Mommsen, *Index Plinianus*. Statius *l.l.*: prudentia Crispi et Fabius Veiento—potentem signat utrumque purpura, ter memores implerunt nomine fastos, according to whom therefore Crispus (in his second consulship) and Veiento were colleagues. Bücheler takes Fabius as an appellative (the prudent).

The following are also known:—

Velius Paullus, under Domitian proconsul of Bithynia. See Mommsen as above; Martial, ix, 31, cum comes Arctoïis haereret Caesaris armis Velius, etc. The war here referred to is the Sarmatian, not the Dacian; perhaps, however, *comes* is not to be understood in the technical sense.

M. Arrecinus Clemens (consularem, unum e familiaribus et emissariis suis, Sueton., *Domit.*, 11); consul I 73, under Domitian II (B.). Hirschfeld, pp. 222, 3. Asbach, *Consularfasten der J.* 68–96, in *Bonner Jahrbücher*, lxxix (1885), p. 149.

Palfurius Sura, consularis filius a Vespasiano senatu motus—abusus familiaritate Domitiani acerbissime partes delationis exercuit (Marius Maximus in Schol. Juv., iv, 53).

Festus. Martial, i, 78, 10: hujus Caesar amicus erat. Perhaps C. Calpetanus Rantius Quirinalis Valerius Festus cos. suff. 71. Borghesi, *Œuvres*, v, 62. Cp. *CIL*, v, 531 leg. Aug. pr. pr. of Pannonia (73). *Wiener Studien*, 1882, p. 216. Tacitus, *Hist.*, iv, 49. leg. Aug. Tarrac. 79/80, *CIL*, ii, 2477, 4799, etc. Asbach as above, p. 110.

Knights. Cornelius Fuscus praef. praet. (Hirschfeld, 223, 25) and

Crispinus, according to Borghesi (p. 573–6) perhaps his colleague. Cp. Hirschfeld, p. 223, 26.

Friends of Nerva. L. Verginius Rufus, born 15, cos. 63, 69, 97, died towards end of 97. Caesares, quibus suspectus fuerat, evasit; reliquit incolumem optimum atque amicissimum (Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 1, 3; cp. Mommsen, *Ind. Plin.*).

According to Pliny (*Epp.*, iv, 22), both Fabricius Veiento and Junius Mauricus were friends of Nerva (cp. Mommsen, *Ind. Plin.*).

Friends of Trajan. Senators. L. Neratius Priscus cos. 83 (cp. Teuffel, *RLG* ⁴, 342, 1, Eng. tr.). Frequens sane opinio fuit Trajano id animi fuisse ut N.P. non Hadrianum successorem relinqueret, multis amicis in hoc consentientibus (*Vita Hadr.*, 4; Mommsen on *CIL*, ix, 2454–5).

L. Licinius Sura, cos. before 98 (Asbach, p. 158), 102, 107. Dio, lxxiii, 15. *Vita Hadr.*, 3. Victor, *Caes.*, 13, 8.

Q. Sosius Senecio cos. 99, 102, 107. Dio, lxxiii, 16.

A. Cornelius Palma, cos. 99 and 109. Asbach, *Consularfasten d. J.* 96–119, in *Bonner Jahrbücher*, lxxii (1882), p. 13. Inscription on his statue in the Forum, *CIL*, vi, 1386. His statue (as governor of Asia about 115) set up by the Carians. *Anthol. Pal.*, xvi, 35. Fröhner, *Krit. Analekten (Philologus, Supptband, v, 70)*.

L. Publilius Celsus cos. II 113. Dio, lxxviii, 16: ἐστῆσε δὲ καὶ τοῦ Σοσίου τοῦ τε Πάλμου καὶ τοῦ Κέλσου εἰκόνας. οὕτω πον αὐτοῖς τῶν ἄλλων προετίμησε. That the two last were friends of Trajan is shown by *Vita Hadr.*, 3: ut a Sura comperit adoptandum se a Trajano esse, ab amicis Trajani contemni desiit ac neglegi; cp. 4: in adoptionis sponsionem venit Palma et Celso inimicis semper suis. Further,

C. Avidius Nigrinus cos. under Trajan and

Lusius Quietus cos. 115, who were executed together with Celsus and Palma (*Vit. Hadr.*, 7; Dio, lxxix, 2) were no doubt also friends of Trajan.

T. Junius Omullus, consularis according to an inscription of Nemausus, is no doubt the Homullus mentioned in *Vita Alex. Ser.*, 65, as a friend of Trajan (in Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 9, 15 wrongly Titius Homullus; cp. Mommsen, *Ind. Plin.*, s.v. Homullus). Borghesi

Œuvres, viii, 416. (M. Valerius Homullus cos. ord. 151; cp. *CIL*, ii, 3415. H.)

L. Dasumius cos. about 100 (Waddington, *Fastes des provinces asiatiques*, 119, 120), may have been one of the friends of Trajan, as according to his will he perhaps received from him an estate of the value of 6,000,000 sesterces and certainly left him a legacy (*Test. Dasum.*, l. 85-87 and 125, ed. Rudorff, *Zeitschr. f. geschichtl. Rechtswiss.*, xii, 370 ff., 389 ff.; *CIL*, vi, 10229).

Hadrianus (Dio, lxix, 1; *Vit. Hadr.*, 3) ad bellum Dacicum Trajanum familiaris prosecutus. Henzen, *Inscr. Onor. di Adr.*, AdI, 1863, 150 (*Philologus*, xix, 358): quaestori imperatoris Trajani et comiti expeditionis Daciae, donis militaribus ab eo donato bis.

D. Terentius Gentianus Scaurianus (*CIL*, iii, 1463: leg. Aug. consuli pontif.) according to the inscription on the great Pyramid (*CIL*, iii, 21), where the probable reading is:—

Scit nomen Decimi Gentiani pyramis alta
pontificis comitisque tuis, Trajane, triumphis
lustra sex intra censoris consulis esse.

Otherwise Mommsen, *Ephem. epigr.*, iv, 28, but as above in *StR*, i², 577, 2. Cp. also *CIL*, iii, p. 688 DXXV (Feb. 17th, 110): sunt in Dacia sub D. Terentio Scauriano, and *Digg.*, xlvii, 21, 1 (Hadrian's rescript to him in 119). Asbach, *Consularfasten* 96-119, p. 47 takes him to be a son of the Terentius Scaurus in Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 12. [He subsequently incurred the suspicions of Hadrian, one of whose friends he probably was. *Vit. Hadr.*, 23. H.]

Knight. Pompeius Planta. Trajan, *Ad Plinium*, 7. Pompeium Plantam, praefectum Aegypti, amicum meum (*ib.*, 10). Mommsen, *Ind. Plin.* Hirschfeld, *VG*, 270, 3. H.

Friends of Hadrian; for the most part mentioned in *Vit. Hadr.*, 15.

Senators. *Vit. Hadr.*, 8: optimos quosque senatores in contubernium majestatis adscivit. Cp. Mommsen, *StR*, ii², 991, 2.

L. Julius Ursus Servianus, Hadrian's brother-in-law, cos. II 102, III 134, killed in 136 at the age of 90; cp. Mommsen, *Ind. Plin.*

L. Catilius Severus cos. II 120, Syriae praepositus (*Vit. Hadr.*, 5) praef. u. qui sibi praeparabat imperium, qua re prodita dignitate privatus est; *ib.*, 24; cp. Mommsen as above.

L. (Neratius) Marcellus, brother of L. Neratius Priscus, cos. 129, forced by Hadrian to commit suicide (*Vit. Hadr.*, 15); Mommsen, *Ind. Plin.*

C. Ummidius Quadratus, cos. suff. 118. Mommsen, *ib.* Henzen, *Acta fr. Arv.*, p. 202.

A. Platorius Nepos, cos. suff. 119, later suspected by Hadrian (*Vit. Hadr.*, 15 and 23; cp. Henzen, *Acta fr. Arv.*, p. 194) and

Sosius Pappus. Both had already been intimate with Hadrian during Trajan's reign.

T. Atilius Rufus Titianus cos. 127. Titianum ut conscium tyrannidis et argui passus est et proscribi (*Vit. Hadr.*, 15). According to *Vit. Anton. Pii*, 7, he was not condemned till this emperor's reign. Lebas-Waddington, 1619. He had a villa at Antium (Villa Aldobrandini): Lanciani, *Le acque*, p. 304.

T. Caesernius Statius Quintius Statianus Macrinus cos. (under Antoninus Pius before 150 [B.]) divi Hadriani comes in oriente ante quaesturam. Henzen, 7420a = *CIL*, viii, 7036.

Voconius. Apuleius, *Apol.*, 11: divus Hadrianus cum Voconii amici sui poetae tumulum versibus muneraretur, etc. Perhaps C. Licinius Voconius Romanus, raised to senatorial rank by Trajan; cp. Mommsen, *Ind. Plin.* and Teuffel, *RLG*⁴, 346, 5 (Eng. tr., 341, 2).

Knights. Attianus, once Hadrian's guardian and already his friend in Trajan's reign (*Vit. Hadr.*, 4, 5 and 9), with Plotina and Matidia conveyed Trajan's remains to Rome. Cum Attianum ex praefecto praetorii ornamentis consularibus praeditum faceret senatorem, nihil se amplius habere quod in eum conferri posset ostenderit (*ib.*, 8); consularium quattuor occisorum—necem in Attiani consilia refundebat (*ib.*, 9); amicissimos—postea hostium loco habuit ut Attianum (*ib.*, 15). In 119 he compelled him to resign when *praef. praet.* (cp. Hirschfeld, 225, 32).

Ti. Claudius Livianus, prefect under Trajan in the first Dacian war 101/2 and

Q. Marcus Turbo Fronto Publicius, appointed *praef. praet.* 119, and apparently still in office in 135. In *Vit. Hadr.*, 4 we should probably read (with Hirschfeld, p. 224): expeditionis Parthicae tempore—utebatur Hadrianus amicitia—ex equestri (ordine) Attiani, tutoris quondam sui, et Liviani [et] Turbonis.

C. Septicius Clarus, in 119 appointed to succeed Turbo's colleague Similis as *praef. praet.*, deprived of office 121. Cp. Mommsen, *Ind. Plin.*

Friends of Antoninus Pius. Senators. **M. Valerius Homullus** cos. 151; cujus Homulli multa joca semper patienter accepit (*Vit. Anton. P.*, 11). He opposed the adoption of Marcus Aurelius (*Vit. M. Anton.*, 6). Henzen, *Acta fr. Arv.*, p. 199. See also above.

Friends of the two Augusti.¹ **Senators.** **M. Cornelius Fronto**, cos. 143, perhaps already a friend of Antoninus Pius, in any case his successor, although there is no express testimony: cp. Teuffel, *RLG*⁴, 355 (Eng. tr.).

P. Salvius Julianus bis consul (ord. 148, suff. in the last years of Antoninus or later), *praef. u. et Ictus* (*Vit. Did. Jul.*, 1). Salvii Juliani amici nostri (rescript of the Divi Fratres in *Dig.*, xxxvii, 14, 17 pr.). Cp. Teuffel, *RLG*⁴, 350, 1-4 (Eng. tr.).

Q. Junius Rusticus cos. I in Hadrian's last years, II 162. Rescriptum divorum fratrum—ad Junium Rusticum amicum nostrum, *praef. urbi* (*Digg.*, xlix, 1, 1, 3). Teuffel, *RLG*⁴, 358, 3 (Eng. tr.).

[**M. Pontius Laelianus Larcius Sabinus** (cos. 163)—sodalis Antoniniani Verianus—comes divi Veri Aug. donatus donis militaribus bello Armeniaco et Parthico ab imp. Antonino Aug. et a divo Vero Aug.] Orelli, 3186. The fragment—[comes] Antonini Aug. et L. Veri bello Germanic. item comes Imp. Antonini Aug. Germanici Sarmatici—has been wrongly combined with the above inscription. Cp. Borghesi, *AdI*, 1855, p. 25.

M. Jallius M. f. Bassus Fabius Valerianus cos. *praef. [aer . . . leg. Aug. pr. pr.] provinc. Pannoniae inferioris curator oper. publ.*

¹ Et Verum quidem Marcus Capuam usque prosecutus amicis comitantibus a senatu ornavit additis officiorum omnium principibus (*Vit. M. Anton.*, 8).

(161; *CIL*, vi, 1119b) [leg. Augg. pr. pr. prov.] Mysiae inferior. (between 161 and 169; *CIL*, iii, 6169) comes Augustorum Par[thi]c[a]e expeditionis?). *CIL*, xii, 2718 sq. (Alba Helvorum).

T. Vitrasius Pollio [cos. II 176—adfinis? Aug]ustorum (Marci et Commodi) comes [M. Antonini et L. Veri] Augg. expeditionis . . . Germ[anicae] item comes [M. Antonini et Com]modi Augg. expedit. Germ[anicae] Sar[matica]e bis donis m[ilitat]i. donatus etc.].—s[odalis] Antoninianus] maritus A[nniae] Flaviae Fausti]nae (filiae Annii Libonis cos. 128 patrui imp. Marci), etc. Henzen, 5477; Hirschfeld, *VG*, 227.

Julius Verus leg. pr. pr. of Syria. A street restored under the two emperors 163/165 per Jul. Verum leg. pr. pr. provinc. Syr. et amicū suū impendiū Abilenorū (*CIL*, iii, 199).

K n i g h t s. L. Volusius Maecianus Ictus. Amicus noster in a rescript of the Divi Fratres (*Dig.*, xxxvii, 14, 17 pr.). Put to death by the army 175 when *praef. Aegypti* or *juridicus Alexandreae* (*Vit. Avid. Cass.* 7). Mommsen, *Abhandl. der sächs. Ges.*, iii, 282. Teuffel, *RLG* 4, 360 7 (Eng. tr., 360, 8). Hirschfeld, p. 227.

Friends of Lucius Verus. S e n a t o r s. M. Pontius Laelianus Larcus Sabinus cos. (163) sodalis Antoninianus Verianus—comes divi Veri Aug. donatus donis militarib. bello Armeniaco et Parthico ab imp. Antonino Aug. et a divo Vero Aug. (Orelli, 3186; see above). E. Napp, *De rebus imperatore M. Aur. Antonino in Oriente gestis* (Bonn, 1879), p. 69.

M. Claudius Fronto cos. (c. 170 [B.]) comes divi Veri Aug. donatus donis militarib. bello Armeniaco et Parthico ab imperatore Antonino Aug. et a Divo Vero Aug. corona murali item vallari item aurea item hastis puris IIII item vexillis IIII . . . Henzen, 5478 = *CIL*, vi, 1377; Napp, p. 69, 5.

T. Caesernius Statius Quinctius Macedo Quinctianus (son of Hadrian's friend of the same name) cos. co[m]mes divi Veri] per Orientem; according to Borghesi's restoration of the inscription, Henzen, 6502 = *CIL*, v, 1, 865; Napp, p. 75 ff.

L. Dasumius Tullus Tuscus, adopted son of Trajan's friend L. Dasumius, holder of important positions under Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius. Borghesi, *Œuvres*, vi, 429; Henzen, 6051 (cp. 6922 and *CIL*, iii, 1, 4117): L. Dasumio P. f. Stel. Tullio Tusco cos. comiti August. auguri, etc. Wilmanns, 1188: Verba "comiti Aug." postea addita sunt; fuit fortasse Veri comes, cum in Orientem proficisceretur.

Friends of Marcus Aurelius. S e n a t o r s. C. Fulvius Bruttius Praeseus C.f.M'. Valerius Maximus Pompeius L. Valens Cornelius Proculus Aquilius Viento cos. (153, 11 180)—socer imp. [Caes. Commodi Aug. sodalis] Hadrianalis sodalis Antonin[ianus] Verianus] Marcianus comes imp[er]atoris Anto[nini] et Commodi Augg.] expeditionis Sarmaticae *praef. u.*? Henzen, 5488; *ib.*, *Acta fr. Arv.*, p. 187.

C. Aufidius Victorinus, son-in-law of Fronto, fellow-pupil of Marcus Aurelius (*Vit. M. Anton.*, 3), cos. II 183, *ὁπὸ τοῦ Μάρκου ἐν τοῖς πᾶσι τιμηθεὶς* (Dio, lxxii, 11), *praef. u.*, died 186. Henzen, *Acta*, p. 178.

Seius Fuscianus, also a fellow-pupil of Marcus Aurelius, cos. II 188 (*Vit. Commod.*, 12), a strict *praef. urb.* (*Vit. Pertinac.*, 4).

K n i g h t s. Baebius Longus and Calenus, both fellow-pupils of Marcus Aurelius (*Vit. M. Antonin.*,

3). *Friends of Commodus.* Senators. T. Vitrasius Pollio (see above).

C. Fulvius Bruttius Praesens (see above).

Junius Severus. Statimque (Commodus Albino) successorem misit Junium Severum unum e contubernalibus suis (*Vit. Clod. Alb.*, 14). De Vit (*Onomast.*) identifies him with the *cos. suff.* 154 (*CIL*, iii, p. 881); it is more probable that he was his son.

C. Pescennius Niger *cos. II* in Oriente 194. (B.) Hunc in Commodianis hortis in porticu pictum de musio inter Commodi amicissimos videmus sacra Isidis ferentem (*Vit. Pesc. Nig.*, 6).

The chief *Friends of Septimus Severus* are enumerated in the *Epit. de Caesaribus*, 20: (T. Sextius) Lateranus (*cos.* 197), (L. Fabius) Cilo (*cos. II* 204. Gruter, 407, 1 = *CIL*, vi, 1, 1408: comiti imp. L. Septimi Severi; *Dig.*, i, 15, 4, *amicum nostrum*)¹ (Cornelius) Anulinus (*cos.* 216; Dio, lxxiv, 3; *CIL*, ii, 2053), (Pomponius) Bassus (*cos.* 221, died 221; Dio, lxxix, 5). Also known are: C. Fulvius Plautianus *cos. II* (Orelli, 934: necessarius Augg. et comes per omnes expeditiones eorum, died 205); cp. *CIA*, iii, 633, and Hirschfeld, *VG*, 230; Q. Hedi Rufus Lollianus Gentianus *cos.* 211, comes Severi et Antonini Augg. ter. (Orelli, 3657 = *CIL*, ii, 4121; cp. Lebas-Waddington, p. 739); Aemilius Papinianus, successor of Plautianus as *praef. praet.*, put to death 212; cp. Teuffel, *RLG* ⁴, 371 (Eng. tr.). [C. Julius Pacatianus adlectus inter comites Augg. nnn. (only temporarily admitted into the imperial retinue in the expedition to Britain, since he was procurator Alp. Cott.; cp. Mommsen, *StR*, ii², 836, 2), *CIL*, xii, 1856 = Allmer, *Inscr. de Vienne*, 1963. H.]

Friend of Antoninus (Caracalla). Maternianus. Herodian, iv, 12, 4: ἐπιστέλλει Ματερνιανῶ τινί, τότε πάσας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐν Ῥώμῃ πράξεις ἐγκεχειρισμένῃ, πιστοτάτῃ εἶναι δοκοῦντι φίλων καὶ μόνῃ κοινωνῶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων: cp. Dio, lxxviii, 4, 7, 15. H.

On the *Friends of Alexander Severus* cp. *Vit. Alex. Sev.*; 68. *CIL*, xiv, 3900 (ager Tiburt.): C. Caesonio C. f. Quir. Macro Rufiniano consulari sodali Augustali comiti imp. Severi Aug. (otherwise unknown). *CIG*, 3499 (cp. 3500), Thyatira: M. Γραῖον Δικτίριον Ῥουφίνον τὸν λαμπρότατον ὑπατικόν, φίλον τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, κτίστην καὶ εὐεργετὴν τῆς πατρίδος οἱ βυρσεῖς. Borghesi puts his consulship in the reign of Alexander Severus, but he is not mentioned amongst that emperor's friends in the passage referred to above. *Cod. Justin.*, viii, 37, 4 (A.D. 222): Ulpiani praefecti annonae Icti amici mei. [Cassius Dio also was no doubt one of the friends of Severus (Dio, lxxx, 5). H.]

Elagabalus. The fragment *CIL*, vi, 3839: *Cos. comiti amico* — — *praef. ann.* refers to the time of Elagabalus.

Time unknown: Gruter, 1100, 3 = *CIL*, v, 2, 5811: C. Sentio Severo Quadrato c. v. *cos. amico et comiti Aug. n. Julii fratres Maximus et Victor* (dug up at Milan in 1594).

¹ His house was in the 12th regio (Lanciani, *Le acque*, p. 303); he also had a villa on the Via Ostiensis (ib., p. 305).

Kaibel, *epigr. Gr.*, 441 (second or third cent., in vico Trachonitidis):—

4 . πιστοτάτου βασιλεῦσιν, ἀμωμήτοις τ' ἐπάρχου

8 . καὶ τοῖς ἐὼν βασιλῆος ἀμύμονος ἐσθλὸς ὄπλων.

CIL, viii, 597 (prov. Byzacena): iunio Faustino a d o Postumiano c. v cos. adlecto inter comites Augg. nn. sacerdoti flavialititali, etc. "The person referred to, who seems to be entirely unknown, lived between the age of M. Aurelius and Aurelian, probably at the end of the third century."

XII. THE USE OF *VIR CLARISSIMUS* AS A SENATORIAL TITLE.

(Vol. I, p. 133, l. 11.)

IN the course of the first century *vir clarissimus* gradually became an established official title of persons of senatorial rank. It is doubtful whether *clarissimi* in Seneca (*Brev. Vit.*, 8, 2: annua congiaria homines clarissimi accipiunt) is to be taken in this sense. As J. Naudet (*De la noblesse chez les Romains*, 1863, p. 72, 1) has observed, it first occurs as an unquestionable title in two *senatus consulta* of the year 56, which, it is true, are only preserved in a single copy (Orelli, 3115; Mommsen, *Ber. der sächs. Ges.*, 1852, p. 272 = *CIL*, x, 1401: Hosidio Geta et L. Vagellio cos. clarissimis viris); since the document was found at Herculaneum, it must have been prepared at latest under Vespasian, who perhaps ordered the two *senatus consulta* to be set up in all the Italian cities (Mommsen, p. 276). Similarly in a document of the year 69 (*CIL*, x, 7852, 13; Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 471, 2). But even under Domitian it does not seem to have been a *standing* title of senators. Statius (praef. *Silvae*, iii, about 94) calls Maecius Celer (of senatorial rank) 'splendidissimum juvenem,' and (praef. *Silvae*, iv, 95) Julius Menecrates of Naples (son-in-law of Pollius Felix), who could not have been of higher than equestrian rank, 'splendidum juvenem'; on the other hand, Plotius Grypus (who was a senator) is only 'majoris gradus juvenem.' Certainly he speaks in the following terms of Vettius Crispinus (also a senator): sic te, clare puer, genitum sibi curia sensit; but it is clear from Suetonius (*Galba*, 14: quosdam claros ex utroque ordine viros) that *clarus* may be taken merely as a complimentary epithet. In Martial, praef. ix (A.D. 94) epigramma—ad Stertinius (cos. 92) clarissimum virum, there is no doubt that the words denote a title. (In Quintilian, i, 7, 29, where Bonnell reads: et clarissimos et consules geminata eadem littera legimus, the reading is extremely doubtful.) The first writer, who unquestionably so uses it, is the younger Pliny, not in a confidential communication with an equal in rank, but in writing to an inferior (Suetonius): tribunatum, quem a Neratio Marcello, clarissimo viro, impetravi tibi (*Epp.*, iii, 8); clarissimi consules (*Epp.*, vii, 33), in an official address in the senate; similarly, et statim Murena tribunus: permitto tibi, vir clarissime Veiento, dicere (*Epp.*, ix, 13) and pro collega meo Cornuto Tertullo, clarissimo viro (*Panegy.*, 90); also, providentissime, domine, fecisti quod praecepisti Calpurnio Macro, clarissimo viro (correspondence with Trajan, *epp.* 56 and 67, ed. Keil; 61 and 77 ed. Mommsen). Similarly, in an inscription of the early years of Tra-

jan's reign, Orelli, 784 and Henzen, 5404 = *CIL*, v, 1, 34, where a pronepos Antoni Felicis is called *c.p.* (= clarissimus puer); in documents of the year 101 (*CIL*, vi, 1492) under Hadrian (*CIL*, viii, 2532) and Antoninus Pius (*CIL*, v, 532; Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 471, 2); the jurist L. Fulvius Aburnius Valens in the year 118 is called *c.i.* (= clarissimus juvenis), Orelli, 3153 = *CIL*, vi, 1421; in the *senatus consultum de nundinis saltus Beguensis* of the year 138 (*Eph. Epigr.*, ii, 273 = *CIL*, viii, 270), the petitioner Lucilius Africanus is called *c.v.* (= clarissimus vir). An inscription (of Hadrian's time) on the poetess Julia Balbilla (Tauromenium) calls her *τὴν λαμπροτάτην* (*CIG*, 5404); also a decree of senate and people gives the same title to a certain Jallia Bassa (belonging to the family of Jallius Bassus, cos. before 161; Bruzza, *Bull. munic. di R.*, 1883, p. 138; cp. Letronne, *Rec. des inscr.*, ii, pp. 350-367). By the side of *λαμπρότατος*, which correctly (at least till the end of the second century)¹ was only used for senators (cp. e.g. *CIG*, 3499, 3979), *κράτιστος* was at first in use for both senators and knights.²

Knights: *CIG*, 2790: Γ. 'Ιούλιον Φίλιππον (ἐπίτροπον τῶν Σεβαστῶν, *CIG*, 9233) τὸν κράτιστον πατέρα συγκλητικῷ ἀπὸ ἐπιτρόπων. *ib.*, 3497: τὸν κράτιστον ἐπίτροπον τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ. Lebas-Waddington, 1385: τὴν κρατίστην γυναῖκα τοῦ κρατιστοῦ δουκηναρίου, ἀπὸ ἐπιτρόπων. Senators: σὺν τῷ κρατίστῳ Φλ. Δρυαντιανῷ συγκλητικῷ (Neubauer, *Comment. epigr.* [69], p. 32). In a letter of Hadrian to the γερουσία of Ephesus in the year 120 (C. Curtius, *Ephes. Inscr.* in *Hermes*, iv, 178: Κορνελλίῳ Πρεῖσκῳ τῷ κρατίστῳ ἀνθυπάτῳ; and in another letter of his to Stratonicea-Hadrianopolis in the year 127 (*Bull. de corr. hellén.*, xi, 1887): τῷ κρατίστῳ ἀνθυπάτῳ Στερτινίῳ Κουαρελίνῳ καὶ τῷ ἐπιτρόπῳ μου Πομπηίῳ Σεουήρῳ. Cp. the inscriptions (date unknown) in *Hermes*, iv, p. 194: Κλαυδιαν Σ[ωσιπάτρου] ? θυγατέρα Τιβ. Κλ. Ἐρμείου λαμπροτάτου ὑπατικοῦ καὶ Αἰλίας Πειθαῖδος τῆς κρατίστης ὑπατικῆς ἀδελφῆς Τιβ. Κλ. Δράκοντος Σωσιπάτρου Θεωνίδος τῶν κρατίστων ἀνεψιῶν καὶ ἀπόγονον πολλῶν ὑπατικῶν Φλ[άβιος] Ζωτικὸς τὴν ἰδίαν πατρῶνισαν. But after the third century *κράτιστος*, corresponding to the Latin *egregius*, is only found used of knights (Hirschfeld, *VG*, 273 note). See Boucherie, *Ἑρμηνεύματα*, p. 81: *διασημότατος* perfectissimus, *κράτιστος* egregius. In the age of the Antonines the title *vir clarissimus* was evidently in general use (cp. Gellius, i, 2, 1; i, 22, 6; xviii, 10, 1; in other passages *c.v.* may have fallen out). Cp. also Apuleius, *Apol.*, 443: cum Lolliano Avito *c.v.* praesente publice dissererem. Orelli, 3767 = *IRN*, 2505 = *CIL*, x, 1814 (year 161). Orelli, 4040 (decr. mun. Tergest., later than 161). Orelli, 1632 (year 173). Lucian, *Macrobian*, 1: *λαμπρότατε* (29, *λερώτατε*) *Κύριε* ἄλλε. For other evidence of later or unknown date, inscriptions and legal sources, see Naudet as above.

¹ From this time *λαμπρότατος*, like *clarissimus*, seems to have been occasionally used in reference to the chief prefectures. Ulpianus Primianus *praef. Aegypti* in the third year of the reign of Severus is called ὁ λαμπρότατος ἡγεμῶν (*CIG*, 4863); Septimius Heraclitus *praef. Aegypti* in 215 ὁ λαμπρότατος in a document of Arsinoe (as Opellius Macrinus *praef. praed.*, Hirschfeld, *VG*, 232 and 275. Wilcken, *Arsinoitische Tempelrechnungen* in *Hermes*, xx, 469).

² This was already noticed by Marini, *Arvali*, p. 748, 59. Dessau, *Steuertarif von Palmyra* in *Hermes*, xix (1884), p. 514, 1.

XIII. *MANDRAGORA.*
(Vol. I, p. 174, l. 4.)

At my request, Professor Ferdinand Cohn investigated the ancient traditions relating to the mandragora, or mandrake. He communicated the results of his inquiries to the *Jahresbericht der schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterl. Cultur* (1887, pp. 285-293), from which the following remarks are taken.

From the time of Hippocrates to the first century A.D. the mandragora was only known as an officinal plant. The juice of the rind of its root, extracted by squeezing or boiling, was used as a narcotic or anaesthetic in surgical operations. 'The description of the effects of mandragora juice in Dioscorides and Pliny in almost the same words, the exact dose being given, leaves no doubt that the reference is to cases of intoxication by atropine, which, although its existence in the mandragora cannot be chemically demonstrated, shows its presence by the effects indicated. Theophrastus had already declared that mandragora in too large doses was fatal.' He and Dioscorides hint that it was one of the ingredients of love potions, whence it was called Circe-plant (*Κίρκια*, Diosc., *Materia Medica*, iv, 76; Circaeon, Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxv, 147). This use of it seems to be of great antiquity, 'if the *dudaim* of *Genesis* and the *Song of Solomon* is rightly interpreted as love-apples (mandragora berries) by the Septuagint'.

The root was usually dug up with strange ceremonies (drawing a circle round it thrice with a sword and looking towards the west). Theophrastus (*Hist. anim.*, ix, 8) makes merry over this; but neither he nor Pliny knows the later story, that the only safe method of procuring it involved the sacrifice of the life of a dog. Josephus (*Bell. Jud.*, vii, 6, 3)¹ tells the story of the root Baaras or Battaritis, Aelian (*Nat. anim.*, xiv, 24-27) of the root ἀγλαοφῶτις or κυνόσπαστος (by which the peony is probably meant). The MS. of Dioscorides written in Constantinople in the fifth century for the emperor's daughter Julia Anicia is the earliest evidence of the transference of the story to the mandragora. A miniature drawing in it represents personified Invention (Heuresis), with one hand handing a root of the mandragora to Dioscorides, with the other holding on a rope the strangled dog, which has drawn the root from the ground. In a second picture Heuresis is describing the root to a painter sitting in front of an easel, who is sketching it on a white, gold-rimmed tablet (Schreiber, *Culturhistor. Bilderatlas*, Taf. viii, 3).² The still older Naples Dioscorides MS. shows at the same passage by the side of the text two illustrations called the male and female mandragora, unmistakably corresponding to the *Mandragora autumnalis* Spreng. (*M. officinarum* Bert.) and *M. vernalis* (the sex names did not indicate differences of sex in antiquity, but the more or less robust

¹ 'They dig a trench round about it, till the hidden part of the root be very small; they then tie a dog to it and when the dog tries hard to follow him that tied him, this root is easily plucked up, but the dog dies immediately, as if it were instead of the man that would take the plant away; nor after this need any one be afraid of taking it into their hands' (Whiston's translation).

² English edition, *Atlas of Classical Antiquities*, by W. C. F. Anderson and P. Gardner (1895)

varieties). That the root was supposed to resemble the human form is shown by Columella (x, 19, *semihominis*—*mandragorae*) and by a pseudo-Pythagorean treatise on the effects of plants quoted by Pliny, in which, according to a gloss in the Dioscorides MS. (*M.*, iv, 76) it was called ἀνθρωπομορφος. In the illustrations mentioned, the *M. autumnalis* resembles a man, the *M. vernalis* a woman.

As is shown by the translation of *Dudaïm* by *mandragore* = *al-rûna* in a Munich gloss of the tenth century, the mandragora was early identified on German soil with the *al-rûna*, a devilish spirit and a magic root in human form (Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, Eng. tr. iii, 1202-4, iv, 1673). From the thirteenth century mandragora and *alraun* are always synonymous. The real mandragora, which is never found beyond the Alps, had scarcely ever been seen by the peoples of Central Europe at that time.

XIV. THE *SPORTULA* OF THE CLIENTES.

(Vol. I, p. 196, l. 8.)

THIS difficult subject, on which there exists great diversity of opinion, deserves further investigation, but our information is so scanty and obscure that much must remain uncertain or unexplained. The authorities whom I have consulted are: P. Buttmann, *Über die Sportula der Römer* (in J. D. Seebode, *Krit. Bibliothek*, iii, 1821, pp. 391-409); F. Schneider,¹ *De Sportula* (*Progr. des Gymn. zu Brieg*, 1836); W. A. Becker, *Gallus*, ii², 164, in the main reproduced by Rein in *StRE*, vi, 3185, and Becker-Göll, ii, 204; G. Heuermann, *Über die Clienten unter den ersten röm. Kaisern* (*Progr. des Gymn. zu Burgsteinfurt*, 1856), pp. 14-30, and *Untersuchungen über die Sportula der Clienten* (*progr. of same gymn.*, 1875)³; O. Guttman, *Observationum in M. Val. Martialem particulae v* (*Breslauer Doctor dissertation*, 1866), pp. 31-39. The latest and best discussion of the subject will be found in Marquardt (*Prl.*, i², 207-212), whose views have in several instances caused me to modify my own.

It is probable that in earlier times the patron was accustomed to invite the client to dinner; this appears to have been usual even in Horace's time (*Epp.*, i, 7; I should also be inclined to regard the persons mentioned in *Sat.*, ii, 7, 36; 8, 41; *Epp.*, i, 18, 10 as actual clients). Whether a money equivalent was substituted in Columella's time must be left undecided; in *praef.* i, 9 and 12 he calls the clients '*mercenarii salutatores*', their daily visits a '*cotidianum tributum*' (Seneca, *De brevitate vitae*, 14, 6, *meritoria salutatio*, not *sportula*, as Rein says, a word which according to Haase's index does not occur in Seneca). Certainly, at the beginning of Domitian's reign (and perhaps much earlier)² the client, instead of being invited to a regular dinner (*cena recta*) was presented with a portion of the food to take away or an equivalent in money. Both were called *sportula*, the money *sportula* being the more common.

¹ [Marquardt and Rein give the name as *Schmiedler*. I am unable to trace the treatise. Tr.]

² Referred to as i and ii.

³ Perhaps after Nero's introduction of the *sportula* at the *cenae publicae* (Suetonius, *Nero*, 16; Marquardt, p. 210, 5).

About the year 87 the *cena recta* to clients was reintroduced. The third book of Martial, composed about this time, is the only one in which he mentions the new arrangement and the abolition of the money *sportula*. Both these innovations were perhaps connected with Domitian's reintroduction of the *cena recta* at the *cenae publicae* (instead of the *sportulae* substituted for them by Nero; Sueton., *Domitian*, 7); perhaps also the patrons thought it would be cheaper, since the food set before the clients was inferior—a frequent cause of complaint. Thus Martial, iii, 60:—

Cum vocer ad cenam, non jam venalis ut ante,
cur mihi non eadem, quae tibi, cena datur?
ostrea tu sumis stagno saturata Lucrino,
4 sugitur inciso mitulus ore mihi . .
9 cur sine te ceno, cum tecum, Pontice, cenem?
sportula quod non est, prosit: edamus idem.

Further, the clients lost by the exchange to a certain extent, since the money *sportula* helped to supply their wants (iii, 3); for this reason a starveling Spaniard on his way to Rome turned back at the Milvian bridge, on hearing the report (*sportularum fabulæ*, iii, 14) of its abolition.

The following epigram (iii, 7) refers to the same thing:—

Centum miselli jam valet quadrantes,
anteambulonis congiarium lassi,
quos dividebat balneator elixus.
quid cogitatis, o fames amicorum?
regis superbi sportulae recesserunt,
'nihil stropharum est, jam salarium dandum est'.

This epigram cannot be taken (with Heuermann, i, 27 and Guttman, p. 37) as an expression of delight at the new arrangement; the last verse, and the two other epigrams, which clearly indicate the clients' dissatisfaction, forbid such an interpretation. 'The client', says Buttmann (p. 399), 'in whose name Martial speaks (iii, 7) is greatly displeased because the *patronus* wants to put him off with empty invitations, and demands a regular salary'. Martial himself, who was no doubt dissatisfied, states the condition under which the innovation would be acceptable to clients; but its fulfilment could hardly be expected from patrons, since it would have meant additional expense to them. In any case, the new arrangement did not last long, chiefly owing to the client's dissatisfaction; for the fourth book assumes the reintroduction of the money *sportula*; thus, iv, 26:—

Quod te mane domi toto non vidimus anno,
vis dicam, quantum, Postume, perdiderim?
tricenos, puto, bis, vicenos ter puto nummos
ignoscas: togulam, Postume, pluris emo.

The patron here addressed, who appears to have paid his client only sixty sesterces for the whole year, certainly only rarely required to be waited upon, but gave less for each attendance than the usual money *sportula* (25 *asses* = 100 *quadrantes* = 6½ sesterces), paid also when the client accompanied his patron on a journey (e.g. at Baiae, i, 59).

Larger sums were also offered (viii, 42) :

Si te sportula major ad beatos
non corruperit, ut solet, licebit,
de nostro, Matho, centiens laveris.

x, 27 : Natali, Diodore, tuo conviva senatus
accubat et rarus non adhibetur eques,
ac tua tricenos largitur sportula nummos,
nemo tamen natum te, Diodore, putat.

Here we should probably assume (with Buttmann, p. 409 and Guttman, p. 36) that distinguished guests were entertained and money distributed to the clients ; so perhaps also vii, 86. On the other hand, in ix, 100 :

Denaris tribus invitas et mane togatum
observare jubes atria, Basse, tua,

the three *denarii* appear to be promised for long service, consequently the remuneration was less than the ordinary ; the poet refuses the offer with the remark that he couldn't buy a new toga with it.

Wealthy and distinguished persons apparently claimed and paid for the services of their clients year in year out ; the annual pay of a client 2281½ sesterces (about £25) was no great expense for senators. (The younger Pliny, by no means a wealthy member of the senate, left in his will a sum of money to provide 1120 sesterces apiece annually for 100 freedmen ; Mommsen, *Hermes*, iii, 102). Less well-to-do persons only exceptionally requisitioned the services of clients, the pay being of course regulated partly by the services required, partly by the means and position of the donor. Cp. iv, 26 above and ix, 85, where a patron shams illness in order to deprive his clients of the *sportula*, which was not given when their services were not required (Marquardt, 212, 4). Probably many clients were obliged to earn their pay by this patron one day, by that the next, and needed a large number of such engagements, in order to find employment and pay even for the greater part of the year (Martial, xiv, 125 : si matutinos facile est tibi perdere somnos, attrita veniet sportula saepe toga). Zealous clients contrived to earn more than one *sportula* in one day (i, 80 : sportula, Cane, tibi suprema nocte petita est. occidit, puto, te, Cane, quod una fuit).

Although the clients as a rule were squared with the *sportula* in money or in kind (Martial, xiii, 123), of course they sometimes received invitations to the *cena recta* (Martial, ii, 18 ; x, 18 ; cp. xi, 24 ; xii, 77, 6). But in that case they must frequently have had to put up with scanty fare at the patron's table. Cp. xii, 26, 13 : et rogat ut secum cenes Laetorius' inquit. viginti nummis ? non ego, malo famem ; i.e. the meal does not cost the patron more than 20 sesterces (? asses). Thus, in the *Acta* of the Arval brethren the cost per head is given : hoc anno cenatum est a singulis dies singulos denariis centum (Henzen, *Acta*, p. 16 ; Marquardt, *StV*, iii², 453, 6). So also in iv, 68, which Heuermann (ii, 8) and Marquardt (*Pril*, i², 211, 7) refer to the money *sportula*, the reference is to a meal :

Invitas centum quadrantibus, et bene cenas.
ut cenem invitor, Sexte, an ut invideam ?

Only when the client dines at the patron's table can he imagine that he has been invited to arouse his envy; the patron dines well, the client so badly, that his meal cannot have cost more than 25 asses.

Juvenal describes a somewhat later age than Martial. As regards the payment of clients proper, there seems to be no difference; in Martial the *sportula* is distributed in the evening, in Juvenal (i, 125) in the morning, but so trifling an alteration is unimportant. 100 *quadrantes* was still the usual sum, with which the clients bought clothes, food, and firing. But it is remarkable that in Juvenal, in addition to the clients (the *turba togata* of l. 96), even men of old family (*Trojugenae*, 100), praetors and tribunes, well-to-do freedmen and even women in sedan-chairs (consequently women of position) present themselves to receive the *sportula*, and the highest dignitaries reckon up at the end of the year how much it has brought them in (Juvenal, i, 117-128). We may, therefore, perhaps assume that rich and distinguished men (and even women) at their morning complimentary visits did not disdain to accept the usual fee of 100 *quadrantes* (l. 120), which they probably gave to their servants; that they went round to secure the doles (128, Buttmann, p. 407), accompanied by their clients (*comites*, 119), in the early morning. As they in turn paid the same fees to their own visitors, the acceptance of the trifling sum could not be considered unseemly, so long as it was regarded as a mere formality; it would only appear so, if it was hinted that importance was really attached to it or that it was much sought after. Becker-Göll (ii, 211) consider that this passage refers to extraordinary family festivities (cp. Pliny, *Ad Trajanum*, 116).

Martial, who mentions (ii, 18; x, 10; xii, 26) the complimentary visits of distinguished persons and their abject exhibitions of devotion, never mentions a *sportula* paid to them or to non-clients generally; this seems to show that the custom of bestowing it upon distinguished visitors was not developed until after the death of Domitian. The same may be said of the morning visits paid by women of position, which are not referred to by Martial or earlier writers.

Lastly, on Juvenal, iii, 249:

Nonne vides quanto celebretur sportula fumo?
centum convivae, sequitur sua quemque culina,

the scholiast's explanation is certainly correct: *pulmentaria secum portant comparata e sportula*, i.e. the eatables distributed (so Becker-Göll, ii, 206), or bought with the *sportula*, and prepared in the cook-shop, are carried home by the clients' slaves in a portable kitchen, to prevent their getting cold (so Heuermann, ii, 9 and Marquardt, 211, 8). Gifford in Mayor's Juvenal *ad loc*: "How often have I been reminded of the *sportula* by the firepans and suppers of the Neapolitans! As soon as it grows dark, the streets are filled with twinkling fires glancing about in every direction on the heads of these modern Corbulos, and suddenly disappearing as they enter their houses with their frugal meal."

In later times, the following references to the *sportula* (paid on

extraordinary occasions) are all that are known to me. Apuleius, *Apol.*, 88: quippe ita placuerat, in suburbana villa potius ut conjungeremur, ne cives denuo ad sportulas convolarent, cum haud pridem Pudentilla de suo L milia nummum in populum expunxisset ea die qua Pontianus uxorem duxit et hic puerulus toga est involutus. *Vit. Gallien.*, 16: convivatus in publico est. congiariis populum mollivit. senatui sportulam sedens erogavit, matronas ad consulationem suam rogavit, denique manum sibi osculantibus quaternos aureos nominis sui dedit. *Ammian. Marcel.*, xiv, 6, 17: cum autem intervallata temporibus convivium longa et noxia coeperint adparari, vel distributio sollemnium sportularum; anxia deliberatione tractatus, an exceptis iis, quibus vicissitudo debetur, peregrinum invitari conveniat etc. Symmachus, *Epp.*, ix, 134: sportulam consulatus mei et amicitiae nostrae et honori tuo debeo, hanc in solido uno ad te misi, orans ut benigno animo sollemnia officii mei libamenta suscipias, Vale.

XV. THE USE OF *DOMINE* AS A FORM OF ADDRESS IN ORDINARY LIFE.

(Vol. I, p. 199, l. 10.)¹

THE use of *domine* ('sir') as a form of address has never been adequately discussed. The best account of it will be found in Lipsius, *Excursus ad Tac. Ann.*, ii, 87, P.; all the other writers cited by Gessner in his *Thesaurus*, s.v. *dominus* have either copied him or added nothing new. I shall chiefly confine myself to the first three centuries. I further exclude (1) the well-known practice of lovers, who call themselves *dominus* and *domina* (mistress), a custom transferred by Ovid and his imitators even to the heroic age (*Heroides*, xiii, 145; xv, 18, 118, 164, 176; *Melam.*, ix, 465); (2) the use of *domine* in addressing the emperors, discussed by Spanheim (*De usu et praest. numm.*, diss. vii, 8, p. 729, ed. 1671) and with his usual acuteness and in detail by Eckhel (*Doctr. numm.*, viii, p. 364).²

During republican times, with few exceptions, *domine* was never heard as a form of address in the mouth of a free man. Even in imperial times it was never so generally in use as at the present day; it was limited to certain relations, expressed special politeness and respect, or was used for special reasons.

It may have been a very old custom, derived from the nature of the *patria potestas*, although only occasionally preserved or intentionally revived, that children addressed their father as *dominus*. Augustus strongly objected to it, since its use might have led people to think it was intended gradually to introduce it as the Emperor's right. He would not even allow his own children or grandchildren (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 53) to call him 'sir' in jest or earnest. That it was customary in many houses is shown by the epigram of Martial (i, 81):

A servo scis te genitum blandeque fateris,
cum dicis dominum, Sosibiane, patrem.

¹ Cp. *Progr. der Königsberger Universität* (Jan. 23rd, 1859).

² On the use of *domine* in addressing the emperors from Augustus to Julian, cp. Chr. Schöner, *Über die Titulaturen der röm. Kaiser* (Erlangen, 1881), pp. 26-33.

In the will (dated A.D. 175) of a son who died at Sirmium, found at Cephaledium (Cefalù) in Sicily, we have: have michi domine pater, vale michi domine pater (Orelli, 4359). Letronne, *La Statue vocale*, p. 244: καὶ τὸ προσκίνημα πάντων τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ τῆς κυρίας μητρός. In the oldest times the wife also possibly addressed her husband as *dominus*. Yet I only know one instance, in which there is no admixture of flattery or endearment, and that belonging to an age when members of a family frequently addressed one another in that manner. *Dig.*, xxiv, 1, 57: Paulus libro VIII Responsorum: —Ea quae a marito suo pecuniam ex causa donationis acceperat, litteras ad eum misit hujusmodi: quum petenti mihi a te, domine carissime, annuerit indulgentia tua.

Also in the time after Augustus, whenever equals or inferiors are so addressed, it is due to the wish to be especially polite. In Epicetetus philosophers, physicians and soothsayers are frequently addressed as 'sir', but only by those who need their assistance and want to curry favour with them. *Diss.*, ii, 7, 9: διὰ τοῦτο κολακεύομεν τοὺς μάντεις· Κληρονομῆσω, κύριε, τὸν πατέρα; Ἰδωμεν, ἐπεκθυσώμεθα. Ναί, κύριε, ὡς ἡ τύχη θέλει. *ib.*, ii, 7, 12: νῦν δε τρέμοντες τὸν ὀριθάριον κρατοῦμεν, καὶ τὸν (ὡς?) θεὸν ἐπικαλούμενοι δεόμεθα αὐτοῦ· κύριε, ἐλέησον· ἐπιτρέψον μοι ἐξελθεῖν. *ib.*, ii, 15, 15: οὐ θέλεις τὰ τοῦ νοσοῦντος ποιεῖν καὶ τὸν λατρὸν παρακαλεῖν; Νοσῶ, κύριε· βοήθησόν μοι· τί με δεῖ ποιεῖν, σκέψαι, ἐμὸν ἐστὶ πειθεσθαι σοι. *ib.*, iii, 10, 15: τί οὖν κολακεύεις τὸν λατρὸν; τί λέγεις; ἴαν σὺ θέλῃς, κύριε, καλῶς ξεῶ. *ib.*, iii, 22, 38: ἐν τίνι οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τούτοις οὐκ ἐστίν; Εἰπέ· ἡμῖν, κύριε ἀγγελε καὶ κατὰσκοπε. *ib.*, iii, 23, 11: πρῶν ἐπαυθεὶς περιήρχου καὶ πᾶσιν ἔλεγες· τί σοι ἔδοξα; Θαυμαστὸς, κύριε, τὴν ἐμὴν [σοι] σωτηρίαν. *ib.*, iii, 23, 19: τὸ καλόν, κύριε, καὶ λίθον κινήσαι δύναται. From one passage it might seem that the address was regarded as a proof of servile obsequiousness; *iv*, 1, 56: οὐκ οὖν ἀλλὰ κωλύσαι ἐστὶ καὶ ἀναγκάσαι, θαρρύν λέγε μὴ εἶναι ἐλεύθερον· καὶ μὴ μοι πάμπου αὐτοῦ καὶ προπάμπου βλέπε, καὶ ὦν ἡν γήτει καὶ πᾶσιν· ἀλλ' ἂν ἀκούσῃς λέγοντος ἔσωθεν καὶ ἐκ πάθους, κύριε· κἂν δώδεκα βάρβοι παράγωσι, λέγε δοῦλον. Here, however, a slavish temperament is clearly only attributed to one who calls another 'sir' ἔσωθεν καὶ ἐκ πάθους. Petronius, 57: unus ex conlibertis Trimalchionis—'an tibi non placent lautitiae domini mei'? *Colloquia scholastica* (gloss. Labb. ii, 427): Γῆε κύριε, τί ἐπιτάσεις;—Μὴ τι ἔχεις χρήματα εὐκαιροῦντα;—Τί χρεῖαν ἔχεις δαλεῖσασθαι;—Εἰ ἔχεις χρῆσόν μοι πέντε δηνάρια. *Colloq. schol.*, ed. Haupt, *Ind. lect. Berol. hib.* 1871 (on entering a house, apparently a senator's): χαῖρε κύριε, χαῖρε κυρία. βασιλεῦ χαῖρε, βασιλεῖα χαῖρε, Πόθων [μητέρα], θύγατερ Πελάγους Ἀφροδίτη, πῶς τὰ παιδία; ζῶσιν καὶ καλῶς ἔχουσιν. Philogelos, ed. Eberhard:¹ 5, κύριε σχολαστικέ· 144, Εὐτράπελος ἀγρὸν δρομέα ἰδὼν εἶπεν· οἶδα τίνοσ χρηρίζει ὁ κύριός μου οὗτος. (Cp. 208 and 235). Scaevola, *lib. I Responsorum* (*Dig.*, xiii, 6, 26): Quidam ad creditorem litteras ejusmodi fecit: decem quae Lucius Titius ex arca tua mutua acceperat, salva ratione usurarium habes penes me, domine. Even after his accession Marcus Antoninus

¹ According to Eberhard this collection was made in the fifth century; but these anecdotes, although handed down in a very late form, certainly had their origin in part (as is shown by their contents), and perhaps altogether, in an earlier age: thus in 87, the gladiatorial games are supposed to be still in existence.

writes to Fronto: vale mi domine magister (*Epp. ad M. Anton.*, ii, 2, p. 98).¹ Fronto himself calls his son-in-law Aufidius Victorinus *domine* (*Epp. ad am.*, i, 11), his friend Squilla Gallicanus *domine frater* (*ib.*, i, 28), Arrius Antoninus, a younger kinsman of Antoninus Pius, *mi domine fili carissime* (*ib.*, ii, 11). Scaevola, *Dig.*, xxxii, 41, 4: *testamento pueros ita legaverat: Publio Maevio, dominulo meo, ab heredibus meis dari volo.* The respectful and confidential address *domine frater* (e.g. Hyginus, *De munif. castr.*, 45) was certainly very common down to the latest times. Inscription on a draughtboard (Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 859): *domine frater ilaris semper—ludere tabula.* Palladas (*Anthol. Pal.* ed. Jacobs, ii, 293 = cap. x, 44 ed. Dübner):—

Ἦν ὁ φίλος τι λάβη, δόμινε φράτερ εὐθὺς ἔγραψεν.
ἦν αὖ μὴ τι λάβη, τὸ φράτερ εἶπε μόνον.
ἦν γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα. αὐτὰρ ἔγωγε
οὐκ ἔβλεψα δόμινε. οὐ γὰρ ἔχω δομῆναι.²

Of course such modes of address as *frater*, *pater*, *mater*, *fili* were common at all times. Cicero, *Verres*, iii, 3, 66, 155: *volo mi frater fraterculo tuo credas.* Horace, *Epp.*, i, 6, 54: 'frater', 'pater' adde, ut cuique est aetas, ita quemque facetus adopta (cp. *Sat.*, ii, 1, 12). This was also the custom later. Petronius, 98, 100; *ib.*, 7, *mater*. Lucian, *Lucius*, 4, *μητηρ*. Martial, ix, pr., x, 65, 3. Juvenal, v, 135. Epictetus, *Diss.*, i, 26, 15; iv, 13, 18. Quintilian, *Declam.*, 321. Gellius, xiii, 20, 5 (mi fili). Apuleius, *Metam.*, ix, 181. *Vit. M. Anton.*, 18: cum in amore omnium imperasset, atque ab aliis modo frater, modo pater, modo filius, ut cujusque aetas sinebat, et diceretur et amaretur. Paulus, *I. IV ad Viellium* (*Dig.*, xxviii, 5, 58 [56], 1): Qui frater non est, si fraterna caritate diligitur, recte cum nomine suo sub appellatione fratris heres instituitur. Desideri(um?) frater in the letter of a *pontifex* to a colleague A.D. 155 (Wilmanns, 312). Among Christians: Athenagoras, *Supplicatio*, 32; Minucius Felix, *Octav.*, 3; Cyprianus, *Epp.*, 21. Celerinus Luciano: haec cum tibi scriberem, domine frater; *ib.* 3, rogo itaque, domine et peto per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum ut ceteris collegis fratribus tuis, meis dominis referas; 4, peto ergo domine carissime Luciane—ut omnibus dominis meis fratribus; *Ep.*, 22: Lucianus Celerino domino, si dignus fuero vocari collega in Christos. The Gallic pilgrim, who relates an account of her journey to the holy places (385–388) apparently to the inmates of a convent, addresses them as 'dominae (venerabiles) sorores' or 'dominae' (Gamurrini, *S. Silviae Aquilanae peregrinatio in Biblioteca dell'accad. storico-giuridica*, iv, 1887, pp. 39, 55, 75, 105).

In the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius the hero is sometimes addressed as 'Luci domine' (ii, 30; iii, 50), in the first passage by his host Milo, in the second by the town council of Hypata, who are anxious to appease his anger at a joke which they had played upon him: neque tuae dignitatis, vel etiam prosapiae tuorum ignari sumus, Luci

¹ Naber (*Epp. Graec.*, vi, p. 252) reads 'have mi optime magister' for 'have mi domine magister' (*Epp. ad M. Caes.*, i, 6 ed. Niebuhr, p. 31).

² In passing it may be observed that this epigram shows that at that time (reign of Arcadius, emp. 395–408) αἰ was pronounced as ē. This fact, not noticed by Hermann (*De emendanda ratione Graecae grammaticae*, p. 52) had already been pointed out by G. Voas (*Instit. Orat.*, iv, p. 220).

domine. nam et provinciam totam inclytae vestrae familiae nobilitas complectitur. It is worthy of remark that Apuleius begins his apology as follows: certus equidem eram—Maxime Claudii quique in consilio estis, while his accuser according to the quotation (p. 563 ed. Flor.) had begun: hunc ego, domine Maxime, reum apud te facere instituo. This clearly shows that at that time even persons of higher rank were by no means universally addressed as *domine*; it seems that Apuleius, by omitting it when addressing the proconsul, desired to keep up the appearance of outspokenness and perhaps of a certain equality, while his opponent behaved like an inferior. It cannot be a mere accident that in the numerous conversations between learned or educated men in Gellius this form of address never once occurs, while it is found in polite addresses, some of which are seriously meant, while others are ironical. In any case, it was purposely avoided; perhaps some of the 'antiquaries' objected to it as too modern. The persons who appear in Gellius call one another 'magister' (iii, 1; iv, 1; xviii, 7; xix, 10; xix, 13; xx, 10), 'magister optime' (xviii, 4; xix, 10), 'vir doctissime' (vi, 10), 'vir bone' (xviii, 10), 'philosophe' (xix, 10), 'philosophorum amplissime' (i, 2), 'mi Favorine' (xx, 1). Favorinus the philosopher even calls a woman of rank 'mulier' (xii, 1), not *domina*. Yet the strict avoidance of *domine* was probably limited to individual circles. An instance (from the same period) of the title being given even to inferiors by superiors as an act of special politeness is found in a letter (apparently of the year 149) to a collegium fabrum Narbonensium subaedianorum from its patronus (Henzen-Orelli, 7215), which concludes: valere vos cupio domini optimi et carissimi mihi. From the third century: Dig., xxxv, 2, 22: Nesennius Apollinaris Julio Paulo. ex facto, domine, species ejusmodi incidit, in which we should perhaps recognize the address (to be mentioned later) of the pupil to the teacher: Bremer, *Rechtslehrer und Rechtsschulen*, p. 31. *Testamentum M. Grunni Porcelli* (Bücheler, Petronius, ed. 2, p. 231, 6): rogo, domine coce, vitam peto; p. 232, 15: mei domini vel consobrini mei, qui in medio testamento interfuistis, jubete signari.

Clients in particular were obliged to show their inferiority to their patrons by addressing them as *domine*. The reason why this is first mentioned in Martial is because it is just the relationship of client and patron that he most frequently touches upon; the application of the title 'King' to the patrons is already found in Horace (*Epp.*, i, 7, 37: rexque paterque audisti coram nec verbo parcius absens); similarly in Columella, praef. i, 9. Cp. Martial, i, 112; ii, 32, 8; ii, 68; vi, 88; ix, 92.

But, generally speaking, it may be said that superiors were usually addressed as *domine* by inferiors. Dasumius in his will (year 109) alternately calls his highly placed friend Servianus 'S. meus' and 'S. dominus meus' (Rudolfi, *Zeitschr. f. geschichtliche Rechtswiss.*, xii, p. 381). Carpophorus, a Christian freedman of Commodus (in Hippolytus, *Refut. haeres.*, ix, 12, ed. Duncker, p. 454) addressed Fuscianus, praef. urb.: δέομαι, κύριε Φουσκιανέ. Avidius Quietus (proconsul of Asia under Hadrian; see Waddington, *Asie Mineure*, p. 239, no. 860, and cp. p. 722 [Fastes cons., no. 130]) in a letter

about the town of Aezani (in Phrygia) to Hesperus, *proc. Caesaris*, calls him 'mi Hespere carissime', and is addressed by Hesperus as 'Quiete domine' (*CIG*, iii, 3835 = Waddington, *Asie min.*, 862). A letter from an Ephesian L. Pompeius Apollonius to the proconsul L. Mestrius Florus (83/4) begins: *Μυστήρια καὶ θυσίαι, κύριε* (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 390). Septimius, adjutor a rationibus, writes to his superior, Cosmus: rogo, domine. In the inscription on the tunnel at Saldae under Antoninus Pius (Mommsen, *Arch. Zeit.*, n.f. iii, 1870) the (equestrian) procurators of Mauretania, writing to the (senatorial) governors of Numidia, address them as *domine*. This may have been a standing title for senators generally (Martial, xiv, 1, 1: *synthesibus dum gaudet eques dominusque senator*). It was the more natural, if the superior were the older man. In Petronius (86) the boy from Pergamum asks the quaestor's companion: rogo, domine, ubi est asturco? Perhaps pedagogues and tutors were regularly addressed in this manner by pupils (Becker, *Gallus*, ii², 71). Quintilian, vi, 3, 100: et Fulvius Propinquus legato interroganti, an in tabulis quas proferebat chirographus esset, Et verus, inquit, domine. *Κύριε* is certainly meant in Lucian, *Gall.*, 9: *ἐντυγχάνω χθὲς τῷ Εὐκράτει, καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν προσεῖπὼν αὐτὸν ὥσπερ εἰώθειν δεσπότην, ἀπηλλάττομαι*.¹ Even in later inscriptions *dominus* before the name (except in addresses) is very rare. In addition to *CIL*, viii, 597 (quoted above), a d o Postumiano c. v. cos., I know only one example, *CIL*, ix, 2803 (Aufidena): D. Fl. Severo v.p. statuum marmoream quae meritorum ejus perenne testimonium loqueretur, ponendam ordo et populus Aufidenatum censuit civi et patrono.

Assemblies and corporations were honoured with this address by those who stood, or pretended to stand, in a dependent relation towards them. Tiberius, addressing the senate, declared that a good prince must be the servant of that body: 'in you I have, now as formerly, good, just, and well-disposed masters' (Sueton., *Tib.*, 29). A letter from the army to the senate after the death of Aurelian has: hunc et inter deos referte, sancti domini p.c. (*Vit. Aurel.*, 41). The senate is called *sanctus* as early as Ennius, *Ann.*, 243 V, and in Virg. *Aen.*, i, 426; cp. Horace, *Odes*, iv, 5, 3; Cicero, *Catil.*, i, 4, 9; Juvenal, xi, 29 (sacer); in Greek inscriptions ἡ ἱερὰ σύγκλητος (Keil in *N. Rhein. Mus.*, xx, 543; Lebas-Waddington, 519, p. 142). Claudius pushed his deference so far that, at the gladiatorial games, he frequently called the spectators *domini* to put them in a good humour (Sueton., *Claud.*, 21). Artists, who wished to gain public favour on the stage, called the audience 'gentlemen'. Nero, who carefully imitated the ways of cithara-players to the most trifling detail, addressed the public on his appearance: 'Gentlemen, give me a favourable hearing!' (Dio, lxi, 20: *κύριοι ἐμοί, εὐμενῶς μοῦ ἀκούσατε*).

In Nero's time it was already customary for one man to greet another, whose name he could not think of, as *dominus*, to avoid impoliteness (Seneca, *Epp.*, iii, 1). Even slaves might be so addressed; cp. Martial, v, 57:

Quum voco te dominum, noli tibi, Cinna, placere.
saepe etiam servum sic resaluto tuum.

¹ Ennodius ad summam animi venerationem significandam etiam pluralem substantivi *domini* advocavit (W. Hartel, *Analecta, Wiener Studien*, 1880, p. 232).

It is well known that women were called *domina* even by their husbands. Seneca, *De Matrim.* in Jerome (ed. Haase, iii, 429): *vocanda domina, celebrandus natalis ejus.* Epictetus, *Encheiridion*, 40: *αἱ γυναῖκες εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τεσσαρεςκαίδεκα ἐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν κυρίαί καλοῦνται. τοιγαροῦν ὁρῶσαι, ὅτι ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν αὐταῖς πρόσσεστι, μόνον δὲ συγκοιμῶνται τοῖς ἀνδράσι, ἀρχονταὶ καλλωπίζεσθαι καὶ ἐν τούτῳ πᾶσας ἔχειν τὰς ἐλπιδας.* Dig., xxxii, 41 (Scaevola): *uxorem et filiam communem heredes instituit, et uxoris fidei commisit in haec verba: peto a te, domina uxor.* Cp. Ovid, *Tristia*, iv, 3, 9; v, 5, 1; Sueton., *Claud.*, 39; Orelli, 2663; Renier, *Inscr. de l'Alg.*, 624; *ib.*, 2074 = Wilmanns, 592; *id. ib.*, 534; *CIL*, v, 1, 4438 (Brixia): *et conjuge (sic) hujus, domne meae sanctissimae et amicae carissimae; CIL*, v, 2, 6039 (Mediolani): *dominae et conjug. carissimae; CIL*, vi, 2, 14351, *sanctissimae conjugi* — *nn. conjux dominae: ib.*, xiv, 3358: *Matid[iae] Valeria[nae] domin[ae] optimae; CIL*, xii, 682^a (Arelate): *nn. vibus sibi posuit et nn. dominae et uxori*; Philogel., 234: *Ὁξοστόμος τὴν γυναῖκα ἡρώτα λέγων· κυρία, τί μεμοῖσις*; Christian age, De Rossi, *Inscr. Christ.*, 30 (A.D. 307): *τῇ κυρίᾳ καὶ δειμνήστῳ Μαρτίᾳ.* *Ib.*, 78 (344): *dominae conjugi Tigridi.* The *patrona* was not only called *domina* by her *clientes*, but also *regina*, as is shown by the epigram of Martial (x, 64: *contigeris regina meos si forte libellos*) addressed to Polla Argentaria, Lucan's widow; Haupt (*Colloq. scholast.*, *Ind. lect. Berol. hib.* 1871; see above), *Βασίλεια χαίρει.*

Lastly, we must mention the strange custom of blood-relations, who addressed and spoke of one another as *dominus* and *domina*, partly in jest, partly as a mark of respect or endearment. Augustus (for the reason already mentioned, p. 81) forbade such terms of endearment (*blanditiæ*) to be used by his children and grandchildren (Sueton., *Aug.*, 53). Waddington, *Asie min.*, 323/4, *μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ υἱοῦ*, 415, l. 15, *μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν.* Naturally, the mother was called and spoken of as *domina*. *CIL*, v, 1, 1470: *dominae et matri incomparabili; ib.*, 2826 = Henzen, 5571: *dominae matri Val. Maximillae nob. fem. (wife of Maxentius).* Letronne, *La statue vocale*, p. 244 (in a *Syrinx*)¹: *τὸ προσκύνημα πάντων τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ τῆς κυρίας μητρός.* It was also usual amongst brothers and sisters. Seneca calls his brother 'dominus meus Gallio' (*Epp.*, 104, 1). In a letter to Fronto (*Epp. ad M. Antonin.*, 2 and 3) Marcus Aurelius calls Lucius Verus 'dominus meus frater', and in like manner Verus writes of Marcus Antoninus (*Epp. ad L. Ver.*, i, 11) and Fronto himself of his own brother (*ib.*, 6, 5, *domino fratre meo*). *CIL*, viii, 333 (Ammaecdera): *domino meo fratri rarissimo posui; CIG*, iii, 4781^b (in Syringe Memnonis): *Βουρίχιος σχολαστικὸς ὁ καὶ Ἰλᾶτων (?) ἐθαύμασα εἰσπορήσας· τὸ προσκύνημα τοῦ κυρίου μου Σαπρικίου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου.* (Letronne, *La stat. vocale*, p. 274, and Franz, *l.c.*, p. 1210, wrongly translate *κύριον* by 'teacher' and insert *καὶ* before *τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ*). Orelli, 3007: *Julia Hellas Hygiae dominae et sorori bene merenti.* Even parents called their children *domine* and *domina*, and even if it is only in jest that Jupiter addresses Cupid as 'domine fili' (Apuleius, *Metam.*, vi, 124), Symmachus quite seriously writes to his daughter as 'domina filia' (*Epp.*, vi, 40; vi, 67). In the *Hist.*

¹ [*Syrinx* was an underground burial vault.]

Apol. regis Tyri, 17, the King says to his daughter, 'bene dicis, domina'; *ib.*, 50: Apollonius exclamavit: domina Tharsia, nata dulcis. Scaevola, *L. XVIII Digestorum* (*Dig.*, xxxii[iii] 37, 2): Maevio substituit Sempronium pupillum suum, deinde codicillos—confirmavit, quibus ita cavit:—cujus in locum partemve ejus Publium Sempronium, dominum meum, heredem esse volo: cp. 5, Μαζίμω τῷ κυρίῳ μου δηνάρα μέρια πεντακισχίλια, 41, 4: Publio Maevio, dominulo meo. M. Aurelius, *Ad Frontonem de feriis Alsiensibus*, 1: domnulam meam febricitantem repperi. Salvianus, *Epp.*, iv: Ad socerum et socrum. Ypatio et Quietae parentibus Salvianus Palladia et Auspiciola salutem (the address is: affectus dilectissimi [carissimi] vel domini indulgentissimi):—advolvor vestris, o parentes carissimi, pedibus, illa ego vestra Palladia, vestra gracula, vestra domnula; cum qua his tot vocabulis quondam indulgentissima pietate lusistis, quae vobis per varia nomina nunc fui mater, nunc avicula, nunc domina: cum esset scilicet unum vocabulum generis, aliud infantiae, tertium dignitatis. Victor Vitensis, *Persecutio Vandalorum*, ii, 9, 30: conspicimus mulierculam—manu infantulum unum tenentem atque in his sermonibus consolantem: curre, domne meus. Hence we also find sepulchral inscriptions of little children, as in Fabretti, *Inscr. ant.*, p. 582, 167: d. m. domino filio Amantio—qui vix. ann. vi m. ii d. xv. Renier, *Inscr. del'Alg.*, 583: filio et domino meo—vix. ann. ix. Cp. *CIL*, vi, 2, 14190: Macciae Deuterae alumnae et dominae meae bene merenti. *CIG*, 1158 (Argos): Κύριε Τιβέριε, χαῖρε ἡγήσας . . ., where the fragment tells us nothing of the age of the deceased. That the custom still existed in Christian times is shown not only by the passage from Salvianus and the Christian sepulchral inscriptions quoted by Fabretti, but also by the passage in the Passion of SS. Perpetua and Felicitas, c. 4 (*Acta martyrum*, ed. Ruinart, p. 89, ed. Veron. 1731): tunc dixit mihi frater meus: domina soror. The remark of De Rossi (*Inscr. Chr.*, 103, A.D. 348? : "domino [filio?]) : ipsa inscriptionis dictio (praesertim domini appellatio defuncto tributa) saeculum plane quartum sapere videtur," is certainly wrong : at least, it is difficult to see why a mode of expression so common in earlier times should have taken so long to find its way into sepulchral inscriptions.

XVI. ENDEARING AND COMPLIMENTARY NAMES FOR WOMEN AND GIRLS.

(Vol. I, p. 228, l. 10.)

FABRETTI, *Inscr. dom.*, p. 146, 174: Nomen fuit, nomen haesit nascenti Cusuccia; cp. Borghesi, *Œuvr.*, iii, p. 502. To all appearance also Glaucopi (for glaucopidi) Veneri above the monument of a certain Gellia Agrippina, c(larissima) p(uella), erected by her nutritores lactanei Aurelia Soteris and Mussius Chrysogonus (Maffei, *Mus. Ver.*, p. 293, 1 = *CIL*, vi, 1424) is to be taken as a complimentary name that had lasted from childhood. Venus was in common use as a distinguishing title of beautiful women and girls.¹

¹ So perhaps Musa for female singers and poets. A female musician is called Petronia Musa. Kaibel, *Epigr.*, 551 = *CIL*, vi, 3, 24042.

Lucretius, iv, 1177 (1185, Munro): nec Veneres nostras hoc fallit. Seneca, *Apocol.*, 8: sororem suam, festivissimam omnium puellarum, quam omnes Venerem vocarent. Haupt, *Colloq. Schol.* [Ind. lect. Berolin. hibern. 1871], p. 6: βασίλισσα χαίρει, Ἰδῶν [μήτερ] θυγατρὸς Πελάγους Ἀφροδίτη. Venus as the name of a slave: Wilmanns, *Ex. Inscr.*, 367. CIG, 6278 (Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 565, 5): αὐτὴ ἐμὲ γειναμένη μήτερ Βένους. CIG, 6215 = K. 635: καλλιτεκνον σεμνήν δδε τύμβος ἔχει σε, Ἀφροδίτη. Venus as an epithet CIL, ii, 4415: Veneri Latinillae Spedius M. Ternianus maritus. CIL, vi, 2, 12281: Arabia Firma Venus Afra. Aphrodite as an epithet: CIL, ii, 4382; v, 2, 5869, 6851, 7104, 7395, 8938; vi, 286, 3446. Overbeck, *Pompeii*, i^a, 109. Aphrodite alone as a woman's name, CIL, vi, 2, 12119-12123: it was even given to Christian women, as in the *coemeterium* of Callistus (B. Schultze, *Die Katakomben*, p. 324). MEROPI HELIADI (so Henzen on Borghesi, as above, p. 510) which occurs twice written in the same way on the monuments of a brother and sister (Q. Licinius Q. fil. Florus Octavianus and Licinia Lampetia; Maffei, *Mus. Ver.*, 293, 2; Muratori, 1477, 2), also erected by the *nutritores lactanei* mentioned above, appears to be in the dative, but I am unable to give an explanation. According to Lanciani, *Suppl. al vol. vi del CIL*, *Bull. com. d. R.*, 1883, p. 230, the same is found on the pedestal of a statue of honour. Pet-names in -illa (Julitta, Livitta). Jahn, *Analekta*, *Hermes*, iii, 190; J. Klein, *N. Rhein. Mus.*, xxxi (1876), p. 297; cp. Mommsen's criticisms (*Observ. epigr. in Ephem. epigr.*, iv, p. 522) of Klein's list, according to which only Gallitta, Pol(l)itta, Julitta, Livilitta can be regarded as certain: the first three are of common occurrence, the last is only found CIL, viii, 6777.

XVII. THE STORY OF AMOR AND PSYCHE AND OTHER TRACES
OF THE FOLKTALE IN ANTIQUITY.
(Vol. I, p. 229, l. 5 from bottom.)¹

THE classical, and still more the pseudo-classical student have from time immemorial regarded popular poetry with more or less disfavour. Accustomed to consider complete harmony of form and matter and perfection of form as of paramount importance, they are repelled by the nature of a class of poetry which, caring little about form and equally incapable of mastering it, can never fashion an artistically perfect whole, although able to produce overpowering effects by its instinctive genius. Only reflection can enable the classically trained mind to understand this poetry. Hence we need not be surprised to find that even in ancient Greek and Roman literature popular poetry is only exceptionally mentioned; but although we only find in it isolated traces of popular and nursery tales, we must not believe with Welcker (*Griechische Götterlehre*, i, 110) that the Hellenic spirit was devoid of that childlike simplicity, 'which is the essence of the German, Slavonic, and Persian tales, in which while they belie the convictions of reason and the experience of the observer who knows mankind, the motley world of nature and human society appears to be mirrored as it were in the eyes of children'.

¹ Cp. the *Progr. Acad. Alb. Regim.*, 1860 I and II. The additions kindly communicated to me by Reinhold Köhler are marked R.K. [The word translated by 'folktales' is *volksmärchen*.]

Even our own pre-romantic literature gave no hint that we possessed an abundant store of poetic folktales; yet so it was. Certainly it had to be discovered.

But although we cannot in any case expect a rich harvest of popular tales from classical literature, the study of the literature of the subject itself, especially among kindred peoples, may be of great service in assisting us to trace them further. Following the advice of J. Grimm (*Vorrede zum Pentamerone des Basile*, trans. Liebrecht, p. xi), I have searched for traces of Greek nursery tales in Lucian, but have found few; I am not inclined to believe that the original of his 'Timon, on whose field Zeus, Hermes, and Ploutos take up their abode and to whom the whereabouts of a treasure is shown, is to be found in a story well-known amongst us'. On the other hand, the magic rings, which Timolaus wishes for in the *Ship or Wishes* (*Navigium*, 42) certainly appear to be borrowed from a popular tale, especially as each is said to have only *one* special virtue: one makes a man healthy, strong, and invulnerable, another renders him invisible, like the ring of Gyges; a third gives him the strength of more than ten thousand men; a fourth confers the power of sending others to sleep and of opening any door that is shut; a fifth makes him irresistibly lovable—marvellous virtues, such as are common in our own popular tales. Perhaps the statement that with the right tail feather of a cock it is possible to open every door and to see everything without being seen (*Somnium seu Gallus*, 28) has the same origin. Also in the *Vera Historia* we catch glimpses of old fairy tales, some of them borrowed from the East: e.g. the vines, from the top of which grow maidens (i, 8), the lights that run about in Lychnopolis by night (i, 29), the enormous fish which swallows the travellers (i, 30). The description of the land of the blest (ii, 13) reminds us of Schlauraffenland¹ or Cockaigne, the gigantic halcyon, which sinks the ship with its wings (ii, 40), of the fabulous roc. The inhabitants of the moon have eyes which they can take out and put in again; when they lose them they borrow from others (i, 25), like Lamia (see below and E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman*, 192-6). But, although I have searched carefully, I have been unable to find further traces of popular tales in Lucian. On the other hand, the story of the ring of Gyges, which rendered its wearer invisible, particularly in the form in which it is told by Plato (*Rep.*, ii, 359D-360B) appears at least to contain such elements. The shepherd Gyges, during a great storm and earthquake, sees the earth riven asunder; he descends into the opening, and finds a hollow brazen horse, and a corpse inside it. From the finger of the corpse he pulls off a ring, and soon discovers that he becomes invisible, when he turns the collet of the ring inside his hand (cp. *Γύγου δακτύλιος* in Diogenianus, ii, 20; *Paroemiographi Graeci*, ed. Leutsch and Schneidewin, ii, p. 20). The turning round of the ring is also mentioned by Cicero (*De Officiis*, iii, 9) and Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xxxiii, 8, where, perhaps by an oversight, Midas appears as the owner). The opinion of E. Müller, that the brazen horse points

¹ Cp. the descriptions of the comic poets in Athenaeus, vi, 94, p. 267E [also in J. Poeschel, *Das Märchen vom Schlauraffenlande* in Paul & Braune's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, v (1878), 389-427. R. K.]

to the breeding of horses in Lydia, the subterranean abyss to the frequent earthquakes in that country, appears to me as unacceptable as his general explanation of the story (*Philologus*, vii, 239). The other Platonic myths (Fischer, *De mythis Platonicis*, Regim., 1865) as far as I can see, have nothing of the popular tale about them.

It must remain uncertain whether professional story-tellers (*fabulatores*, whom Augustus used to send for to talk him to sleep, Suetonius, *Aug.*, 78), who told their stories as a rule in public (in a hippodrome, Dio Chr., xx, p. 264 *M. Iatoplar tiva' ἡ μῦθον διηγούμενον*, Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, p. 1316) for money (Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 20, 1: *assem para et accipe auream fabulam*),¹ also told popular tales. Elsewhere, the latter are only mentioned as told by mothers and nurses to children (Grimm, ii, p. 469²; cp. B. Schmidt, *Griechische Märchen, Sagen, und Volkslieder*, [1877.] p. 11, 3, and 12, 2-4; Plato, *Rep.*, 377B; *Quintil.*, i, 8, *aniles fabulae*, i, 9, 2, *fabulae nutricularum*; Julian, *Orat.*, vii, p. 204, *κινῶς—ὥσπερ αἱ τίτθαι μῦθους ᾄδοντες*; Tacitus, *Dial.*, 29), or at most as an amusement for girls and women (Arnobius, *Adv. Gentiles*, v, 14: *cum historias, quaeso, perlegitis tales, nonne vobis videmini aut textriculas puellas audire taediosi operis circumscribentes moras aut infantibus credulis avocamenta quaeritantes anus longaevas*; cp. Tibullus, i, 5, 84: *adsideat custos sedula semper anus. haec tibi fabellas referat*). As a rule they were considered as much beneath the notice of men as in modern Greece (J. G. Hahn, *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen*, Introd. i, p. 9; B. Schmidt as above). This is no doubt the chief reason why we know so little of them. But it has been quite correctly observed by Haupt (in *Hermes*, vii, 10) that Persius, who had been brought up amongst women, evidently has in mind the stories heard by him in the nursery, when he mentions (ii, 37) the wishes of the grandmother, aunt, and nurse for the boy in his cradle. 'May he be a catch for my lord and lady's daughter! May the pretty ladies scramble for him! May the ground he walks on turn to a rose-bed'! (Conington). The first and last wish undoubtedly have their origin in nursery tales, and probably the second. Jahn has already observed that the third wish occurs in a Neapolitan story, and Haupt recalls the names, which owe their origin to these and similar wishes—'Rosentreter' and those already explained by Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology* (Eng. tr., iii, p. 1101)—'Rosenlacher', 'Rosenlächter', 'Blumlacher' [cp. R. Köhler's note in Laura Gorenz's *Sicilianische Märchen*, ii, 225]. Aristides (*Or.*, xlviii, p. 357 J) says that one must leave it to nurses to lull their charges to sleep by telling them tales of a sweet sea, of river horses, of a sea which flows into a river, and the like; but these instances of the marvellous are not taken from popular tales, but are due to the writer's own imagination, unless in this case (and in Tertullian, *Adv. Valentinianos*, 19: *puerilia dicibula, in mari poma nasci, in arbore*

¹ See E. Rohde, *Über griechische Novellen: dichtung und ihren Zusammenhang mit dem Orient in Verhandlungen der Philologenversammlung zu Rostock* (1875), p. 63. He rightly regards them as disseminators of Greek stories in the Grecized East.

² [Except where otherwise stated, the references to Grimm are to the English translation of his *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* by Margaret Hunt in Bohn's Standard Library, 2 vols., 1884. Numbers by themselves indicate the number of the tale. Tr.]

pisces) we are to imagine some story of impossible things as in Grimm (*The Story of Schlauraffenland*, 158; cp. ii, p. 450). In the tales of antiquity we make the acquaintance of little more than ghosts and bogeys, such as Lamia (who belonged so essentially to fable, that Demetrius of Soli called King Demetrius *Mithos*, because he had a mistress named Lamia: Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 27), Gorgon, Ephialtes and the Mormolycae (Strabo, i, 2, p. 19 C.): the 'towers of Lamia' (Tertullian, *Adv. Valent.*, 3), associated with the 'combs of the sun' (?), are perhaps an allusion to the stronghold of a child-eating ogress, like her who in German fairy-tales lives in a house of gingerbread. In a modern Greek tale the Lamnissa carries off the King's daughter to her enchanted tower, where she sleeps for forty days and forty nights until she is released by a King's son (Schmidt as above, p. 76, who on p. 226 also refers to the passage in Tertullian). In the old Greek story Lamia, when at home, kept her eyes in a vessel, and thus was blind; when she went out, she put them in their place again; she was also said to sing at home (Plutarch, *De Curiositate*, 2: *νὺν δὲ ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ μύθῳ τὴν Λαμίαν λέγουσιν οἴκοι μὲν ἔδειν τυφλὴν, ἐν ἀγγεῖῳ τινὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχουσιν ἀποκειμένους, ἔξω δὲ προϊούσαν ἐπιτίθεσθαι καὶ βλέπειν*. Cp. schol. Aristophanes, *Pax*, 757; Diod. Sic., xx, 41; Suidas, s.v.; also Plautus, *Mil. glor.*, 346: *nam ego quidem meos oculos habeo nec rogo utendos foris* may be derived from another version or kindred story; cp. Lucian, *Vera Historia*, i, 25 referred to above). In the Greek tale the monster may by her singing have enticed into her castle children who had lost their way, but her blindness made it easy for them to escape. In order to pursue them, she was obliged to put back her eyes. In the old folktale the child was pulled out alive from the Lamia's belly (Horace, *A.P.*, 340: *neu pransae Lamiae vivum puerum extrahat alvo*, probably as represented in an *Atellana*.) like the kids from the wolf's belly (Grimm, 5, *The Wolf and the Seven Kids*). A Pomeranian version seems to agree entirely with Horace: while his mother is away, a child is swallowed by a goblin similar to Knecht Ruprecht (see Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, Eng. tr., ii, p. 514), but the stones swallowed with the child make the goblin so heavy, that he falls down and the child jumps out of his mouth unharmed. In antiquity, the Manducus bears the nearest resemblance to Knecht Ruprecht: like Lamia, Mania (Festus: *Manias*—*quas nutrices minitantur pueris parvulis*) and other bogeys (Munk, *De Atellanis*, p. 39), he may have passed from the nursery tale into the *Atellana*. Lamia, who also plays an important part in modern Greek popular tales (Hahn, as above, p. 331) is mentioned by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*De Thucydide Judicium*, 6) in a passage, where he is speaking of the fables of earlier historians: *λαμίας τινὰς ἱστοροῦντες ἐν θλάσι καὶ νάπαις ἐκ γῆς ἀνεμένας, καὶ ναῖδας ἀμφιβλοῦσας ἐκ ταρτάρων ἐξιούσας καὶ διὰ πελάγους νηχομένας καὶ μεζόθηρας, καὶ ταύτας εἰς ὁμιλίαν ἀνθρώπων συνερχομένας* (just like the beautiful Melusine and the Nereides of modern Greek popular belief).¹ Acco

¹ [Lamia occurs twice in the Vulgate; *Isaiah*, xxxiv, 14, and *Lamentations*, iv, 3 (where the Septuagint has *ὄρεκίνταυροι* and *δράκονες* respectively; cp. also M. Mayer, *Lamia* in *Archaeol. Zeitung*, 1885, p. 119. R. K.] But it is at least doubtful whether a Lamia is represented on the vase there discussed (*Taf.*, vii, 2).

and Alphito also belong to the goblins of old Greek nursery tales (Plutarch, *De Sloic. refug.*, 15, p. 1040 B. : τῆς Ἀκκοῦς καὶ τῆς Ἀλφίτου δι' ὧν τὰ παιδάρια τοῦ κακοσχολεῖν αἱ γυναῖκες ἀνέλγρουσιν), and perhaps the child-stealing Gello, told of in Lesbos and mentioned by Sappho (Zenobius, *Paroem.*, iii, 3 : Γελλῷ παιδοφιλωτέρα, where read Γελλοῦς according to cod. Coisl. in Montfaucon, p. 608, and Suidas s.v.). Even to-day anxious parents go in fear of Gello ; cp. Wachsmuth, *Das alte Griechenland im neuen* (1864) p. 77 ff. Cp. Fix in the Paris edition of Stephanus under Γελλῷ and B. Schmidt, *Volksl. d. Neugriechen*, 139 (*Gillo und die Gillouden*).¹

The name of Acco, like that of Gello, is used proverbially, not of a goblin, but of a foolish woman, who talked to her reflection in a mirror, took her dress from the loom half finished and put it on (Zenob., i, 53, ed. Leutsch and Schneidewin, i, p. 21). This reminds us of *Clever Elsie* (Grimm, 34) and *Catherine* (59), who, when half asleep, cut her clothes to pieces, and when she woke up, said, 'Am I myself or not?', being finally convinced that she was not. Similarly, other foolish men and women may have made their way from the popular tale into the proverb ; Morychus (Zenobius, v, 13 : μωρότερος εἰ Μωρύχου. αὐτῇ ἡ παροιμία λέγεται παρὰ τοῖς Σικελώταις ἐπὶ τῶν εὐθεῖς τι διαπρασσομένων—λέγεται δὲ οὕτως : μωρότερος εἰ Μωρύχου, ὅς τὰ ἐνδον ἀφείς ἐξω τῆς οἰκίας κάθηται), Ibycus, Coroebus, Meletides, Amphistides (Diogen., v, 12), Mammacythus, Butalion (Didymus on Aristophanes, *Ranae*, 991), Praxilla (Diogen., i, 1), Charixena (*Etyim. Mag.*, 367, 21 ; *Appendix Proverbiorum* in Leutsch, *Paroemiographi Graeci*, ii, 82), Macco and Lamo (schol. Aristoph. *Equites*, 62 : cp. Stephanus, *Thesaurus* s.v. μακκοῦ and L. Cohn, *De Aristophane Byzantio et Suetonio Tranquillo Eustathii auctoribus in Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 1881, supptbnd, p. 350). Praxilla, when asked what was the most beautiful thing, answered, 'The sun and figs', i.e. things sweet as sugar ; Coroebus was so silly that he tried to count the waves of the sea (Zenobius, iv, 58, Κοροῖβον ἡλιθιώτερος) ; Meletides could only learn to count up to five ; when he was married, he never touched his wife, for fear she might complain to her mother² ; Amphistides did not know whether he was born of his father or his mother. Other persons and events of popular tales may also have made their way into proverbial expressions, for instance, Pases, the mighty enchanter, who could call up at will a magnificent banquet and attendants, and as suddenly cause them to disappear (cp. Philostratus, *Apolonius*, iv, 25, where the banquet of an Empusa disappears, gold and silver plate, attendants and all) ; he also possessed a half-obol piece, which always returned to him after he had paid it away (Suidas, s.v. Πάσης, Apostol., xvii, 6, τὸ Πάσητος ἡμιωβόλιον). Juvenal, vi, 363, ac velut exhausta rediuvus pullulet arca nummus et e pleno semper tollatur acervo, is certainly a reminiscence of a story of the lucky penny or wishing-purse. Perhaps Cissamis of Cos was originally a character in a folktale. He was a wealthy

¹ [On Gillu or Gyllu (Γιλλοῦ, Γυλλοῦ), see also K. N. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη* v, 572-578. R. K.]

² Told of Margites in Photius and Hesychius (Μαργίτης, μωρός τις [ἡ] μὴ εἰς ὧς μίξιν γυναῖκος, καὶ γυνὴ προτρέπηται αὐτόν) ; cp. Sueton. in Eustathius 1669, 43.

owner of flocks, whose finest sheep was carried off every year by an eel. Cissamis killed the eel, which appeared to him in a dream and ordered him to bury it. Cissamis neglected to do so, and perished with all his family (Zenobius, iv, 64, Κίσσαμις Κῆρος). Some proverbial-sounding expressions in Roman poetry also may be reminiscences of popular tales. In Martial, xiii, 2, 1 : *nasus, qualem noluerit ferre rogatus Atlas*, Grimm (ii, p. 422) is reminded of a story, in which a man's nose grows to an enormous length after he has eaten a certain fruit or vegetable. Plautus, *Trinummus*, 1023 : *quorum unus surripuerit currenti cursori solum* may allude to a story like that of the *Masterthief* (Grimm, 192) ; Petronius, 45 : *milvo volanti unguis rescare*, to one like that of the *Three Brothers* (Grimm, 124, cp. 129), of whom the barber shaves a running hare, the smith pulls off a galloping horse's shoes and fastens them on again ; the line found on a column in Pompeii : *moram si quaeris, sparge milium et collige* (Zangemeister, *Bull. d. I.*, 1865, p. 190), to the task (so frequently mentioned in popular tales ; see below) of separating or picking up different kinds of seeds, usually performed by animals (Plautus, *Trin.*, 410 : *quam si tu obicias formicis papaverem*). The expression in Petronius (45), *si tu aliubi fueris dices hic porcos coctos ambulare*, is no doubt derived from a story of Schlauffaffen land ; the proverbial measuring of money by the bushel (in both Greek and Latin) was certainly common in popular tales (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iii, 2, 27 μέλιτι ἀπομετρούσασθαι τὸ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀργύριον. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 1, 96 : *dives ut metiretur nummos* ; Petronius, 37, *nummos modio metitur* ; cp. Grimm, 142, *Simeli Mountain* ; [R. Köhler in L. Gonzenbach's *Sicil. Märchen*, ii, 251] ; so also the equally proverbial 'carbonem pro thesauro', Phaedrus, v, 6, 6, Zenobius, *Cent.*, ii, 1 c, with Schneidewin's note (Grimm, 182, the presents of the little people, coal changed into gold and back again ; B. Schmidt, *Volksleben der Neugriechen*, 192, 5, any one who tells any one that he has dreamt of a treasure, finds coal instead) ; perhaps also the 'golden mountains' (Plautus, *Aulul.*, iv, 8, 1 : *pici divitiis qui aureos montes colunt* ; Terence, *Phormio*, i, 2, 18 : *modo non montes auri pollicens* ; Apuleius, *Apol.*, p. 437 : *nec montibus auri satiabitur* ; cp. Jahn on Persius, iii, 67), although here the allusion may be to 'Persarum montes' (Lucretius, ii, 44, see Varro in Nonius, p. 379 ; *montes mariaque polliceri* in Sallust, *Catilina*, 23, 3 = to promise boundless wealth). The expression 'in rutae folium coicere' (Petronius, 37) may be an allusion to a tale of Thumbling (Tom Thumb) (such as Grimm, 37 and 45), who, while creeping among the weeds, is swallowed by a grazing cow, especially as Greek Thumblings are known (Grimm, i, p. 392). [C. Schenkl, *Zur Däumlingssage in Germania*, viii, 384, compares the child Hermes and his tricks in the Homeric hymns ; cp. also Gaston Paris, *Le Petit Poucet et la Grande Ourse*, Paris, 1875, pp. 21 and 39. R. K.] In Plautus, *Mil. glor.*, 803 (ed. Lorenz) : *non potuit reperire, si ipsi Soli quaerundas dares*, we may have one of the stories, in which the sun is asked to disclose the whereabouts of something that is hidden. The fragment of Varro, too (*Sat. Menip.*, 432 : *Prometheus liber X* (in Bücheler's Petronius, ed. min., p. 200 : *Chrysosandalos locat sibi amiculum de lacte et cera Tarentina, quam apes*

Milesiae coegerint ex omnibus floribus libantes, sine osse et nervis, sin pelle, sine pilis puram putam proceram candidam teneram formosam) may contain a reminiscence of a popular tale; similarly, the growth of wings after eating a certain root (Aristophanes, *Aves*, 654 : *ἔστι γὰρ τι ῥίζιον, ὃ διατρυγόντ' ἔσσεσθον ἐπτερωμένω*). Perhaps the story in Ovid (*Metam.*, iv, 49) should also be mentioned here : Nais an ut cantu nimiumque potentibus herbis Verterit in tacitos juvenilia corpora pisces, donec idem passa est.

Apio in his *De Mago* mentioned the magician Pases, and books on magic undoubtedly often contained fabulous traditions, which found a place even in scientific works, as is shown by Pliny's account of the wonderful virtues of animals, plants, and stones. The magic herbs of Asclepiades, by whose aid man can dry up seas and rivers, open everything that is shut, put hostile armies to flight, and procure everything in abundance, resemble the miraculous gifts of fairy tales. The second and fourth marvel is of frequent occurrence, the first in the story of the *Six Servants*, one of whom drinks up the sea, 'so that it becomes as dry as a meadow' (Grimm, 134), the third in Grimm, 54 (*The Knapsack, the Hat, and the Horn*) and its variations (i, p. 409), in which tapping on a knapsack calls forth great armies and cannon, which nothing can resist. The wonder-working herb *Osiritis* in Egypt was according to Apio the Homeric *moly* : any one who dug it up was bound to die at once (Lehrs, *Quaest. epicae*, p. 26; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxx, 18). This quality of the *alraun* root, as well as the manner of obtaining it without danger (Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, Eng. tr., iii, p. 1202) was known to antiquity. According to Josephus (*Bell. Jud.*, vii, 6, 3), at Baaras near Machaerus on the East of the Dead Sea there grew a root of the same name (according to Cedrenus' *Compendium*, p. 305 D. in Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, 904 u, where it is called Battaritis, near Caesarea), from which at evening a light shines forth, making it impossible to approach it, since any one who does so immediately dies. Accordingly, a trench is dug round it and a dog tied to the root; the dog pulls it out and falls down dead. The root is used to heal those possessed with demons. This root was later identified with the mandragora, which again was brought into connexion with the *alrune* on German soil (cp. Grimm as above; Rohde, *Griechische Roman*, 230, 1; and appendix XIII). Both ancient and German popular belief prescribed the same method of procuring the *springwurzel* (explosive root) : the nest of a woodpecker is closed with a wooden bung; the bird, who knows where to find it, fetches it and holds it before the bung, which at once *springs out* (Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, Eng. tr., iii, p. 973; Keller, *Thiere des hl. Allerthums*, p. 285). It was anciently believed that any one who had eaten a dog's tongue was bound to speak the truth (Petronius, 43 : *verum dicam qui linguam caninam comedi*). The language of birds and beasts generally, which in the German story was acquired by eating a white snake or a dragon's or bird's heart (Grimm, 17; cp. i, p. 357), had been learnt by Apollonius of Tyana [from the Arabs according to Philostratus, i, 20, who themselves learn it *συντρίβου τῶν δρακόντων οἱ μὲν καρδίαν φασίν, οἱ δὲ ἥπαρ*. R. K.] According to Porphyry, *De Abstinence*, iii, 3 (p. 220 ed. de Rhoer),

Apollonius heard one swallow tell another to hurry to the gate of the city, for an ass laden with corn had fallen down there, and the corn was scattered all over the ground. Birds know where to find hidden treasures (Aristophanes, *Aves*, 601). They also know the future, and speak about it to one another (cp. the story of *Faithful John*, Grimm, 6). 'Ἐταῖρος δὲ ἡμῶν ἐξηγείτο τις, continues Porphyry, αἰκέτου εὐτυχῆσαι παιδός, ὅς πάντα ξυνῇ (read ξυνίει) τὰ φθέγματα τῶν ὀρνέων· καὶ ἦν πάντα μαντικά καὶ τοῦ μετ' ὀλίγον μέλλοντος ἀγγελτικά· ἀφαίρεθῆναι δὲ τὴν σύνεσιν, τῆς μητρὸς εὐλαβηθείσης μὴ δῶρον αὐτὸν βασιλεῖ πέμψειεν, καὶ καθέδοντος ἐς τὰ ὦτα ἐνοουρησάσης. It was also popularly believed in Greece that knowledge of the language of animals and prophetic inspiration could be acquired by allowing snakes to lick out the ear, but lost by spitting into the mouth, as in the tales of Melampus, Glaucus and Cassandra.¹

Thus we everywhere come upon traces of a widespread agreement between ancient and German popular belief; but in particular the popular mythology of antiquity exhibits the most surprising similarity with the popular traditions of the north-European peasants, as is clearly shown by the valuable results of the exhaustive investigations of Mannhardt (*Wald- und Feldkulte*, 1877). This similarity extends to popular traditions, tales, and usages; the individual traditions deal with the same subjects as ours, and are identical with them in range and matter. There we find repeated the popular traditions of the death of the wood-spirit (= death of the great Pan), of the fettering of intoxicated wood-spirits, of the self-chastisement of the man who damages a tree, of the metamorphoses and disappearance of the fairies (= the story of Thetis), of the change of the sun god's beloved into a sun-flower as she waited on the road, of the change of the woman riding on the whirlwind (Harpy) into a horse. Also our stories of the change of treasures into coal, of the dragon watching over a hoard of gold,² of the dwarfs or goblins who become visible as soon as their hat or cap is knocked off, must have been well known.³ The story of the Teumessian fox was, in its unmutated form, a variant of Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, 60.⁴ There also we find stories like that of the dragon-slayer (Peleus); lastly, the may-pole, harvest-may, harvest home, harvest festival, harvest-race, the leaf-man (Jack-in-the-Green), the summer-solstice bonfire (Palilia, Hirpi Sorani). Further, we find the same mythical personifications, directly created by a primitive religious feeling from the material supplied by the contemplation of nature. We find, in entirely analogous forms, the wild huntsman (Zetes, the Boreades), the flying woman (Harpy), the moss-folk and wood-maidens (Dryades), the wild men (Cyclopes, Centaurs, Pans, Satyrs), the water-witch (Thetis), the bull-formed river-spirit' (Mannhardt, ii, 349).

¹ Cp. Preller, *Griech. Myth.*, ii³, 472-480, esp. 473, 1. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, x, 137: vel quae Democritus tradit, nominando aves quarum confuso sanguine serpens gignatur quem quisquis ediderit intellecturus sit avium colloquia.

² Paulus, p. 67: Artemidorus, *Onirocr.*, ii, 13; Phaedrus, iv, 20, 3; B. Schmidt, *Volksl. d. Neugr.*, i, 192, 4.

³ Petronius, 38; Preller, *Röm. Myth.*, ii³, 105, 1.

⁴ Mannhardt, ii, 58.

The varied extent of this agreement in ancient and modern popular traditions is further shown by the belief (common to antiquity and modern times) in the cap of invisibility ('Αἶδος κυρτή, Preller, *Gr. Myth.*, i², 655, *Tarnkappe*), the divining or wishing rod (Cicero, *De off.*, i, 44, 158; cp. Preller, i², 344; Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, Eng. tr., iii, p. 974), ghosts (e.g. Pliny, *Epp.*, vii, 27; Plutarch, *Lucullus* i; Lucian, *Philopseudes*) and their disappearance at cockcrow (B Schmidt, *Griech. Märchen*, 244; Prudentius, *Cathemerina*, i, 37; Lucian, *Philops.*, 14¹), witches (Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, Eng. tr., iii, 1036), and were-wolves (*ib.*, 1093). That mice (whose place in modern popular belief has been taken by rats which were unknown to antiquity; cp. Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*⁴, p. 380) desert houses before they fall (Cicero, *Ad Att.*, ix, 14; Aelian, *Hist. An.*, vi, 41); that if a man reads inscriptions on tombstones, he loses his memory (Cic., *De sen.*, 7, 21; Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, iii, p. 1811); that he who has a ringing in the ears is being talked about elsewhere (Grimm, *ib.*, p. 1117; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxviii, 24; Statius, *Silvae*, iv, 4, 26; *Anthol. Lat.*, ed. Riese, 452); that when thinking of any one to whom we wish well, it is effective to pinch the thumb (Plin., *H.N.*, xxviii, 24, 25)—all this was believed in antiquity, as in many cases to-day. The modern belief in sympathetic cures has many points of agreement with the old; in the former executed criminals (and murdered men) have taken the place of the gladiators, whose blood was supposed to cure epilepsy (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xvii, 28, 4; Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart*², 120). According to W. Kaden (*Skizzen und Kulturbilder aus Italien*, 1882), a notched (in Cato, *Res rust.*, 160, split) reed is considered a cure for warts in Calabria, and urine for inflammation of the eyes, as in Cato, 157, 10, for dim eyesight. One of the recognized remedies against enchantment (on which and on the evil eye, see Jahn, *Über den Aberglauben des bösen Blicks bei den Allen in Ber. d. sächs. Ges.*, 1855, esp. p. 82; Marquardt, *Prl.*, i², 84; Wuttke, pp. 153, 155) now, as in antiquity, was spitting (Wuttke, 171). Further, there appears to be a general agreement between the superstitions of the nursery in ancient and modern times. According to Mannhardt's very probable assumption (*WFK*, ii, 125, 1), it was the function of the dea Candelifera (Preller, *RM*, ii², 208) to see that a light was left burning by the cradle of new-born children (a practice still common in the houses of German peasants), to prevent the subterranean powers, dwarfs and the like, from changing it; in Apuleius (*Met.*, v, 28), where Venus calls Psyche 'meae formae succubam', *succuba* appears to be a changeling (Petronius, 63; Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, Eng. tr., ii, 468; iii, 1421). There seems no doubt that a large number of the conceptions and forms of popular belief found a place in ancient as well as modern popular tales. The story of the two witches in Apuleius (*Metam.*, i), who cut out the heart of the faithless lover of one of them and stuff it in a sponge in its place, is exactly like some Servian witch-

¹ According to Lucian, *Philops.*, 15, the clang of brass or iron scares ghosts. With this is perhaps connected the modern belief that they cannot endure the striking of sparks with flint and steel, the beating of pots and pans, the clank of the scythe, and so forth (Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart*, ed. 2, p. 453).

stories (Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, Eng. tr., iii, p. 1080); the words of Panthia: heus tu spongia cave in mari nata per fluvium transeas, sound as if they were borrowed word for word from a popular tale. (The belief in Thessalian sorceresses still lives in Greece: Wachsmuth, *Das alte Griechenland im neuen*, p. 34). But unfortunately Petronius and Apuleius are writers, whose turn of mind in many other respects differs from the classical, and they are the only ones who have not disdained to borrow directly from popular superstition—Petronius only so far as he found it necessary to mark the inferior culture of his middle-class characters, Apuleius to a far greater extent and with evident interest in the subject.

The fables of Æsop have also preserved some traces of the popular tale (see E. Rohde, *Ein griechisches Märchen in Rhein. Mus.* xliii, 1888, pp. 303–305). 'A weasel (γαλή) falls in love with a handsome young man; Aphrodite answers its prayer and changes it into a beautiful maiden, whom the youth woos and weds. A mouse sent by Aphrodite runs across the bridal chamber, the weasel in maiden form springs up and tries to catch the mouse to eat it, and is forced to resume its animal shape' (Æsop, 88, ed. Halm). This tale, which was already well known in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., as is shown by the proverb in the comic poet Strattis: *ὁ πρέπει γαλή προκοτίζιν* (Zenob., ii, 93), reproduces a type found in the *Mahabharata* and an American Indian tale: 'The love of a demonic being in animal form, its change into human form in order to associate with the loved one, its resumption of the animal form, as soon as an accident or malicious contrivance brings an object near, which rouses to activity the natural impulses of its animal nature.' Cf. Zielinski, *Das Wiesel als Braut in Rhein. Mus.*, xliv, 1889, p. 156 f. (νόμος, like Mod. Gr. *νομήτρα*, is said to have been also a name for the weasel); and especially August Marx, *Griechische Märchen von dankbaren Thieren und Verwandtes*, 1889. The following fable, mentioned by Grimm (ii, p. 527; Plutarch, *Conviv. septem. sap.*, 14, the source of *Fab. Æsop.*, 389, ed. Hahn), is also a children's tale: The moon asked his mother to make him a little coat, which would fit him. The mother answered, 'How can I make one to fit you, since you are at one time full moon, at another half-moon, at another new moon?' The story, in which part of the lifetime of certain animals (the horse, the ox, and the dog) is allotted to man (Grimm, 176), by which his character at different periods of his life is explained, is found with certain variations in Babrius (74; cp. Grimm, ii, p. 456; W. Grimm, *Über eine Thierfabel des Babrius in Haupt's Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, xii, 228–231 = *Kleinere Schriften von W. Grimm*, iv, 1887, pp. 395–399; Reinhold Köhler, *Zu dem Märchen von der Lebenszeit in H. R. Gosche's Jahrbuch für Literaturgeschichte*, i, 1865, pp. 196–98). The story of the wren also appears to be very old (Grimm, ii, p. 455; cp. Knaack, *Ein griechisches Thiermärchen in Berliner Philol. Wochenschrift*, 1888, p. 507). The fable in Phædrus (*App. fab. novae*, 3, ed. L. Müller) is akin to the German tale of the rich man and the poor man (Grimm, 87; cp. ii, p. 373). Mercury is inhospitably received by two women; he grants to each the fulfilment of a wish. The one wishes that her child may soon have a beard, and the infant grows one at once;

the other, a common prostitute, wishes that everything she touches may be obliged to follow her: she blows her nose, and draws it down to the ground. 'Generally speaking, the tales of the entertainment of wandering gods form part of the oldest storehouse of common Indo-Germanic myths' (Rohde, *Der griechische Roman*, 508 note).

But the further investigation of the connexion between folktales and the sagas of gods and heroes is also of the greatest importance for the knowledge of the ancient folktale. Elements of the folktale in the myth, and mythical elements in the folktale, have already been pointed out in many instances, especially by the brothers Grimm in the notes to their tales (see also Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre*, i, 107; and Hartung, *Religion und Mythologie der Griechen*, i, 144). I may mention the similarity of the Sisyphus legend (Preller, *GrM*, ii³, 76) and the story of Spielhansl or *Gambling Hansel* (Grimm, 82; cp. i, p. 442); in both death and the gods of the underworld (the devil) are overcome by craft. Emmanuel Cosquin (in his excellent work, *Contes populaires de la Lorraine, comparés avec les contes des autres provinces de France et des pays étrangers et précédé d'un essai sur l'origine et la propagation des contes populaires européens*, 1886, ii, p. 28, in the parallels to 37, *Chatte blanche*, p. 12) has pointed out the relationship of the myth of Jason and Medea (qui du reste a bien l'air d'un conte populaire) with a class of tales in which a young man is ordered by an evil being to perform apparently impossible tasks, which he does by the aid of a maiden (usually the daughter of the evil being); they flee together, and escape pursuit by magic. When the young man reaches his home he forgets the maiden, who nevertheless succeeds in making him remember her. As this last feature is altered beyond recognition in the Jason myth, we may recognize in Aeson's dismemberment and return to life the displacement of a motive which recurs in a number of similar stories: in these it is always the maiden who allows herself to be cut to pieces, in order to be able to assist her lover (p. 25). Mannhardt has shown that the myth of Peleus and Thetis is identical with an elf-saga and a Siegfried saga, the latter of which is the foundation of several tales, especially that of the two brothers, 'an incontestable argument against Benfey's assertion, that the materials of folktales are *entirely* of Buddhist origin, and reached Europe at a comparatively late period' (*Wald- und Feldkulte*, ii, 78; cp. 53, 57, 68, 151 note; also B. Schmidt, *Griechische Märchen*, p. 15). 'The identity of the stories and legends referred to with the adventure of Peleus is unmistakably shown by the agreement of several features combined in the same order (contest with a monster on a mountain, the acquisition of a victory-giving magic sword at the moment of the fight, cutting out of the tongues, their production in proof of victory, sleeping on the scene of the contest); the relationship of the traditions is most clearly shown in the Tristan saga' (p. 51). All the chief features of the old *Peleis* are repeated in modern Greek and north European traditions: the fairy (Thetis) changing herself into animal and other forms, to escape her hero suitor: her refusal to speak while living with him; her sudden

disappearance when reviled by him (or for some other reason). Rohde has made other contributions to our knowledge of the mutual relations of myth and popular tale (*Der griechische Roman*, p. 125 note: the story of the metamorphosis of Glaucus by a magic plant, the virtues of which became known to him through the revival of dead fishes that were laid upon it; cp. Grimm, 16 and i, p. 356 [Cosquin, ii, 80, 1]; the solitary life of maidens like Hero and Danaë in a tower,¹ p. 134, 1; the father's love for his own daughter, p. 420, 1, are all favourite motives of both saga and fairy tale; cp. also Rohde, *Die sardinischen Sagen von der Neunschläfern*, in *N. Rhein. Mus.*, xxxv, [1880], p. 157); he has also pointed out the insertion of fairy tale elements in the romance of Achilles Tatius (*Der gr. Rom.*, 484, 1). Hahn's important work on Greek and Albanian tales is the first step towards a comprehensive comparison of kindred myths and folktales; the relationship of the story of Amor and Psyche with a myth (Zeus and Semele) has already, to my mind, been convincingly shown by Felix Liebrecht. B. Schmidt in his *Griechische Märchen, Sagen, und Volkslieder* (1877) has shown in particular the frequent admission of elements of the ancient myth into the modern popular tale by numerous and interesting examples; cp. especially pp. 224, 226 f., 229, 231, 236 f., 238, 248. Among the fairy tales recorded, the majority of which have their home in the island of Zacynthus, no. 23, 'the seven-headed snake, in its relation to the Theseus legend affords an especially instructive insight into the manner in which different ancient elements are amalgamated in the modern Greek popular tale, and shows how curiously they are sometimes remodelled and how diversified is the combination' (p. 238). R. Köhler (*Über die europäischen Volksmärchen in the Weimarer Beiträge zur Literatur und Kunst*, 1865, p. 187) has indicated the following tales recorded in antiquity, as recurring amongst other peoples: the stories of Polyphemus (Servian, Hungarian, Esthonian, Finnish, Gaelic), King Midas (Servian, Breton, Irish, Mongolian), the Egyptian Rhampsinitus (Greek [Trophonius], German, Danish, Gaelic), and another Egyptian tale in Mannhardt (*Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde*, iv, 232).

The story admitted by Apuleius into his romance contains so many foreign ingredients and is so disfigured by unsuitable embellishments, that its real nature has frequently been misunderstood, although the brothers Grimm long ago explained it correctly. These misunderstandings are chiefly due to the names Amor and Psyche, which have led most of the commentators from Fulgentius Planciades downwards to consider the allegory of the relation of the human soul to the Platonic Eros, arbitrarily extended and fantastically embellished by the writer, as the real foundation of the Apuleian story. The idea of Eros and Psyche being related as two lovers is first found clearly expressed in the poems of Meleager (last century B.C.), who assumes it as already known. It is the motive of numerous works of art, perhaps produced or prompted by the younger

* In the parallels to *Le fils du pêcheur*, ii, p. 66 (cp. especially p. 80) Cosquin shows the close relationship of the Perseus myth with a certain class of popular tales. [Cf. E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, 1894-5, Tr.]



Attic school, the subject of which is the separation and reunion, the joys and sorrows of the pair of lovers, but especially the torments which they cause each other. As Jahn remarks in his exhaustive discussion, it was not a myth, the unconscious product of the legend-creating power of the people, but an allegory, originating in poetic reflection; hence it never became the property of the people, but remained unknown outside educated circles (*Über einige auf Eros und Psyche bezügliche Kunstwerke in Ber. d. sächs. Ges.*, 1851, p. 156).

But an impartial consideration of the story in Apuleius will soon convince us that it bears only slight resemblance to the allegory. Two lovers, made unhappy by a long separation for which one of them is responsible, are finally joined together in an everlasting and blissful reunion; and this is no doubt the reason why Apuleius gave the names of Amor and Psyche to the hero and heroine of his narrative. But here the resemblance ceases. Psyche brings sorrow upon Amor, but unintentionally; if she suffers torments for his sake, it is without his knowledge. If, notwithstanding, we attempt to interpret the entire narrative according to the allegory upon which it is supposed to be based, we shall be obliged to have recourse to the most violent explanations, and even then there will remain many characters and incidents, which it is utterly impossible to explain allegorically. For instance, according to Hildebrand (Apuleius, i, *Prolog* p. xxxii), the sisters of Psyche are fleshly desires; hence they are exceedingly beautiful and attractive, are sought in marriage by numerous suitors and finally happily wedded, but to men worthy of their wantonness (?), and so forth. According to Creuzer, who follows Fulgentius (cp. Apuleius, *Psyche*, ed. Jahn, p. 64), the three daughters are the flesh, free will, and the spirit; according to Carus, unconsciousness, world-consciousness, and self-consciousness! Others even take them to be the three kingdoms of nature (Stadelmann, *Amor und Psyche in Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, xc, 202). Similarly, Krahner's view (*Eros und Psyche*, second ed., 1861) must be considered fundamentally erroneous. Instead of a restoration of the ancient myth, which is perhaps no longer possible, he attempts a remodelling, the object of which was 'to clothe certain truths of salvation in the garb of anticipation'. The author is convinced 'that the ancient myth certainly had for its foundation certain profound ideas, and must at one time have existed in a much purer and more consistent form, but that the age of Apuleius was neither able to understand nor to hand it down in this nobler form'.

I am unacquainted with the majority of the older discussions of the subject, referred to in the Stuttgart *Realencyclopädie*, vi, 1, 176 note and i², 880. The most recent contribution to the already extensive literature known to me is a treatise by J. A. Hartung, *Auslegung des Märchens von der Seele und des Märchens von der schönen Lilie* ('Exposition of the tale of the soul and of the tale of the beautiful lily'), which also contains a brief natural history of the popular tale in general (*Programm des Gymnasiums zu Erfurt*, Easter, 1866). Hartung agrees with me in regarding the story as a popular tale, but further rightly lays stress on the fact that Apuleius also had in view 'a glorification of the morally purifying influ-

ence of the mysteries'. 'The wanderings and dangerous tasks which Psyche has to go through, resemble the preliminary trials of those who offer themselves for initiation; the name Psyche (soul) itself proves that a morally religious feeling is at the bottom of the story' (or rather, is read into it by Apuleius). Certainly, Hartung goes too far in his ingenious attempt to interpret every important incident in the narrative symbolically. In particular, it seems to me that the frequent use of the number three, a standing feature of popular tales, cannot possibly be regarded as an allusion to the mysteries. Friedrich Pressel's interpretation, in the *Erläuterungen* to his free translation of the story (*Psyche. Ein allegorisches Märchen nach dem Lateinischen des Apuleius*, Ulm, 1864, kindly brought to my notice by Reinhold Köhler), is much nearer the truth. He certainly starts deliberately from the wrong principle, 'that the folktale (*märchen*) as a distinct *genre* of art was always unknown to classical antiquity'. For he assumes the separation of the natural and divine in the consciousness, and, as the result, the endeavour to escape from the barren, miserable world by means of the power of the imagination. The Greeks, and still more the Romans, were unacquainted with 'a poetry of yearning'. Only when 'the ancient consciousness went astray in itself and the belief in an invisible world became a necessity, did the new consciousness of the age (which found its expression in Neoplatonism) produce a new class of poetry, the artificial and allegorical story, not the naïve popular tale'. Yet Pressel, altogether contrary to his deduction, goes on: 'Or can the Apuleian fiction be a revision of an originally naïve tale? I confess that this is my opinion, because I think that, if a distinction be made between the invention and the execution, I can perceive a very great difference. The invention, it seems to me, is too good; the man, in whose head it originated, could not have been guilty of the errors of taste, which have crept in here and there in the narrative of Apuleius'.

Leaving entirely out of consideration the moral and religious intentions of Apuleius and the mythological and allegorical elements of his narrative, I propose to discuss only its essential features. These show that it belongs to a large class of tales, whose character has been described by the brothers Grimm (*Über das Wesen der Märchen, Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, Berlin, 1819, p. xlv [= *Kleinere Schriften von Wilhelm Grimm*, ed. G. Hinrichs, Berlin, bd. i, 1881, p. 351. R. K.]) as follows: 'While its idea always remains the same, a folktale is told four or five times, in each case under different relations and circumstances, so that in form it can be regarded as another story. The good and innocent daughter, generally the youngest, is promised to a monster by her father under stress of necessity, or she voluntarily gives herself up to it. Patiently she endures her lot, frequently troubled by human weaknesses, for which she has to atone by severe penalties; at last, however, she falls in love with the monster, who at once throws off his ugly form (hedgehog, lion, frog) and appears as a faultlessly beautiful youth. This story, which is common amongst the Indians and is obviously connected with the Roman and Old French tales of Amor and Psyche and Parthenopex and Meliure, signifies *Enthralment by the*

Earthly and Redemption by Love. Step by step the pure works its way out; if the development is interrupted, worldly misery and sorrow rush in, and the earthly can only be thrown off by the contact of souls, by their recognition in love'. Of the folktale formulae laid down by Hahn (as above, p. 45), it is certainly to the 'Freya formula' that the tale of Amor and Psyche essentially belongs; for the fundamental features of this formula are: (1) The wife or betrothed is missing and the husband abandons her on that account. (2) She wanders about in search of him. (3) Recovery and reconciliation. But also, apart from the fact that in this case the wandering is not the most important element, features and motives are frequently adopted from other forms. Indeed, speaking generally, the popular tale is indebted for the apparent abundance of its creations to a kaleidoscopic admixture of a number of fundamental forms by no means large (Benfey, *Pantischalantra*, praef. xxvi; Hahn, p. 43).

If the course of the story in Apuleius in the main exhibits the characteristics indicated above, and its outlines recur in the tales of the most different peoples, it is evident that it was not invented by Apuleius, but that in its original form it is one of the tales common to numerous Aryan and non-Aryan peoples, which Apuleius became acquainted with as a Roman (or perhaps Greek)¹ popular tale, and adapted and altered in his own way. Although it is certainly disfigured by his additions, omissions, and alterations, with the aid of similar German tales alone we can still effect a probable restoration of the original.²

At the beginning, not only the matter, but also the manner is partly preserved. 'In a certain city there once lived a king and queen' (cp. Perseus, ii, 37; p. 90 above). They had three beautiful daughters, but the youngest was by far the most beautiful; her beauty was so great and magnificent, that it could not be expressed in words.³ But while the two eldest were married to kings, the youngest had to be given over into the power of a monster. The motive of this turn in the story appears to me to be correctly stated by Bolle (*Apuleius als Lectüre für die unterste Stufe eines Gymnasiums oder einer Realschule. Progr. des Gymnasiums und der Realschule zu Celle*, Easter, 1877, p. 13).⁴ A king's son, whose mother (like the queen in *Little Snow-white*) is jealous of her reputation for being the most beautiful woman in the world, and is also an enchantress, falls in love with the youngest of the three daughters

¹ Fulgentius Planciades (Jahn, *Apuleii Psyche et Cupido*, p. 63, 27) mentions a Greek version: Aristophontes Athenaeus in libris qui Dysarestia nuncupantur, hanc fabulam ingenti verborum circuitu discere cupientibus prodidit. M. Zink (*Der Mythologe Fulgentius: ein Beitrag zur röm. Litt.-Gesch. und zur Grammatik des afrikanischen Lateins*, ii, Würzburg, 1867, p. 89) does not regard the quotation as an invention (since the contents of the story are admirably suited to a book *On Discontent*; Rohde, p. 345, 4, without justification conjectures *Δυσχερεια* for the title), but thinks that Fulgentius had seen the name of the author in an oblique case, and that it was really Aristophon. Aristophontes, however, occurs as a personal name in Plautus, *Captivi* (Teuffel, *Studien*, 451). B. Schmidt (*Griech. Märchen*, p. 14 note) states that he was credibly assured in the island of Zacynthus (Zante) that a very similar tale was current amongst the people.

² My attempt at restoration was first published in the *Morgenblatt* (1858, no. 37 f.).

³ 'A young woman as beautiful as a picture; nay, so beautiful, that it cannot be expressed in words' (Grimm, 166, *Strong Hans*).

⁴ His idea of adapting Apuleius for school reading also seems worthy of attention.

of the king. His mother, seeing that her beauty is surpassed by that of the princess, pursues her with hatred and bewitches her son to punish him for loving her. After the lovers had received the names of Amor and Psyche, Venus was bound to be made the mother of the king's son. In a modern Greek variant of the tale of *Snow-white* the goddess of love (the mother of Erotas) also takes the place of the beautiful wicked queen.¹ B. Schmidt (*Griechische Märchen*, 17, *Maroula und die Mutter des Erotas*): 'There was once a king's daughter, who was by far the most beautiful of all the women in the world. When the mother of Erotas heard of it, unable to endure that any woman should be more beautiful than herself, she conceived the idea of killing the maiden'. B. Schmidt observes (p. 233): 'Erotas' mother's hatred of the maiden who surpasses her in beauty; the sufferings which she inflicts upon her; and her final pacification certainly remind us of the story of Amor and Psyche': and I believe that, in view of the existing analogies, we are justified in assuming that Apuleius found the motive of jealousy in the popular tale which he made use of.

In this tale we may suppose that the enchanted prince (who had been changed into a monster) met the father of the beautiful princess, perhaps out hunting, and, by threatening to kill him, made him promise to give her up. Apuleius, however, represents her parents as being induced to do so by an oracle of Apollo. But from the point at which the beautiful king's daughter, dressed in grave-clothes, is escorted by her weeping relatives in melancholy procession to the top of a steep rock, where she is abandoned, he has again followed the tale. A passage in Grimm's *Two Brothers* (60) is exactly parallel: 'the youngest, accompanied by his animals, entered a city, which was all covered with crape. . . . The huntsman . . . asked the host why the city wore the garb of mourning. Because, replied the host, our king's only daughter is to die to-morrow. . . . Outside the city is a high mountain, whereon dwells a dragon, to whom a pure maiden must be offered every year; otherwise, he ravages the country. Now there is none left but the king's daughter, and she must be given up to him to-morrow'. The Greek *Twin Brothers* (Hahn, 22, i, 170) corresponds to the German story, in which a monster guards all the springs and prevents the inhabitants from drawing water, except once a year, when a maiden is offered to him; the king's daughter is a victim. Certainly, the exposure of the king's daughter in the ancient tale cannot have been introduced in this manner, since the story of the two brothers has no further similarity with it; and it is just as possible that the escort of the maiden, apparently destined for sacrifice, to the top of a mountain, occurred in several tales, as that Apuleius borrowed individual features from other tales. In Grimm (88, *The Singing, Soaring Lark*) a father of three daughters falls into the power of a lion and can only save himself by promising him the first thing which should meet him on his return home; and this proves to be his youngest daughter. This story, which occurs in the most varied forms amongst different

¹ In a kindred Sicilian tale the son of the mother (in this case an ogress) who hates her daughter-in-law is called *lu Re d'Amuri*, the 'King of love' (Cosquin, *Contes populaires de la Lorraine*, ii, 237).

peoples (Grimm, ii, p. 378), is the one that corresponds most closely to that of Apuleius, at least in its main theme: 'the heart is put to the proof and everything earthly and evil falls away at the recognition of pure love' (*ib.*, 381).

The monster, to whom the maiden is surrendered, was also in the ancient tale an enchanted man. I had long thought it probable that he was changed into a dragon, before I became acquainted with the following kindred tales, which completely confirm my conjecture. Certainly, when the oracle calls the destined husband of the king's daughter 'a cruel, snake-like monster' (*saevum atque ferum vipereumque malum*, *Metam.*, iv, 33), we have perhaps only a reminiscence of Sappho's description of love as a 'bitter-sweet, unruly snake' (γλυκύπικρον ἀμάχανον δρπετον), although Fulgentius (ed. Jahn, p. 62) says: *jubetur puella—pennato serpenti sponsa destinari*. But the sisters of Psyche also assert that they have seen him in this form, and that this is the reason why he never shows himself to her. They describe him as a huge snake, gliding along in many coils, with enormous jaws, dropping poison, and remind her of the oracle which foretold her marriage to a horrible monster (*trucis bestiae*). Many peasants and huntsmen are said to have seen the dragon, on his return from feeding in the evening, swimming across the waters of a neighbouring river (*Met.*, v, 17, cp. 20: *postquam sulcatus intrahens gressus cubile solitum conscenderit*). Only at night the spell was evidently broken, and the enchanted one resumed his proper form, that of a beautiful youth, in which he visited his wife. In numerous kindred stories the enchanted are permitted to resume their true form during certain hours, days, weeks, or months. Probably the tale used by Apuleius also contained the feature, that when the enchanted one returned to human form no ray of light might fall upon him, which would only increase the strength of the charm and make it last longer. This is the case in the story already compared (Grimm, 88), in which the lion, to whom the youngest daughter must be surrendered, is a king's son; during the night he and his people who were enchanted with him resume their natural form. But when the ray from a burning candle falls upon him, he is changed into a dove, and is obliged to fly with the doves seven years long; this happens to him once when a ray no broader than a hair falls upon him through a crack in the door; immediately he is transformed into a white dove and flies away. At least we are here reminded of Amor, who, when the light of Psyche's lamp falls upon him, awakes from sleep and without uttering a word flies away and then addresses her from the top of a tall cypress (*Met.*, v, 23). So also Grimm (ii, p. 381): 'Our story also agrees with it in this, that light brings misfortune and that night, which loosens all bonds, always dissolves the spell'. Also, in the Greek tale of *Golden Wand*, to be mentioned below (Hahn, 7) the king's son is changed into a dove and in consequence of the discovery of the secret is wounded by the sisters.

So then the king's daughter is left alone on the top of a rock to be married to such a husband. A gentle breath of wind wafts the timid maiden down into a flowery valley where, refreshed, she sees a grove with a clear spring of water and a palace

adorned with fairylike splendour. Even in the description we seem to hear the note of the folktale: the walls of the rooms are so resplendent with gold, that even night seems like daylight (v, 1). Similarly, in a modern Greek story, in the palace of the dragon, to whom the king's youngest daughter is surrendered, 'the sleeping apartment is so splendid, that it gives light by night' (B. Schmidt, *Gr. Märchen*, 94). No man is to be seen; she only hears the voices of the invisible servants, who carry out all her commands, and fulfil all her wishes. This also is a common feature of the folktale (Rohde, *Der gr. Roman*, 195 note): so in the tale of *The Young Giant* (Grimm, 90): 'after he had sat there a while, all at once the door opened, and a large table came in, and on the table wine and roast meats and much dainty food, all of which had placed itself there, for there was no one to set it on table. Then the chairs moved up of themselves, but there came no people, until suddenly he saw fingers, which handled the knives and forks and put food upon the plates; but this was all that he could see'. Then the invisible husband warns the king's daughter not to admit her two sisters, who are trying to find her; but as she cannot resist the desire to see them, he warns her earnestly and repeatedly at least not to listen to their insinuations nor to endeavour to gain sight of his form and features; if she does this he must leave her, and the child, which she carries in her womb, will be mortal; but if she represses her curiosity, it will be divine. However, the insinuations of the sisters and curiosity gain the upper hand; she inquires about what is forbidden, and what was foretold comes to pass. The curiosity which leads to doing something forbidden, with the result that previous good fortune ceases and misfortune breaks in, is a common feature of folktales, e.g. the forbidden opening of a shut door, in Grimm (3, *Our Lady's Child*; 46, *Fitcher's Bird*; cp. ii, p. 341, 394). Similarly, the opening of the chest containing Erichthonius brings misfortune to the daughters of Cecrops. In a Hanoverian version (Grimm, 87) the king's son is changed into a raven; in the king's daughter's bedroom is a mirror, in which she is able to see everything that goes on in the castle where she had lived; but she is forbidden to allow her maid to look in it. So the king's daughter always carries the key about with her; but on one occasion she leaves it in the door of the room, the maid goes in and looks in the mirror. The raven tears her in pieces and says to the king's daughter: 'Now you must go forth and serve seven years and do the work of seven maids' (Grimm, ii, p. 379). There are also many points of resemblance between the Roman tale and that of *Cinderella* (Grimm, 21), in which the two elder and less beautiful sisters treat the youngest with malicious cunning, but in the end are duly punished. The following occurs in a Hessian version: After *Cinderella* has lived happily with her husband for a year, he sets out on a journey, leaving behind all the keys, with strict injunctions that she is not to open a certain chamber. When he has gone, she is persuaded by her wicked sister to unlock the forbidden chamber, in which they find a well of blood. When lying ill after the birth of a son she is thrown into this well by her sister, who takes her place in bed; but the guards hear her cries, save the real queen, and the false one is punished

(Grimm, ii, p. 364). The frequent mention of the expected child in Apuleius, and of the influence which the constancy of the mother is supposed to exercise upon its nature, permits us to conjecture that in the ancient tale the spell also had power over the child, if the mother did not stand firm, and that it was destined to come into the world in the same form as its enchanted father. The latter impresses upon her that she may preserve him, herself and her little one from the misfortune that threatens them, if she remains firm (v, 13).

The king's daughter, in despair at the result of her curiosity, tries to drown herself, but in vain; the river bears her safely to the bank. She then wanders about in search of her lost husband, and comes to a certain country, the king of which is the husband of one of her sisters. The latter allows herself to be deceived by the story that the husband desires her for his wife instead of the one who is repudiated (Psyche); she hastens to the rock, whence the west wind formerly wafted Psyche, but hurls herself headlong down to death. In the same manner the other sister is deceived by the youngest and punished for her malice and cunning.

In the tale adapted by Apuleius the repentant wanderer now evidently reaches the place where she atones for her error by hard service, severe tasks and renewed stedfastness, and redeems her beloved. In the Hanoverian story the king's daughter, who has brought about the separation from her husband by her carelessness, comes to a wicked woman, whom she has to serve for seven years and to do the work of seven maids (Grimm, ii, p. 380). In some of the tales that follow this hostile being is the mother of the husband. This was undoubtedly the case in the tale used by Apuleius; Venus takes the place of the enchantress, who has transformed her son and put her hated daughter-in-law to severe tests, which finally bring about deliverance. But instead of the king's daughter seeking out her mother-in-law, with whom she at first expects to find her husband (cp. *Mét.*, vi, 5), Apuleius makes Venus seek her; she at first hides herself from her, fearing discovery, but finally voluntarily gives herself up. The sole object of all this is to make room for ornamental episodes, in harmony with the taste of the writer and his contemporaries, who probably regarded them as great improvements on the too simple narrative, while to us they rather seem to disfigure it. When Psyche attempts suicide, Apuleius has already inserted a totally unnecessary episode about Pan (v, 24); then follows (v, 28-vi, 10) the account how Venus learns of her son's marriage and violently reproaches him; how Ceres and Juno in vain attempt to appease her; how Psyche in vain implores them to protect and grant her a refuge; how Venus searches for her everywhere, whereupon Psyche gives herself up and is handed over to the servants of Venus, Anxiety and Sorrow, to be tortured and scourged. This mythological padding is in part affected and frigid allegory, in part downright burlesque. Venus speaks to Amor as an enraged mother in comedy addresses a dissolute son, Ceres and Juno like two old gossips; the marriage with Psyche is said to be invalid, because it took place at a country house without witnesses; Mercury as public crier of the gods, offers a reward of seven kisses

from Venus to the finder of Psyche. In one passage, certainly, we are reminded of the popular tale, where the wandering princess in the temple of Ceres arranges in order the sheaves, garlands, and scythes that were lying about in confusion. Similarly, in German tales good maidens and women, during their wanderings often in desolate solitudes, often, without being called upon lend a helping hand and thereby earn the thanks of kindly spirits.

From these unedifying episodes we return again to the story, stepping out as it were from an elaborate formal garden of the rococo period into the natural free life of the forest. The princess, to atone for her error and to release her husband, has to accomplish three difficult tasks. First, she has to sort out a heap of barley, wheat, millet, poppy seeds, peas, lentils, and beans before evening; ants perform the task for her. Next, she has to fetch wool from spiteful, savage sheep with golden fleeces; in despair she is about to throw herself into the river, when a reed whispers to her to wait till the sheep rub their wool off on to the trees; then she will be able to collect it. Lastly, she has to fetch water from a spring (in Apuleius called Stygian), which flows in a fearful, inaccessible ravine and is guarded by dragons; an eagle fills her crystal vessel with the desired water.

The first task is exactly the same as that imposed upon *Cinderella* (Grimm, 21) by her stepmother, in which doves render assistance. The second task recurs in the Indian tale of the woodcutter's daughter, and frequently also in German tales. In *The White Snake* (Grimm, 17) all the suitors of the king's daughter have to perform three tasks: if they cannot, they have to die. One of these consisted in picking up ten sackfuls of millet seed scattered over the grass, between sunset and sunrise; this task is also performed by thousands of ants. These tasks are especially characteristic of the 'Bride-wager class', in which the suitors stake their heads against the bride, who can only be won by the accomplishment of difficult tasks (Hahn, p. 54; cp. ii, p. 323). Also in the Greek tale of *The King's Son and the Beardless Man* ants sort out for the king's son four horse-loads of wheat, barley, spelt, and maize, all mixed together, in half a day. I am not acquainted with an exact analogy to the second task; I will return to the third later. The princess may have earned the gratitude of the animals who assist her, as in so many tales (including the Indian), by taking pity on them or rendering them assistance (in Hahn formula 32, *The Grateful Animals*, p. 57). Apuleius may have omitted this; it suits his narrative better that all nature should assist the chosen of the god of love. Perhaps it did not occur in the tale;¹ the animals may assist the unhappy maiden out of compassion, and similarly the inanimate beings, the reed and (later) the tower, from which she intends to throw herself down. 'The sun, the moon, and the stars above all possess a spiritual nature, and when they speak to those in distress and give them presents which deliver them out of their trouble, they appear as divine beings, objects of worship (quorum opibus aperte juvantur,

¹ Cosquin, who considers (*Cont. pop. de la L.*, ii, p. 230) that in the original tale Psyche must have done the animals a good turn to account for the assistance rendered her, supposes a Buddhist version.

Caesar, *B.G.*, vi, 21), as in ancient times they actually were to the Germans. Trees and springs, whose worship was of long continuance, are also instinct with life. The spring, which leaps sparkling over the stones, warns the children not to drink of it; if they do they will be transformed' (Grimm). Thus in the Roman tale the spring guarded by the dragon cries out to the princess: 'Begone! What are you doing? Have a care! What do you want? Mind what you do! Flee, else you will die!' (vi, 14; cp. the warning of the lake in the tale of *The Seven-headed Snake*, B. Schmidt, *Gr. Märchen*, 119).

To these three tasks now succeeds a fourth. The king's daughter has to descend into the underworld and fetch up a little beauty-ointment from the goddess of the dead. This may be only a variation of the third task, borrowed by Apuleius from another version of the tale, for we naturally only expect three tasks, according to fairy tale precedent; it is also possible that the fourth task was in this case exceptionally added, as a last, most difficult task, aggravated by three temptations. The water of the Stygian spring, like the beauty-ointment (*i.e.* a means of renewing youth) reminds us of the water of life frequently mentioned in German tales (Grimm, 97). Just as the tower, from which the king's daughter in the old tale intends to throw herself down, instructs her how to obtain what she desires, so does a dwarf in the German tale: 'It springs from a well in the court of an enchanted castle, but you cannot make your way thither, unless I give you an iron rod and two small loaves of bread. With the rod strike three times on the iron gate of the castle, and it will spring open; inside lie two lions, with mouths wide open; but if you throw in a loaf to each they will be quiet; then hasten and fetch some of the water of life, before it strikes twelve, else the door will close and you will be shut in'. The prince does as he is told, but, finding in a room a beautiful newly-made bed, he cannot help lying down upon it to rest. 'So he lay down and went to sleep; when he awoke, it was striking a quarter to twelve. Then he sprang up in alarm, ran to the well, drew some water in a cup which stood hard by, and hurried off. But when he was going out of the iron gate it struck twelve, and the door shut so violently that it took off a piece of his heel'. Exactly in the same manner in the ancient tale dangers and temptations stand in the way of the performance of the undertaking, and exactly in the same manner, at the last moment, after the greatest difficulty has been surmounted, the attempt is threatened with failure. On her way to the palace of the god of the dead the king's daughter has to take in each hand a cake and barley meal, honey and wine, and in her mouth two copper coins. Three times she is tempted to let the cake fall; if she does, she will have to remain in the underworld; for then she will be unable to quiet Cerberus, when going in and coming out. She first meets a lame ass laden with wood, whose driver, also lame, begs her to lift up the logs of wood that have fallen off. While crossing the river of the dead (when Charon himself has to take the coins out of her mouth) a dead old man swims after the boat, stretching out his putrefied hands and entreating that he may be taken on board. On the opposite shore are seated some old women at the loom, who

beg her to lend them a hand. She successfully overcomes all these temptations. She is invited by the goddess of the dead to take part in a sumptuous banquet; but she is forbidden to take anything but a piece of bread, which she is obliged to eat sitting on the ground. She obtains what she desires and makes her way back without any accident; but when she reaches the upper world, although forbidden to do so, she cannot resist the temptation of opening the box, from which a narcotic vapour ascends and plunges her into a deathlike sleep. But her lover, now set free by her loyalty and stedfastness, hurries up and brings her back to life.

The conclusion, in which the marriage of Amor and Psyche is celebrated in heaven, is another example of low comedy (*Met.*, vi, 22-24). Psyche bears a daughter Voluptas. Here also it is clearly shown that Apuleius in his narrative has amalgamated two heterogeneous elements, allegory and popular tale; for where the expected child is mentioned it is repeatedly spoken of as a boy (v, 12, 13), certainly in accordance with the fairy tale—a fact evidently forgotten by Apuleius.

It can hardly be accidental that there are no ancient works of art which illustrate the narrative of Apuleius.¹ Classical art, like classical poetry, disdained to borrow its subjects from the folktale. Certainly it might have done so, after the tale had been introduced into literature by Apuleius (the date of the Aristophontes mentioned by Fulgentius Planciades appears to be unknown); but at that time the productive power of plastic art was practically extinct. If any proof were needed that the folktale is rich in motives admirably adapted for representations, Raphael would have furnished it in the frescoes of the villa Farnesina and in another cycle of extremely graceful representations; Thorvaldsen also has represented the chief scenes in a number of sketches to be seen in his museum at Copenhagen.

In my opinion, the evidence from German parallels clearly shows that a genuine folktale forms the basis of the Apuleian narrative. Experts will doubtless be able to make this evidence more complete. Of the kindred stories mentioned in Grimm (ii, p. 381) the Dutch (*Wodana*, 3) is unknown to me; the Swedish (Grimm, ii, p. 509) is only distantly related. I did not become acquainted with the others until I had completed my attempt at reconstruction. As they in all essentials confirm it (most of them especially in the feature that the lover or husband of the heroine is changed into a snake), I shall give their contents so far as it is necessary, in order to show the thorough general agreement in spite of manifold differences in points of detail. These differences are due to that jumbling together of features and motives from different tales which is peculiar to the composition of the folktale.

¹ Heydemann (*Eros und Psyche* in the *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1869, taf. 10) considers the sarcophagus there represented, which perhaps depends upon the same source as the narrative of Apuleius, to be older than the latter. I am not acquainted with the carved stones there mentioned. I have been unable to consult M. Collignon's *Essai sur les monuments grecs et romains relatifs au mythe Psyché* (Paris, 1877), where two carved stones are represented (according to Cosquin, *Contes*, ii, p. 224), the subjects of which are said to be directly borrowed from the narrative of Apuleius: Psyche sorting the grains with the assistance of the ants and receiving the water of the Styx from the eagle.

Several stories in the *Pentameron* of Basile are akin. In 15 (*The Snake*), a snake woos a princess, and having performed three tasks which were considered impossible is perforce accepted by the father as a son-in-law. While the pair are in the bridal-chamber, the king looks through the keyhole and sees the snake transformed into a handsome young man; he breaks in and burns the snake's skin that is lying on the floor. But the young man changes himself into a dove (see above, p. 104), which injures its head while flying through the window. The king's daughter wanders about in search of her husband. She learns from a fox what the birds in the forest are telling one another: that the king's son had been changed into a snake for seven years by a witch; that this period was almost over, when in consequence of the snake's skin being burnt he was changed again into a dove; that during his flight he had injured himself so severely that he was very near death; that the only remedy was to besmear his wounds with the blood of the birds who had told the story and with that of the fox. The fox procures the first for the king's daughter, who kills the fox by cunning and obtains the second. She then repairs to her sick husband and heals him, and is happily reunited to him.

In the *Padlock* (19) the youngest of the three daughters of a poor mother becomes the wife of an enchanted prince; her envious sisters persuade her to disobey his commands, whereupon he repudiates her. She wanders about, till she bears a boy, whose birth brings about her husband's disenchantment. In the *Golden Root* (44) Parmetella, the youngest of the three daughters of a poor gardener, finds her way into a subterranean enchanted palace, where she is wedded to a Moor, who at night assumes his proper form, that of a beautiful youth. When Parmetella spies upon him in this form, he drives her away, at the same time telling her that his enchantment has been prolonged for seven years through her curiosity. Parmetella meets a fairy, who gives her advice and the means of protection during her years of wandering. After seven years, when her iron shoes are in holes, she arrives at a house, wherein dwells a man-eating witch with seven daughters spinning, the mother and sisters of her husband. The fairy's advice saves her from being eaten, but she is again threatened by the same fate, unless she is able to perform three difficult tasks imposed upon her. Her husband, however, takes pity upon her and assists her. At his command ants sort out a mixed heap of various seeds, and birds fill twelve bed-ticks with feathers. Lastly, the witch sends Parmetella to her sister to fetch musical instruments for the marriage festival of her son, in reality that she may be put to death. Her husband gives her a little loaf, a bundle of hay, and a stone; with the first she quiets a dog, which would eat her, with the second a horse which would trample on her, and with the stone she keeps a door steady which is always banging to and fro. She escapes all dangers and obtains the instruments, but on her way back is unable to refrain from opening the box which contains them; whereupon they all fly into the air. Finally, however, she is reunited to her husband, who reconciles her with his seven sisters; the old witches and the daughter of the second who is intended for his bride perish.

Amongst the tales of the Comtesse d'Aulnoy, *Le Serpentin vert* (the green dragon) is an originally kindred story, which, however, has adopted many features from Apuleius (*Cabinet des fées*, iii, 174-227). A king has two twin daughters, one of whom has been enchanted by a wicked fairy and is terribly ugly. She retires into solitude, and after a number of adventures detailed at great length in the author's manner, marries a king whom she has never seen; she agrees to the condition that she will never attempt to see him until the time of his atonement is over; as a warning she is obliged to read the story of Psyche. But her mother and sister, when on a visit, induce her to break her oath and to spy upon her husband by night. She recognizes in him a green dragon by which she had formerly been terrified, which now immediately disappears. She then falls into the power of the wicked fairy who has enchanted her; she makes her put on tight iron shoes and sets her to perform three difficult tasks. She has to spin off a distaff full of cobwebs, to plait fishing nets of the web, and lastly, to climb a mountain with a millstone round her neck, to fill a basket with four-leaved clover, and to draw a pitcher of marvellous water from a fountain guarded by giants in a deep valley. She accomplishes all these tasks with the aid of a kindly fairy and the water restores her beauty. After she has descended to the underworld to fetch the water of life from Proserpine, she is released with her husband. In *Le Mouton* (the Ram; *Cab. d. f.*, iii, 431) compared by Grimm (ii, p. 493) a king is so enraged with the youngest of his three daughters that he orders her to be put to death. She is saved and lives with a prince, who is changed into a ram. The writer has invented the dénouement. The princess, while on a visit to her father, forgets her ram, who dies of grief. *Gracieuse et Percinet* (ii, p. 5) need only be mentioned, since the heroine has to perform three difficult tasks for a step-mother. In *L'Oiseau bleu* (ii, p. 67) the king's son, who has been changed into a blue bird, is wounded with knives through the agency of hostile beings, and believes his innocent sweetheart to be an accessory to the crime. After a difficult and dangerous journey, she finds and marries him, after having bought permission from his betrothed, by wonderful gifts, to be allowed to approach him.

In the Magyar tale of the *Snake-prince* (Gaal, p. 364), it is predicted to the prince, who has come into the world in a snake's skin, that he will be able to put it off on his wedding night for the first time and every night afterwards; but he must put it on again every morning. His wife burns it while he is asleep, whereupon he curses her and prays that her shoes may not fall from her feet and that she may not bring forth a child until he has become reconciled to her. He then leaves her, and after long wandering arrives at an island, marries the king's daughter, but lives unhappily with her. Meanwhile his first wife wanders about the world in search of him; she first comes to the moon, who knows nothing of him, then to the sun, and lastly to the wind, who conducts her to him. By presents of gold, which the sun, moon, and wind have given her, she persuades the queen to allow her access to the king twice at night, but to no purpose, since he is always in a deep sleep caused by a soporific draught. At last, a faithful servant changes the sleeping draught

for another; the king becomes reconciled to his wife, who bears a beautiful boy, who comes into the world aged six years.

Kindred tales are also found amongst the Greek and Albanian, which exhibit equally remarkable agreement with the German. In *The Golden Wand* (Hahn 7, from Epirus), a merchant trading with India has three daughters, the youngest of whom begs him to bring her a golden wand thence. Now Golden Wand is the name of an Indian prince, who gives the merchant a letter, a ring, and a basin for his youngest daughter. When she fills the basin with water, throws the ring into it, and cries three times, 'Come, come, come, my golden wand', he comes flying in the form of a dove, washes in the water, and is changed into a man. The sisters play the spy and become jealous of the youngest. The eldest calls the dove, but does not notice that there is a knife in the basin, with which the dove cuts itself and then flies off. The youngest sister now journeys to India to find her lover; on the way she hears from a bird of prey and a dove that he can only be healed with an ointment which must be made from the flesh of both birds. She shoots them, prepares the ointment, and heals the king's son. In *Filek Chelebi* (Hahn 73, from Crete) the youngest of three poor sisters marries a Moor, who at night is transformed into a handsome young man. On the advice of her sisters she plays the spy and surprises him in this form; he declares to her that her curiosity has put off his disenchantment which was near at hand. She is obliged to have three pairs of iron shoes and three golden apples made, to ascend three mountains, and, rolling the apples before her, to make her way to the sisters of *Filek Chelebi* who live at the summit; after she has finished her wanderings, she brings her child into the world and is united to her husband, who is now set free from his enchantment. *Zi, Ba, Achmet Chelebi* (71) is very similar. The *Snake-Prince* (Albanian, from the island of Poros, Hahn, 100) corresponds exactly to the Magyar tale (and also to a Servian and a Wallachian (Hahn, ii, p. 311)).

The following Indian tale, taken down by an Englishman from the mouth of a washerwoman at Benares, was communicated by him to the *Asiatic Journal*, xxxvii (1842), p. 114;¹ a German translation in *Ausland* (February, 1843) appeared in H. Brockhaus's *Die Märchensammlung des Somadeva Bhatta aus Kashmir* (ii, 191-211). Although it still survives in the mouth of the people, Benfey considers it to be very old (*Pantschatantra*, ii, p. 255).

In a certain Eastern kingdom there lived a poor man named Nur-Singh, who supported himself and his wife and daughter Tulisa by wood-cutting. Tulisa, who was beautiful and of an age to marry, went into the forest to gather wood; she came to a dilapidated well, from which issued a voice, which called her by name and asked her, 'Wilt thou be my wife?' The question was repeated three times. At last she answered tremblingly that only her father could decide; whereupon the voice bade her summon him. Nur-Singh obeyed the summons, and persuaded by the promise of great wealth, consented to his daughter's marriage. When the wedding day drew

¹ [This is translated from the German, the original English not being available at the time; a few alterations have since been made after consulting it. Ta.]

near, splendid wedding presents were conveyed by unseen hands to the bride's cottage. Having adorned herself, she repaired with her parents to the well ; then the voice called upon the father to place a ring that was floating in the air upon Tulisa's finger. After the three had partaken of a sumptuous meal in a splendid pavilion a palanquin appeared, which the bride entered with fear and hesitation, and unseen hands bore her away ; her parents followed and came to a valley, where stood a large palace, through the door of which the litter disappeared. They then returned home with lightened hearts.

Soon after his daughter's marriage the woodcutter became rich and aroused his neighbours' envy, who falsely accused him before the king ; he was thrown into prison and condemned to death. But on the morning of the day on which he was to die, he and the king alone were left alive in the city ; all the inhabitants had been killed by snakes. The king entreated the woodcutter to call his subjects back to life ; the woodcutter called upon his son-in-law, whereupon the voice ordered the snakes to revive the dead by antidotes known to them alone. This was done ; and the woodcutter was handsomely rewarded and set free.

Meanwhile, Tulisa lived very happily with her husband, but only saw him at night-time. She was not allowed to leave the palace, but it was royally furnished and provided her with all kinds of recreation ; she also had serving-maids, who amused her by playing on the lute and telling stories.¹ On one occasion, seeing a squirrel pursued by another animal, she drove the latter away. After some time, however, she felt a great longing for the society of her fellow-creatures. One day, looking out of the window, she saw an old woman, who addressed her with flattering words and begged her to let her in ; Tulisa at last allowed herself to be persuaded to let down a sheet from the window, up which the woman climbed with extraordinary nimbleness.² In the course of conversation the old woman asked Tulisa whether her husband had ever eaten from the same plate with her ; when she said no, the old woman suggested that she must demand it as a token of the respect due to her from her husband. Tulisa did so, when her husband appeared at evening ; he apparently granted her request but in reality ate nothing. After some time Tulisa saw another old woman before the window, and allowed her to climb up to her room like the other. This old woman asked Tulisa whether her husband had ever chewed a betel-leaf and offered it to her to eat (a delicate mark of attention amongst lovers). Tulisa was obliged to say no to this also, and allowed herself to be persuaded to ask him the reason ; but he evaded the question. Finally, a third old woman appeared, who asked her whether her husband had ever told her his name. Tulisa was persuaded to ask him to tell her what it was, as a proof of his affection. He entreated her not to insist, since it would bring destruction upon her, but in vain. At last, he led her to the bank of a river, and having again asked her not to persist in her request, slowly entered the water,

¹ Apuleius, *Met.*, v, 15 : jubet citharam loqui : psallitur ; tibias agere : sonatur ; chorus canere : cantatur.

² This reminds us of the wicked sisters in the ancient story.

repeating his entreaty until only his head and shoulders were visible. When she still persisted, he cried out, 'My name is Basnak Dau!' At the same moment a snake's head appeared on the surface of the water and sank into the stream.

Tulisa stood again in her old ragged clothes, the palace had disappeared, her parents were still living, as poor as before, in their old hut. Their complaints and reproaches increased her unhappiness, but not so much as her own remorse and longing for all that she had lost. Once she fell asleep while gathering wood, and when she woke up she heard two squirrels talking. From their conversation she learned that her husband's mother had lost all her strength, since he had become king of the snakes; but that she would recover it, if his mortal wife could be persuaded to ask him his name; this had been accomplished by her confederate, Sarkasukis, in the form of an old woman. The squirrel whom Tulisa had saved then asked if there were no means of restoring his power to Basnak Dau. The other answered, 'Tulisa must wander eastwards, until she comes to a wide river, which is full of snakes; she must swim across and on the other side seek for the nest of the bird Huma, and lay one of its eggs in her bosom until it is hatched. Then she must offer to serve in the palace of the queen her mother-in-law; there heavy tasks will be imposed upon her, and if she cannot perform them she will be devoured by snakes. But when the egg is hatched, the bird, who brings kingly power to all who possess it, will peck out the eyes of the green snake, which is always coiled round the queen's neck. Then Basnak Dau will recover his kingdom and become reconciled to his wife.'

Tulisa, undeterred by these dangers, boldly entered upon her journey, and reached the river swarming with snakes. She had provided herself with some earthen jars and, tying some bamboos together, she laced them across with twigs and laid a quantity of grass upon the top. Using this as a raft, she crossed in safety to the other side; some squirrels sprang before her to encourage her. She was then guided by squirrels and bees to the Huma's nest, from which she took an egg and laid it in her bosom. At last she came to the queen's palace. She was conducted to her presence, and found her lying on soft cushions, with the green snake round her neck. The queen agreed to take her into her service, at the same time telling her that if she could not perform her commands she would have to die. She gave Tulisa a crystal vase, and told her to collect in it the scent of a thousand flowers in a paved court surrounded by high walls. A swarm of bees came flying along, each bringing a little bag with scent, which it dropped into the vase. On the next day, she was given a large pitcher full of seeds and told to make a splendid ornament from them. A large number of squirrels came and put precious stones into the pitcher, and took out the same number of grains. Tulisa also heard from the squirrels that their common enemy, Sarkasukis, was in the neighbourhood, and that he could only be prevented from entering the castle by burning certain herbs. The squirrels, however, would be obliged to retire, and she would have to depend upon her own vigilance. Tulisa burnt herbs incessantly as she had been told, until the young Huma

came forth from its egg. It grew up with incredible rapidity, suddenly flew on to the queen's shoulder, and picked out the green snake's eyes. The queen, knowing that her power was at an end, cried out aloud: Sarkasukis, in his true form as an ugly demon, fell to the ground, and long processions of genii, squirrels, and snakes escorted their rightful master into the palace. Tulisa, now queen of a kingdom of spirits, was reunited to him for ever; her parents recovered their former wealth.

A Bessarabian story also, connected with the name of the emperor Trajan (of whom the inhabitants tell all kinds of stories), reminds us of the popular tale, as already pointed out by A. von Haxthausen in his studies on the internal condition of Russia (ii, 460): 'Beyond the Danube lived a king named Trajan, who loved a queen who lived on this side of the river, named Bielayakeyina (the white princess). He rode over to her every evening, and left her before sunrise. But the princess wanted to see him by daylight. His horse always neighed before the sun rose, and as a signal for his departure. One day she ordered some oats to be thrown in front of the horse, who forgot to neigh. But when the sun rose, horse and rider disappeared like smoke.

My list of parallels to the story in Apuleius being necessarily inadequate, I expressed the hope that some specialist would complete it, and Professor Adalbert Kuhn (died 1881) kindly consented to do so. I have made no alteration in the communication with which he favoured me, especially as only a few of the tales known to me are referred to by him.

I begin by remarking that I have confined myself only to two groups of tales, closely related to that used by Apuleius, in order to show more clearly that it is only a question of the use of a popular tale. In both groups we have a man, usually changed into an animal, wedded to a young maiden, who in spite of his terrifying form, remains constant in her affection. In the first group the betrayal of the secret postpones his release from enchantment, and brings about a fresh trial of patience and love; in the second, as a rule it directly furnishes the means of release. The introductory accounts of the manner of the betrothal or of the origin of the change of form may be disregarded, since they are not essential. In the first group the Scandinavian (Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, Icelandic) recensions are decidedly most akin to Apuleius; the Danish in particular agrees in the most essential features. I will first give a list of the tales used by me.

1. 1. *Danish*, in Grundtvig's *Gamle Danske Minder*, i, 100-115: *Den lille hvide hund* (the little white dog).

2. *Swedish*, in Hyltén-Cavallius and Stephens, *Svenska folksagor och äfventyr*, i, 2, p. 323: *Jungfrun som såg på sin käraste vid ljus* (the maiden who looked on her beloved with a light [candle, lamp]). Three versions: A. *Ulfprinsen* (the wolf-prince; from Södermanland, with three variants from Småland and Finland). B. *Prins Hatt under jorden* (Prince Hat under the earth; from Småland with a variant from Västergötland). C. *Den halde hunden* (the lame dog; from Småland, with a variant from the same province).

3. *Norwegian*, in Asbjörnsen and Moe, *Norwegische Volksmärchen* ii, 102, no. 11: *East of the Sun and West of the Moon*.
4. *Icelandic*, in Jón Arnason *Islenzkar þjóðsögur og æfintýri*, ii, 334: *Sigurdr Kóngsson* (Siegfried the king's son).
5. *Holsteinish*, in Müllenhoff, *Schleswig-holst. Sagen*, p. 385, no. 3: *Der weisse Wolf* (the white wolf).
6. *Bohemian*, in Waldau, *Böhmisches Märchenbuch*, p. 160: *Der weisse Bär* (the white bear).
7. *Greek*, in J. G. Hahn, *Griech. und alban. Märchen*, ii, 67, no. 73: *Filek Chelebi* (a Moor takes the place of the animal).¹
8. *Albanian*: A. *ib.*, ii, 116, no. 100: *Das Schlangenkind* (the snake-child), and B. *ib.*, ii, 130, no. 102: *Taubendiebe* (dove thieves). Cp. further C., *ib.*, i, 97, no. 7.
9. *Wallachian*, in Schott, *Wallachische Märchen*, no. 23: *Trandafir* (a pumpkin takes the place of the animal).
10. *Neapolitan*, in Basile, *Pentamerone*, i, 19, p. 246: *The Padlock*, agreeing mostly with no. 7; cp. also *ib.*, ii, 168, no. 43: *Pinto-smauto*.
11. *Servian*, in Wuk, *Serbische Märchen*, no. 10, p. 82 (another snake-bridegroom).
12. *Transylvanian*, in Haltrich, *Siebenbürgische Märchen*, p. 228, no. 43: *Borstenkind* (bristle-child).
13. *Indian*, in Benfey, *Pantschalantra*, i, 255: *Tulisa*.
14. *Kalmuck*, in Jülg, *Kalmükische Märchen*, p. 39, tale 7.
15. *Gaelic*, in the extract from Campbell, given by R. Köhler in Benfey's *Orient und Occident*, no. iii, 2, 114 and no. xii, 2, 126.
16. *Scotch*, in Chambers's *Popular Rhymes* (first ed.), p. 75, *The Red Bull of Norway*, in the third ed. with the variant of the *Glass Mountain*, according to R. Köhler on Campbell (*loc. cit.*, xii.).
17. *The Harz*, in A. Ey, *Harzmärchen*, p. 9.
- The Lark* in Grimm (88), already compared (p. 103), is not further cited here.
- II. 1. C. and T. Colshorn, *Märchen*, p. 64, no. 20: *Vom kling-kesklanken Lowesblatt* (cp. 3).
2. *Ib.*, p. 139, no. 32: *Der verwunschene Frosch* (the enchanted frog).
3. Müller and Schambach, *Niedersächsische Sagen und Märchen*, p. 265, no. 5: *Das klingende, singende Blatt* (the ringing, singing leaf).
4. *Ib.*, p. 263, no. 4: *Die Rose* (the rose).
5. *Holsteinish*, Müllenhoff, p. 384, no. ii: *Vom goldenen Klingelklangel* (cp. 3).
6. *Suabian*: in Meier, *Schwäbische Märchen*, p. 202, no. 57: *Drei Rosen auf einem Stiel* (three roses on one stem).
7. *Tirolese* in Zingerle, i, p. 182, no. 30: *Die singende Rose* (the singing rose).
8. *Ib.*, ii, p. 173: *Die Schlange* (the snake).
9. *Ib.*, p. 391: *Der Bär* (the bear).
10. *Flemish*: in Wolf, *Wodana*, ii, 61: *Roosken zonder doornen* (the rose without thorns).

¹ B. Schmidt, *Griechische Märchen*, 9: *Prinz Krebs* (Prince Crab) and 10: *Die Schönste* (the most beautiful maiden) may be added.

11. *Servian*: in Wut, p. 77, no. 9: *The Snake-bridegroom*.

12. *Russian*: in Benfey, *Orient und Occident*, ii, 539, from Afanasieff's collection, communicated by Schiefner.

13. *Indian*: Pantschatantra, i, 8, in Benfey, ii, 144: *The enchanted Brahmin's son*.

I will now compare the individual features with the narrative of Apuleius.

'A king and a queen (merchant, peasant, etc.) have three daughters, the youngest of whom is the most beautiful and the most amiable': cp. Swedish, i, 2 B; German, ii, 1, 2, ii, 3, 4, 5, ii, 7, 9; Greek, 7, 8 C; Flemish, ii, 10; Gaelic, i, 15. Owing to the special elaboration of the story in the Icelandic version there are four (i, 4), in the Norwegian many daughters (i, 3). The elder sisters are proud and haughty (Swedish, i C, Scotch, i, 16). Conversely, in the Tirolese story (ii, 9) the eldest sister is good, the younger proud and wicked. The end of the tale ii, 1 recalls the former contrast. 'The elder daughters are married to kings, the youngest to a monster (or animal)'. Cp. Swedish (i C), where the eldest desires for her husband a king with golden hair and beard, the second one with silver hair and beard, while the youngest is content to obtain only a lame dog. In nearly all the tales the bridegroom of the youngest takes the form of an animal. The Swedish story, i, 2 A (variant), ii, 11, i, 11, 13, ii, 13, i, 8 A, ii, 8, and B. Schmidt (*Gr. Märchen*, 10), mention the snake or the dragon (*viperum malum, immanis coluber, multimodis voluminibus serpens*).

The manner in which the bride is handed over to the promised bridegroom is nearly always different in the above from that in Apuleius: in the first group the animal himself fetches away the bride (only in a Swedish version, i, 2, B, the king leads her out under the hazel bush amidst the lamentations of her companions). Elsewhere a similar leading out is very common in tales and needs no further proof.

Equally unknown to the cycle of tales compared is the heroine's being wafted down by the wind, an incident which dropped out automatically, when once her being taken to the top of the rock was omitted. In place of this the animal and the maiden, after they have entered a thick forest, suddenly sink into the depths of the earth (i, 1), or come to a mountain ravine (i, 2 A) or a hole in the earth (i, 2 A, variant 1; i, 2 B, variant); in i, 3 the bear knocks upon a rock, which opens. As soon as they enter, a splendid palace appears, in which everything is of glittering gold and silver (i, 2 A, B, C; i, 1, 3, 10, ii, 6), and the table sumptuously spread with food and wine (i, 1, 3, 10, 17, ii, 4, 6); the invisible handmaids who perform all Psyche's wishes, appear in i, 3, where the bear gives the maiden a silver bell, which she only has to ring and immediately everything she desires is before her.

In the majority of the tales compared the bride is forbidden to reveal the change of her husband's form; in i, 2 C, 7, 8 C, 10 she is persuaded by her sisters to do so (in ii, 6, the elder sister persuades her to infringe another prohibition); here also jealousy is as a rule the cause. The triple temptation in Apuleius occurs in i, 2 B, 4, 10; as Apuleius utilizes the awakening maternal feelings to entice her

to infringe the prohibition, so in i, 2 B the stepmother attacks the young wife on this her weak side, by praising the children, who are playing at their mother's feet. Apuleius has: *O nos beatas, quas infantis aurei nutrimenta laetabunt! qui si parentum, ut oportet, pulchritudini responderet, prorsus Cupido nascetur*; in the Swedish tale: *hon tillade, at de s  ckert br  ddes upp   sitt f  derne, och att Prins Hat m  nde vara en mycket fager ungersvenn* (she added that they no doubt took after their father and that Prince Hat must be a very beautiful youth). The northern group, with the exception of the Icelandic, contain the feature, that the young wife is advised to look at her lover by a light while he is asleep; this she does, like Psyche in Apuleius, and wakes him, forgetting all warnings through the heavenly sight. While i, 1 A, B and 3 introduce a wax or tallow candle, from which a drop or snuff falls upon the loved one, in i, 2 C it is the lamp, but the catastrophe is brought about by the young wife looking at him for three nights in succession. The Icelandic tale (i, 4), instead of the kindling of a light, speaks of swinging a stone over the sleeper's head. But the kindling of the light is found in the Neapolitan (i, 10), where, however, the story is somewhat differently worked out.

From this point most of the above tales take a different turn from the narrative of Apuleius. The commonest variation is that the abandoned wife wanders through the world in search of her vanished husband and arrives at three different stages, where she finds sympathy and assistance; having found her lover again, at the moment when he is celebrating his marriage to a fresh bride, she persuades her with gifts to allow her to pass three nights in succession in her lover's chamber. Finally, she succeeds in recalling the past to his memory and is reunited to him. The Danish story (i, 1), on the other hand, agrees throughout with Apuleius, as will be seen from the following extract.

When her lover awakes, he says to her: 'Now we must be separated for a long time; you must go forth and leave your (three) children behind. You will be allowed to visit them, but you may not play with them'. A moment afterwards she was standing alone in a dark forest, in which she found her three children in three little houses. On reaching the first and second, she quietly looks on at them while they are playing; but when she comes to the third and he rolls a golden apple towards her, she is unable to resist the temptation of rolling it back. At once the little white dog appears, and tells her she must go and serve the old witch who lives at the edge of the forest. She does so, and the witch, who is about to marry, sends her to her sister in the underworld, to fetch some musicians in a box. The dog now appears again and gives her advice; she is to go straight on till she comes to a bridge, on which she is to put a loose plank in its place and then cross over; after this, she is to hang the little door properly which swings on a single hinge, and go through, when she will come to the underworld; in the court she will see a dog barking round a firkin of butter which is turned upside down, which she must set right; the witch will offer her cake and wine, but she must neither eat nor drink. She does everything as she is told, and when the witch goes to fetch the musicians, she hides

the cake offered her in her wallet (*maus* = 'wallet' and 'stomach') and pours the wine over herself. When the old woman returns and asks, 'Cake, where art thou?' the cake replies, 'In the girl's *maus*', and the wine cries out 'Right down the girl'. The old woman now gives her the box and tells her not to open it; when the girl has gone the witch calls upon the dog, the little door, and the plank to bite and squeeze and push her into the water, but they refuse, since the girl has done them a kindness. So she gets back to the wood without accident, when she is overcome by the desire to know whether there really can be musicians in the box; she lifts up the lid a little, they fly out, but the little dog comes up and sends them in again. She takes them to the witch, who says, 'Now you shall prepare for the wedding'. The witch then gives her a card of black wool, which is to be washed white, and some linen to wash, amongst which is her lover's shirt with the three grease-spots. In the first and second tasks she is assisted by the little white dog. The witch, in her rage, bursts into a thousand pieces, the little white dog again becomes a handsome prince, and so on.

Thus the Danish story differs in the number of the tasks set (only three instead of the four in Apuleius), and also in their nature and order: however, in the washing of the white wool black we can recognize an echo of the collecting of the gold wool in Apuleius. But the descent into the underworld affords some striking parallels. As in Apuleius Psyche is given a box (pyxis) to fetch the beauty-ointment for Venus, so the deserted wife is sent with a box to the witch's sister in the underworld, to fetch musicians for the wedding. The quieting of Cerberus with the *polenta* may be compared with the propitiation of the dog by setting up the firkin that has fallen down. In Apuleius the tower warns Psyche neither to sit down nor to partake of the sumptuous banquet (*prandium opipare sumere*), in the Danish tale the little white dog gives a warning against taking cake or wine. As Psyche on her return is unable to restrain her curiosity and opens the box, from which a stupefying vapour ascends, which wraps her in Stygian sleep, from which she is awakened by Cupid, so here the wife opens the box, the musicians fly away, and are brought back by the little dog.

Two variants of the Swedish tale are attached to the Danish version. In i, 2 A var. 3 the wife on her wanderings meets an old woman, who gives her a ring, a cushion, and two hams. One of these she gives to a bear, who in return takes her over a large piece of water. She then comes to the palace of the evil witch and enters her service. She has first to sweep the floor till it is as white as snow; in this she is assisted by the wolf-prince, to whom in return she gives the ring; she is next sent to the witch's sister to hear tales (*för at höra sagor*). The prince again gives her good advice: she must give the cushion to the lattice that it may not squeeze her, and the second ham to the dogs, that they may not tear her to pieces. Thus she escapes all dangers, returns in safety, and the prince's deliverance takes place.

As to the second variant of i, 2 C, the editors state that it agrees with the text except in the conclusion, which, where the princess makes ready to search for her husband, agrees with the second part

of 14 B (*The King's Son and the Princess Singorra*). In this tale, which is found in two variants (of which A is entitled *The King's Son and Messeria*), a prince, like the princess in our tales, falls into the hands of a lady of the sea, who sets him to perform difficult tasks, which he does with the aid of her daughter (Messeria or Singorra). In 14 A he has (1) to wash black yarn white and white black; (2) to separate a barrel of wheat and a barrel of rye which are mixed together; (3) to cleanse an ox-stall of 100 oxen. After he has performed these tasks by the aid of Messeria, he is told to choose one of the daughters of the lady of the sea; he will then be allowed to return home. But Messeria has told him that the daughters of the lady of the sea would be changed into different animals, and that she would become a little cat. So he selects the right one; the lady of the sea then sends him to her sister, to fetch the wedding dress for the young bride. Messeria again advises him how to escape the dangers that threaten him; here the lattice-gate of the Danish tale recurs; two vultures, which he must quiet with pieces of meat, take the place of the dogs; similarly, he is forbidden to eat or drink anything from the sister's hands. He escapes all perils, obtains the box and opens it, when a shower of sparks shoots out, which he fastens up again with the assistance of Thumbings, and so on.

In no. 14 B the three tasks are different, the dangers which threaten him while fetching the wedding things identical or similar. Thus, he divides two cakes that he has taken with him between a bear and a wolf which threaten to gobble him up, but only seats himself on a particular (black) chair belonging to the witch, whereas Psyche is advised to sit only on the ground, touches nothing that is offered her and conceals them as in the Danish tale.

Consequently, in this case we have, in addition to the washing the yarn white, Psyche's first task, the separation of certain grains, then the quieting of the warders of the underworld with cakes, etc., the choice of a particular seat and abstaining from food and drink. Finally, the box and its opening recur.

Thus we find very essential features of the second part of the Roman tale preserved in the Scandinavian group; of the four tasks two are almost identical, one at least is akin to that in Apuleius, and the last, not yet referred to, the third in Apuleius, seems to me to have left its traces in the Icelandic tale. Psyche has to fetch water in an urn from the Stygian rock, but its enormous height and slipperiness (saxum immani magnitudine procerum et inaccessa salebritate lubricum), the wild rock-springs and fierce dragons, make her shrink back in terror; then the eagle of Zeus flies up and fetches her the water. Similarly, in the Icelandic tale, the young wife arrives at the third stage, an enormous mountain, whose steep ascent is as smooth as glass (the glass-mountain of other tales). Her helper furnishes her with frostnails for climbing and winds a cloth round her head, to prevent her seeing or hearing the marvels and horrors of the place. In this manner she successfully attains her end. Further, in a Polish tale in Lewestam (p. 117), a student is carried on to the mountain of glass by a hawk, which takes him for dead and sticks its claws into him; Çaktideva in Kathāsaritsāgara (p. 26, 30) is carried aloft by a bird to the golden city of the Vidjādhara, and

similarly in Conon (*Narrations*, 35) a shepherd who has descended a ravine, by a vulture. This makes it probable that Apuleius employed a similar feature in his own manner in the construction of the third task.

A. KUHN.

Recently published sources have but little to add to the above. With the stories discussed under I three Italian tales are connected; no. 14 of the *Novelline di Santo Stefano, raccolte da Angelo de Gubernatis* (Turin, 1869); nos. 15 and 27 in the *Sicilianische Märchen, aus dem Volksmund gesammelt von Laura Gonzenbach* (Leipzig, 1870): also no. 2 in de Gubernatis may have originally belonged here. Of the tales discussed under II we have two remarkable variants in Nos. 9 and 77 of the Gonzenbach collection; a special class of this group is formed by the versions connected with no. 13, which have been discussed by Reinhold Köhler in his notes to no. 12 in Widter-Wolf's *Volksmärchen aus Venetien (Jahrb. für roman. und engl. Litt., vii)*, to which may be added Gonzenbach, nos. 42 and 43.

ERNST W. A. KUHN.

The most recent and the most exhaustive survey of kindred folktales has been given by Emmanuel Cosquin, independently of the above, in his frequently quoted *Contes populaires de la Lorraine* (1886), in the notes to 63 (*Le loup blanc*, ii, 217-230) and 65 (*Firosette*, *ib.*, 236-245), the wealth of material being increased by contributions from different countries; see also his *Essai sur l'origine et la propagation des contes populaires européens* (i, pp. xxii and xxxii).

On the other hand, Andrew Lang, in his introduction to the reprint of William Adlington's translation of *Cupid and Psyche* (1887), attempts to explain its similarity to so many tales of the most different peoples by the fact that the fundamental *motifs* of the narrative are founded partly upon universal human notions (mother-in-law's jealousy of daughter-in-law, punishment of curiosity, etc., p. xxxi), partly at least upon very widely spread ideas, such as that of the friendly assistance which animals can render to men (p. xxxviii); also the belief that living beings can descend into Hell and return safely, provided they have not tasted of the food of the dead, is found amongst the Ojibways and Maoris, in Melanesia and Finland, as well as in Greece (p. xxxvi). Lastly, the essential incident of the Apuleian tale, the prohibition to inquire after the husband's form, is derived by Lang from the imposition by belief or custom of 'a kind of marriage taboo', of certain restrictions on the intercourse of newly married couples, just as in ancient Sparta the young married man might only visit his wife by night (p. xlii).¹

The last explanation is the least convincing. The world of the popular tale is throughout imaginary; not the least part of its charm, as well as of its character, is its complete independence of the premises of reality, indeed, its contrast to them. Also that motive has entirely the character of a fiction, not that of a reminiscence, however distorted, of something real.

Moreover, the fact that certain ideas are common to many or all peoples by no means justifies us in expecting to find them em-

¹ This is examined in detail by Lang in *Custom and Myth* (1884), pp. 64-86, which, however, is unknown to me.

played everywhere in an equal degree as motives of the popular tale. Perhaps we should rather expect the opposite, since in the case of each individual people they are connected with other ideas which are peculiar to it alone.

But lastly, the points of agreement in the tales of so many peoples of Asia and Europe are so numerous and substantial, that they can only be explained by the assumption of a common origin, and Benfey's view, that they for the most part come from India, has rightly been widely accepted.¹

It is true that customs and ideas, of so singular a kind that their recurrence would seem to be impossible unless they were transferred, are found in countries in different parts of the earth, between which there can never have been communication (Peschel, *Völkerkunde*, pp. 22-27). This fact, however, can do no more than make individual striking similarities in the fictions of the most different stocks appear spontaneous,² but cannot explain the thorough agreement in the principal motives and their combination, of the European and Asiatic tales hitherto examined.

Thus, certain similarities between a Zulu tale in Lang (p. lxxviii) and the tale of Amor and Psyche do not justify the conclusion, that the elements of the latter were common to the whole human race in an earlier state of society. A girl undertakes a dangerous journey to a distant place. After an adventure of the 'swallowing (Kronos) class', she reaches the kraal, where she is to be wedded; but the bridegroom is missing. The young man, on whom her heart is set, the youngest prince, had disappeared when a child. The girl remains there. Meat and beer, placed in her hut, are consumed at night by an unseen being (as a matter of fact the lost prince). One night he feels the girl's face in the dark and retires in the morning, without her having seen him, since he forbade her to make a light. On the following night he allows her to touch his person; it is slippery, so that her hands cannot grasp it. His mother had sewn him up in a boa's skin when he was a child, in order to protect him against the jealousy of her rivals, who had brought animals of various kinds into the world; his 'elder brothers' also had tried to kill him out of jealousy. Now that he has become a man, he is set free by the girl's love and placed upon the throne.

Lastly, I will quote from F. Liebrecht's *Amor und Psyche, Zeus und Semele, Pururavas und Urvaci* (in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, xviii, p. 56) the chief arguments for the view there set forth, that the myth of Zeus and Semele rests on the same foundation as the tales of Psyche and Tullisa, and that 'consequently all three are only different versions of one and the same incident. Zeus, like Amor, is unwilling that his beloved should see him in his proper form, just as Basnak Dau does not wish Tullisa to know his name; Zeus and Basnak Dau gratify the curiosity of

¹ Cp. R. Köhler, *Über die europ. Volksmärchen in Weimarer Beiträge zur Litteratur und Kunst* (1865), p. 189; Rohde, *Über griechische Novellistik und ihren Zusammenhang mit dem Orient in Verhandlungen der Rostocker Philologenversammlung* (1875), p. 56; G. Meyer, *Essays und Studien* (1885), p. 222.

² Cp. my essay, *Griechische Mythologie in Deutsche Rundschau*, October, 1887, p. 96.

Semele and Tulisa with the greatest unwillingness. The mother of Basnak Dau corresponds exactly to Hera ; as the latter assumes the form of the nurse Beroe to persuade Semele to make her foolish request, so Basnak Dau's mother's accomplice, Sarkasukis, visits Tulisa in the form of an old woman and persuades her to ask her lover his name ; he pronounces it as unwillingly as Zeus shows himself in his proper form to Semele, for both of them are aware (like Amor) that only misfortune can follow the granting of the request, although Zeus feels himself compelled by his oath and Basnak Dau by a higher power to grant it. Consequently, Semele, Psyche, and Tulisa act contrary to the wish or command of their lovers, and all three have to undergo punishment, but only for a while ; when it is over, Semele and Psyche ascend to Olympus, Tulisa becomes queen and is reunited to her lover as Psyche to Amor. We may here inquire whether, in the older version of the Psyche myth, Psyche's punishment was not death like Semele's ; her long life and search, in the course of which she herself has to go down to Proserpina in the underworld, may perhaps contain a hint of this'.

Another series of myths or tales (to which the Urvaçi-myth forms the transition) is also discussed, in which the wife or beloved disappears from the man, since he desires to see her (naked) in spite of her prohibition ; but its consideration, as any further prosecution of the subject in the domain of comparative mythology, is beside my purpose, and beyond my range.¹

[I am indebted to Dr. Andrew Lang for the following communication.—Tr.

I am not sure that I understand Dr. Friedländer's objections to my view that close resemblances in the *Märchen* of races most widely sundered in space, speech, and civilisation are the result of the uniformity of human nature, and of human superstitions, as in certain nuptial taboos. For Cupid and Psyche I may refer to my essay on the subject in *Custom and Myth*. The close resemblances in the construction and plots of *Märchen* are not confined to the tales of Europe and Asia ; they extend to those of the Egypt of the fifteenth century B.C., and are common in North and Central American, Samoan, and Maori *Märchen*. To derive these last from India is more than hazardous. Since the date (1888) when Dr. Friedländer's excursus was written, great additions have been made to our knowledge of savage *Märchen*. But the question as to how they so closely, in several cases, resemble those of Europe and Asia in plot, remains obscure.

A. LANG.]

XVIII. THE USUAL AGE OF GIRLS AT BETROTHAL AND MARRIAGE.

(Vol. I, p. 232, l. 27.)

BETROTHAL frequently took place long before marriage. Dio, liv, 16 : ὡς δ' οὐν βρέφη τιτὲς ἐγγυώμενοι, τὰς μὲν τιμὰς τῶν γεγαμηκότων ἔκαρ-

¹ Zinzow's *Psyche und Eros* : ein milesisches Märchen, in der Darstellung und Auffassung des Apuleius beleuchtet und auf seinen mythologischen Zusammenhang, Gehalt und Ursprung zurückgeführt (1881) is based upon views radically different from my own, which have entirely failed to convince me.

ποῦντο, τὸ δὲ ἔργον αὐτῶν οὐ παρείχοντο, προσέταξε μηδεμίαν ἐγγύην ἰσχύειν, μεθ' ἣν οὐδὲ δυοῖν ἐτοῖν γαμήσει τις, τούτέστι, δεκέτι πάντως ἐγγυᾶσθαι τὸν γέ τι ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀπολαύσοντα, δώδεκα γὰρ ταῖς κόραις ἐς τὴν τοῦ γάμου ὥραν ἔτη πλήρη, καθάπερ εἶπον, νομίζεται: cp. lvi, 7 and Suetonius, *Augustus*, 34. Modestinus, *Digg.*, xxiii, 1, 14: in sponsalibus contrahendis aetas contrahentium finita non est, ut in matrimonii: quapropter et a primordio aetatis sponsalia effici possunt, si modo fieri ubi utraque persona intelligatur, id est, si non sint minores quam septem annis. But apparently, during the early empire, girls were frequently betrothed even when still younger. Vipsania Agrippina, daughter of Agrippa and Pomponia, was betrothed to Tiberius before she was two years old (Nepos, *Athicus*, 19). One of Sejanus' daughters, who was put to death after his fall by decree of the senate, was betrothed to Drusus, son of Claudius, who a few days afterwards was choked by a pear; both were still children (Tacitus, *Ann.*, v, 9; Dio, lvi, 11; Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 61 and *Claudius*, 27. On the difference between *destinare* and *despondere* see Nipperdey on Tacitus, *Ann.*, iv, 7). Claudius first betrothed his daughter Octavia (born in 43) to Lucius Silanus (Tac., *Ann.*, xii, 3), and in 49 to Nero (*ib.*, c. 19). Orelli, 2647: Dis manibus Valeriae M. f. Fortunatae vixit annos VIII (not VIII according to Hirschfeld) menses VIII dies XVIII M. Valerius Aniceus vix. ann. XX qui fuit spon(sus) ejus. In Juvenal, iii, 111 the *sponsus levis* appears to be still living in his father-in-law's house.

Although the proper marriageable age was not till the end of the twelfth year and puberty did as a rule not begin till the fourteenth (cp. the passage quoted below from Macrobius, *Comm. in Somn. Scip.*, i, 6, 70), girls were sometimes married even younger. Plutarch, *Lycurgus et Numae Comp.*, 4. 2: τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων δωδεκαετείς καὶ νεωτέρας ἐκιδόντων· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μάλιστα καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ ἥθος καθαρὸν καὶ ἄθικτον ἐπὶ τῷ γαμοῦντι γενέσθαι. But they did not become regular wives till the twelfth year; till then they remained *sponsae*. Pomponius, *l. iii ad Sabin.*, *Digg.*, xxiii, 2, 4: minorem annis duodecim nuptam tunc legitimam uxorem fore, quum apud virum explesset duodecim annos. Ulpianus, *l. xxxiii ad Sabin.*, *Digg.*, xxiv, 1, 32 § 27: si quis sponsam habuerit, deinde eandem uxorem duxerit, quum non liceret, an donationes quasi in sponsalibus factae valeant, videamus. Et Julianus tractat hanc quaestionem in minore duodecim annis, si in domum quasi mariti immatura sit deducta; ait enim hanc sponsam esse etsi uxor non sit. Ulpianus, *l. ii de adulteriis*, *Digg.*, xlviii, 5, 13 § 8: si minor duodecim annis in domum deducta adulterium commiserit, mox apud eum aetatem excesserit coeperitque esse uxor, non poterit iure viri accusari ex eo adulterio quod ante aetatem nupta (? nuptiarum) commisit, sed vel quasi sponsa poterit accusari ex Rescripto Divi Severi, quod supra relatum est. Octavia, daughter of Claudius and Messalina, was in her twentieth year when she was murdered (A.D. 62; Tac., *Ann.*, xiv, 64); consequently, she was eleven when she married the sixteen-year-old Nero (A.D. 53; Tac., *Ann.*, xii, 58). Examples of such marriages are also found in inscriptions, some of which have been collected by Fabretti. *Inscr. dom.* 586 C (at Rome, epitaph on a wife, who died at the age of 22, and had

been married 12 years, 30 days) : 586 E (epitaph on a wife who died aged 11 years, 1 month, 26 days—*sched. Barb.*) : 325 H (cum qua vixit annos xxxxi tulit annos lii, Venice). A ten-year-old wife in *CIL*, v, i, 630. Jahn, *Spec. epigr.*, p. 84 : D. m. Sabinae Carpus Ac. (?) conjugis suae incomparabili fecit cum quem convixit ann. xx m. v quae vixit an. xxx m. vi. *Anthologia latina*, ed. Meyer, 1370 (Muratori, p. 1689) : Julia C. l. Aphe virguncula annorum xi deducta jam ad C. Julium Apollonidam pia et sancta suo et parentibus vixit annos xv. {Murat., 1368,9 (= Orelli, 2653) : D. m. Luciae Redemptae vixit annis xxxv N. Cassicius Phoebus fecit conjugi benemerenti cum qua vixit ann. xxxviii. Orelli, 2654 = *CIL*, vi, 3, 18412 (marriage at the age of eleven). *CIL*, iii, i, 3572 (Aquincum) : hic sita sum matrona genus nomenque Veturia, Fortunati conjux de patre Veturio, nata ter novenos (misera) et nupta bis octo per annos, unicuba, unijuga, quae post sex partus uno superstite obii. *Bull. comun. di Roma*, 1877, p. 174, 158 = *CIL*, vi, 3, 21273 : Dis m. L. Licinius Lucrio Telesphoridi conjugi carissimae bene merent. fecit cum quaa (*sic*) vixit an. xiii. Vixit ann. xxxiii. *CIL*, ix, 900 = *IRN*, 1020 (Luceria) : Vitoriae Urbice—vixit. a. xxxxi con conjugue xxx a. *Ib.*, 3710 (Marruvium) : que vixit ann. xxxi m. vi NN. cum qua vixit ann. xxiii m. xi. *Ib.*, x, 1, 155 = *IRN*, 404 (Potentia) : died at the age of 38 years and 9 months, having been married 27 years and 11 months. *CIL*, ix, 3011 (Ortona) : married at the age of 11 years and 6 months. *Oesterreich. Mittheil.*, viii, 1884, p. 11, 24 (Salona) : at 10 years. Gruter, 710, 3 (Rome) : Ti. Claudio Chrysanthio vix. an. xi fecit Helvia Salvia conjugii suo. b. m. and 788, 8 = Muratori, 1357, 4 (where also an eleven-year-old husband is mentioned) cannot be correct.

We may assume fourteen to have been the average age of girls at marriage, as is expressly stated by Epictetus, *Encheiridion*, 40 : αἱ γυναῖκες εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ἐτῶν κυρίαί καλοῦνται. τοιγαροῦν ὁρῶσαι ὅτι ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν αὐταῖς πρόσεστι, μόνον δὲ σιγχοιμῶνται τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἀρχονται καλλωπίζεσθαι. We must also certainly assume that as boys (*pueri alimentarii*) were supported in the charitable institutions up to the age when they were able to earn their living,¹ so the girls (*puellae alimentariae*) were kept till they were old enough to claim the care of a husband. The institution founded by Caecilia Macrina at Terracina was for the support of boys up to the age of 16, of girls up to 13 (*BdI*, 1869, p. 153 = *CIL*, x, 6328) ; that of a certain Publius Licinius Papirianus at Sicca Veneria (Africa, about A.D. 177 ; Henzen, *BdI*, 1863, pp. 140, 231 = *CIL*, viii, 1641), for boys from 3 to 15 and girls from 3 to 13. Hadrian fixed the age for boys at 18, and for girls at 14, which was confirmed by Caracalla (imperator noster in Ulpianus l. ii *Fideicommissorum*, *Digg.*, xxxiv, i, 14 § 1). Literature supplies examples from different periods of these early and even earlier marriages. Agrippina, Nero's mother, born on the 6th of November, 16, married Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus in 28, when hardly twelve years old (Preuner, *StRE*, i², 613) ; Augustus' daughter Julia,

¹ These regulations by no means contradict the higher average ages of men at marriage assumed in vol. i, p. 233.

born in 39 B.C. married M. Marcellus in 25, in her fourteenth year (Höck, *R.G.*, i, 343, 347). Agricola's daughter, whom he betrothed to Tacitus during his consulship (76) and gave her to him in marriage in the following year (ac post consulatum collocavit, Tacitus, *Agric.*, 9), was born while Agricola was quaestor in Asia (65; cp. Tacitus, ed. Haase, 1855, p. viii); consequently, she can hardly have been more than 13 at her marriage). The daughter of Minucius Fundanus died before she had completed her thirteenth year, shortly before her marriage. In 33 Tiberius, after long consideration, found husbands for Julia and Drusilla, the daughters of Germanicus, postquam instabat virginum aetas (Tac., *Ann.*, vi, 15). Julia was born in 18 (*Ann.*, ii, 54), and was thus about 15 years of age; Drusilla perhaps two years older (*Ann.*, ii, 41; Suetonius, *Calig.*, 7). Aemilia Lepida (born 2 B.C.) was the daughter of Augustus' granddaughter Julia (born 18 B.C.), who thus had married when 15 (Mommсен, *Ephem. epigr.*, i, 57): cp. Ausonius, *Epitaph.*, 32, in tumulum sedecennis matronae, who had died a mother. Quintilian's wife died nondum expleto aetatis undevicesimo anno duos enixa filios (*Inst. Or.*, vi, proem. 4), who were not twins (filius minor, *ib.*, 6); consequently she cannot have been more than 17 at the time of her marriage.

Here follow a number of inscriptions, in which the age of women at marriage is either directly stated, or can be arrived at by deducting the years of their marriage from those of their life. They are nearly all from Italy, and a large proportion have been communicated by Messrs. Nissen and Hirschfeld, who have specially investigated the matter.¹

Age at marriage	12-13	in 15 inscriptions.
"	" 13-14	" 18
"	" 14-15	" 17
"	" 15-16	" 14
"	" 16-17	" 10
"	" 17-18	" 7
"	" 18 and over	" 31
Maidens who died between the ages		
of 12 and 19 and 10 months	11	"

There is no reason to assume that a larger collection would give essentially different results. No doubt many, if not the majority, of the women who are recorded as having married when more than eighteen years old, had been already married before that age. Naturally, the earlier marriages would only be exceptionally mentioned in their epitaphs: as *CIL*, v, 2, 7453 (Vardagate): epitaph on a woman who died at the age of 36, who had been twice married, the second time at the age of sixteen.² It must also be remembered that most of these women belonged to the middle and lower classes, whose poverty, want of a dowry, etc., would be more likely to postpone marriage than in the case of the upper classes, amongst whom marriage soon after the completion of the twelfth year was pro-

¹ [The references to the actual inscriptions are not given here, but only the results: the references will be found in the sixth edition of the original work, vol. i, p. 366. Tr.]

² In the inscriptions set up by widowers to their wives earlier marriages are sometimes, but rarely, mentioned (*CIL*, vi, 3, 15488, 20116, 20564).

bably the rule. If we may draw any conclusion as to the Roman practice from Terence, *Eunuchus*,¹ ii, 3, 27, where a young woman is described as being in her prime at sixteen, we must certainly assume a later average age for the earlier times. 'In modern Italy the age of marriage, according to a six years' estimate, has risen to 23 years and 10 months for the woman, and 30 years and 7 months for the man. Marriages before the end of the fifteenth year take place even now, but only in the minimal proportion of 1.29 per 1000 for the female, .02 per 1000 for the male sex. Further, they chiefly occur in Sicily and the southern provinces, where the figure rises to about 2 and .03 per 1000' (Nissen, *Ital. Landeskunde*, p. 411).

I am acquainted with very few epitaphs from the provinces, in which the years of marriage are given in addition to those of life. Unless I am mistaken, the only Spanish inscription with a statement of age is *CIL*, ii, 2752 (Segovia): Herenniae Paternae nurui an. xiv L. Fab. Sigerus. For Africa and Egypt a still earlier age of marriage might probably be assumed.¹ Of course there are exceptions, *Inscr. de l'Algérie*, 3863 = *CIL*, viii, 9686 (Cartenna): Varia Honorata, virgo decora et innocens, que prope novos obiit toros. vixit ann. xxi. *CIL*, viii, 9638 (Zuccabar, Mauret. Caesar.): tradita marito annorum xviii. Also the following from *Inscr. de l'Alg.* in which ages are given: 321 (Lambaesis—quinto decimo anni mariti [read -ae] nomen accepit. 322 (*ib.*—marita an. xvi). 528 (*ib.*—d.m. Clodiae Ligose fecit Antonia filie a. v. mater v. a. an. xvii). 564 (*ib.*—d.m.s. Julia Fortunata v. a. xxviii m. x cum sponso suo an. xii). 727 (*ib.*—died at the age of 16 years and 2 days). 815 (*ib.*—vix. an. L—mecu[m] an. xxx). 2616 (Thibilis—matr[ona] v. a. xv h. s. e.). 3868 = *CIL*, viii, 9670 (Cartenna, a wife of 17 years, 3 months, 19 days, quae brevi ne quidem impleto biennii tempore crudo mortis interventu maritali vinculo disjuncta est). *Ephem. epigr. (additamenta to CIL*, viii), p. 568, 1323 (Ammaedera): Lucilla vix. ann. xiii m. v, ex quo tempore v(ix) ter senum mensum in diem mortis suae cum marito egit. A married couple of Eastern origin (Orelli, 4720: Rome): D. m. Harnes q. vix. an. xx Bariammas conjugii b. m. f. cum qua vix. an. viii et sibi. Of the Jewish inscriptions edited by Garrucci, mostly from the cemetery in Vigna Randanini (*Cimitero degli antichi Ebrei*, etc., Rome, 1862, and *Dissertazioni archeologiche*, ii [1865], p. 150) only three give the age of women at the time of their marriage. *Cimitero*, p. 32: Βερεπυσα αρπυρ (annorum) xvii εκου (?ειχε) μαρτυρουσ μηνσις (menses) xv, *ib.*, p. 50: Sabine conjugii benemerenti que vixit annis xviii dies iii Germanus coiigi benemerenti fecit cum virginium sun^a que vixit annis iii dies iii (Jerome on Joel, i, 8: vir pubertatis, sive ut LXX transtulerunt παρθενικὸς, quem vulgo virgineum vocant, eo quod primus florem virginittatis abstulerit); *ib.*, p. 60: ἐνθάδε κεῖτε Μαρμαρίτα (sic: Margarita), ἥτις ἐξησεν ἐτη ἰδ, μετὰ τοῦ συμβίου αὐτῆς ἐτη δ (?). ἐν ἰρήνῃ ἡ κοίμησις σου. The following (*ib.*, p. 58) also

¹ On the marriage of Moorish, Berber, Arab, and Jewish women in north Africa (at the age of 12-15, sometimes earlier), see Schwarz, *Algerien* (1881), p. 361; Hesse-Wartegg, *Tunis*, pp. 101, 165; Maltzan, *Drei Jahre im Nordwesten von Afrika* (1868), i, 251; iii, 44, 240.

^a *I.e.* fecit cum virginio suo = vixit in conjugio.

deserves mention : Μετίτῳ μητρὶ γλυκυτάτῃ Δουλικίᾳ θυγάτρῃ ἀνέθηκα ἥτις ἐξησεν ἔτη κθ. (A Δουλικίᾳ παρθένος μελλονύμφῃ occurs p. 69, without mention of age.)

We may assume the same age limits for Greece and Greek Asia as for Italy, without going counter to the earlier custom (in Xenophon, *Oecon.*, vii, 5, the young wife is not yet 15 years old; the recommendations of Hesiod, Plato, and Aristotle [Rein, *StRE*, iv, 1648] prove nothing as to the actual practice). In Longus' romance Daphnis and Chloe at the beginning of the narrative are respectively 15 and 13, at their marriage at most 16 and 14 years of age; there are special reasons why the daughters of the Messaliote Zenothemis (Lucian, *Toxar's*, 24) and of Germanos (Procopius, *Anecdota*, 5) were unmarried at eighteen. No doubt, however, marriages at this and even at a later age were by no means uncommon (a nineteen-year-old wife in Lebas-Waddington, v, 116 [Teos]; a maiden who died at 15, ii, 85 [Crommyon]). Greek physicians give 14 as the age at which menstruation begins. T. Gomperz (*Ein Brief Epicurs* in *Hermes*, v, 393, 1) quotes the following from Soranus of Ephesus, *De muliebribus affectibus*, 4, ed. Ermerins, p. 20, 10 : τὸ δὲ ἔμμηρον ἐπιφαίνεται τὸ πρῶτον περὶ τὸ τεσσαρεςκαιδέκατον ἔτος κατὰ τὸ πλείστον ὅτε καὶ τὸ ἥβαν καὶ τὸ διογκοῦσθαι τοὺς μαστοὺς : cp. p. 41, 15 and a very similar passage from Paulus Aegineta (reign of Constantine Pogonatus, 668–685) : ταῖς πλείστας ἢ καθαρὰς γίνεται περὶ τεσσαρεςκαιδέκατον ἔτος, ὀλίγαις δὲ θάσσον, κατὰ τὸ τριςκαιδέκατον ἢ δωδέκατον, ὅκ ὀλίγαις δὲ βράδιον τῶν δεκατεσσάρων. ἐτῶν (iii, sect. 60, Basle edition, p. 113, 44). The statement of Soranus, who practised at Rome under Trajan and Hadrian (Ermerins' *praef.* v) : εὐφύως δὴ πρὸς σύλληψιν διακείσθαι σημειώτιον τὰς ἀπὸ πεντεκαδεκαετοῦς ἡλικίας ἕως τεσσαρακονταετοῦς κατὰ τὸ πλείστον (p. 43, 4), would certainly have applied to other women besides Greek. Yet, from inscriptional and other evidence, we may assume that they were frequently married a considerable time (often two years) before puberty, just as the Roman women, of whom Macrobius expressly says (*Comm. in Somn. Scip.*, i, 6, 70) : post annos bis septem—purgatio feminarum—de (tutela) tamen propter votorum festinationem maturius biennio absolvuntur. Girls in modern Greece frequently marry at an equally early age. Fahrenheid (*Reise durch Griechenland* [1841], p. 24) saw young wives of 13 with children at the breast. The following are the age specifications known to me. *CIG*, 3118 = Kaibel, *Epigr.* 227 (epitaph on a 14-year-old maiden at Teos) : ἐν δὴ ἐλαχον σῆμα τὸδ' ἀπὲ γάμου. *Anthol. Graeca*, ed. Jacobs, ii, 5 (epigram of Perses, VI—older than Meleager—on the death of a girl of 14 before her marriage); ii, p. 175 (Leonidas Alexandrinus, under Nero, VII) : γρήνῃ ἐγγυε Φιλίνος, ὅτ' ἦν νέος ἥνικα πρέσβυς, Δωδεκέτιν. ii, p. 182 (*ib.*, XXXVIII, a father mourning for his daughter) : κατέστνε δ' οὐχ Ὑμεναίω, ἀλλ' Αἰδᾷ νύμφαν δωδεκέτιν κατὰγων. According to Phlegon, *Mirabilia* (Müller, *FHG*, iii, 618) in the year 45 a maiden of 13 years, shortly before her marriage, changed into a man. *Ephem. epigr.*, v, p. 29, 51 (Ancyra in Galatia, second half of the second century) : conjugii b.m. ann. xv mens. v dieb. xviii quae partu primo post diem xvi relicto filio decessit. *Oester. Mitth.*, viii (1884), p. 11, 24 (near Kustendje) :

ἡλικία δὲ ἐτῶν ιγ. In Greek epitaphs the years of marriage are never given, except in the case of a few Greek women who died in Rome; but for these instances we may draw conclusions as to Greece:—

Age at marriage, 12 years, <i>CIG</i> , 6631	
" " 13 " " 6252	
" " " " " 6263	
" " " " " 6462	
" " 15 " " 6437	

In northern and north-western countries girls of course married later (Tacitus, *Germ.*, 20: nec virgines festinantur). I can only cite two inscriptions from Lugdunum: Orelli, 4803 = Boissieu, *Inscr. d. L.*, 429 (age at marriage over 13) and Henzen, 7376 (age 16); one from Arelate (Henzen, 5223 = *CIL*, xii, 690: died at the age of 14 years, 2 months, 5 days); *CIL*, xii, 2398 (Augustum): died at the age of 34, quae mecum vixit ann. xx m. x d. xii; one from Celeia (Gruter, 839, 12: thirty-year-old mother of a fifteen-year-old daughter); from Siscia (*CIL*, iii, 1, 3989: a woman who died at the age of 39, who had been married 19 years, 9 months); from Carnuntum (*Ephem. epigr.*, iv, 155, no. 532: twenty-four-year old mother of a ten-year-old son); from Brigetio (*CIL*, iii, 1, 4314: over 17 years); and two from Dacia (*CIL*, iii, 1, 866 [Napoca]: D. m. Aurelia Marina vix. ann. xvii Aur. Marinius, fil. ejus vix. anno i; *CIL*, iii, 1, 1315: vixit annis xxvi efecit (*sic*) in matrimonio ann. xi m. x). The British sepulchral inscriptions contain no age specifications. Further, Weinhold (*Die deutschen Frauen*, p. 91) observes: 'Amongst the Lombards marriages of twelve-year-old boys and girls were perfectly valid, and similarly according to Saxon and Frisian law; also in the French feudal law twelve was a regular age for the marriage of a girl'. 'In general, fifteen appears to have been the usual age for marriage according to Norwegian law'. Moldavo-Wallachian girls as a rule are already married at thirteen (*Land und Leute in Rumänien in Preuss. Jahrbücher*, July, 1866, p. 72); the princess of Montenegro was married at thirteen and a half (S. Kapper, *Montenegrinische Skizzen in Deutsche Rundschau*, December, 1876, iii, 363). The Saxon girls in Transylvania (according to Bergner, *Siebenbürgen*, 1884) often marry between fourteen and fifteen.

Cavedoni, in *Dell' età consultata nelle nozze degli antichi Cristiani* (from which I have here borrowed something; cp. *Acad. Alb.*, ii, 1864), exhaustively proves that the custom of girls marrying at or soon after the age of puberty continued to exist in Christian times. 1 Corinthians, vii, 36: ἐὰν τις ἀσχημονεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν παρθένον αὐτοῦ νομίζει, ἴαν ἢ ἐνέτακμος καὶ οὕτως ὀφείλει γίνεσθαι, ὃ θέλει ποιεῖτω, οὐχ ἁμαρτάνει· γαμεῖτωσαν, leads to no conclusion. Canon law fixes female puberty at 12, male at 15 years, and the inscriptions in the catacombs confirm the continuance of early marriages in the case of females. Cavedoni found mention of 8 females who were married between 12 and 13, 9 at 13, 11 at 14, 16 at 15, 13 at 16, 11 at 17, 9 at 18, 8 at 19, 9 at 20, 6 at 21, 5 at 22; a few married later. Some of the older of the above may have been married before. *CIL*, v, 1, 4850 (Christian inscription at Brixia; age at marriage 15): *ib.*, 1620, 1636, 1647,

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1678, 1710 (Christian inscriptions at Aquileia; age at marriage 16 to 21). A number of Christian inscriptions (Boldetti, p. 385, 417, 461; Fabretti, 269, 130) show that girls under 12 married, but of course were not regarded as legitimate wives until after the completion of their twelfth year. Here may be mentioned the inscription from De Rossi, *Inscr. Christ.*, 107, wrongly doubted by Cavdoni (p. 18): Constantiae benemerenti Birginus castae conpari cum qua fecit annis viii que vicsit annis xviii menses viiii dies xvii, ibit in pace vi kal. Decembres Limenio et Catullino cons. (A.D. 349); cp. the editor's note. Augustine, *Confessions*, vi, 13, 23: jam petebam (uxorem—Mediolani), jam promittebatur, maxime matre dante operam, quo me jam conjugatum baptismus salutaris acciperet—puella petebatur cujus aetas ferme biennio minor quam nubilis erat; et quia ea placebat, expectabatur; *ib.*, ix, 9, 19: (Monnica) ubi plenis annis nubilis facta est tradita viro servivit velut domino. St. Agnes is said to have suffered martyrdom at the age of 12 (Ambrose, *De Virginibus*, 2, 7) or 13 (Augustine, *Serm. de diversis*, 101).

I append two epigrams by Agathias and Paullus Silentiarius (both under Justinian), which give the same results for the Eastern Roman empire.

Agathias, 94 (*Anth. Pal.*, iii, p. 68):—

Ἐπτά με δις λυκάβαντας ἔχουσιν ἀφῆρπασε δαίμων,
ἦν μούνην Διδύμῳ πατρὶ Θάλεια τέκεν.

οἱ μὲν γὰρ γονέες με γαμήλιον εἰς Ἱμέβαιον
μέλλον ἀγειν, στυγεροῦ δ' εἰς Ἀχέροντος ἔβην.

Paullus Silentiarius, 83 (*ib.*, p. 102: ἐπὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ θυγατρὶ, ἥς ὄνομα Μακηδονία):

Λέκτρα σοι ἀντὶ γάμων ἐπιτύμβια, πάρθενε κούρη,
ἱστόρεσαν παλάμαις πενθαλείαις γενέται.

δωδεκῆτιν γὰρ μοῖρα, Μακηδονίη, σε καλύπτει,
κάλ्लειν ὀπλοτέρην, ἥθεσι γηραλέην.

Anth. Pal., iv, 278 ep. 729^a (of uncertain date):—

Μαρκέλλης τάφος εἰμὶ· τίς αὐτῇ, γράμματα λέξει.
ἀρτίγαμος κούρη εἴκοσιν οὐσ' ἔτιών.

I may further mention that in Petrarch's *De obedientia et fide uxoria mythologia* (a translation of the rooth novella in Boccaccio's *Decamerone*), the daughter of Griseldis, whom the margrave Walter allows to come as his supposed bride, is 12 years old (*Opera*, Basle edition, p. 604). Charlemagne's wife Hildegard, mother of Rotrud, had been married to him in her thirteenth year (Dahn, *Paulus Diaconus*, p. 47). Lucrezia Borgia, born 1480, married Giovanni Sforza in 1493 (Gregorovius, *Lucrezia Borgia*, i, 36, 49). Sixtus the Fifth married the twelve-year-old Mar' Antonio Colonna to the ten-year-old Orsina Peretti (Hübner, *Sixtus V.*, ii, 176). According to Galateo de Lecce (a friend of Pontanus) girls in Terra di Otranto used to be married at 12 (Gothein, *Culturentwicklung Süditaliens*, p. 390). Anna Melanchthon married Georg Sabinus, the first rector of the university of Königsberg, at 14 (*Programm der Universität*

Königsberg, 1874, p. 6). Madame de Caylus, born 1673, married in 1686 (Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries du lundi*, third ed., Paris, 1858, iii, 58); Henriette Herz, born 1764, married in 1779 (Fürst, *Henriette Herz*, p. 25). By the law of the 20th of September, 1792, every lad of 15 and every girl of 13 in France were empowered to contract marriage (Sybel, *Geschichte der Revolutionszeit*, iv, 10). Sadler (*Law of Population*, ii, 281 in Quetelet's *Physique sociale* (1869, i, 181), in a survey of the marriages of English peeresses, gives 32 marriages concluded at the age of 12 to 15, from which 141 children were born; in a survey of the births in the principal charitable institutions of London, 74 marriages between 13 and 16 years, and 376 children. Quetelet himself remarks (p. 381): en Belgique les femmes se marient déjà entre 14 et 16 ans.

XIX. THE USE OF HOMERIC PERSONAL NAMES FOR APPELLATIVES.

(Vol. I, p. 248, l. 17.)

Menelaus, Helena, Paris for husband, wife, and lover. Cicero, *Ad Att.*, i, 18, 5: Nam M. Luculli uxorem Memmius suis sacris initiavit. Menelaus aegre id passus divortium fecit. Quamquam ille pastor Idæus Menelaum solum contempserat, hic noster Paris tam Menelaum quam Agamemnonem liberum non putavit. Martial, i, 62, 5: juvenemque secuta relicto conjuge Penelope venit, abit Helene. Lucillus, *epig.* 9 (*Anthol.*, ed. Jacobs, iii, 30 (ἐἰς γραμματικὸν κεραφόρον):

Ἐξω παιδεύεις Πάριδος κακὰ καὶ Μενελάου,
ἐνδον ἔχων πολλοὺς σῆς Ἑλένης Πάριδας.

(*Penelope.* Martial, xi, 7, 5: Penelope licet esse tibi sub principe Nerva.)

Deiphobus. *Ib.*, iii, 85:—

Quis tibi persuasit nares abscindere moecho?
non hac peccatum est parte, marite, tibi.
stulte, quid egisti? nihil hic tibi perdidit uxor,
cum sit salva tui mentula Deiphobi.

(cp. Virgil, *Aen.*, vi, 494, where also the deceived husband is imagined as Menelaus). (*Cassandra.* Cicero, *De Orat.*, ii, 265: cum S. Titius se Cassandram esse diceret, multos, inquit Antonius, possum tuos Ajaces Oileos nominare.) *Atrides.* Of Domitian: Juv., iv, 65: itur ad Atriden; of the husband, who murdered his wife, *ib.*, vi, 660: si praegustabit Atrides Pontica ter victi cautus medicamina regis. *Talthybius.* Seneca, *Apocol.* 13: incit illi manum Talthybius deorum. *Automedon.* Cicero, *Pro Roscio Amer.*, 35, 98: non suis manibus in curru collocat Automedontem illum, sui sceleris acerbissimi nefariaeque victoriae nuntium; Varro, *Sat. Menip.*, 257 Bücheler: Automedo meus, quod apud Plotium rhotorem bubulcitarat, erili dolori non defuit; Juvenal, i, 60: dum pervolat axe citato Flaminiam puer Automedon, nam lora tenebat ipse; Ovid, *A. am.*, i, 8: Tiphys et Automedon dicar amoris ego; cp. i, 5, ii, 738. *Machaon.* Martial, ii, 16, 5: Quid tibi cum medicis? dimitte Machaonas omnes. *Podalirius.* Ovid, *Remed. Am.*,

313: Curabar propriis aeger Podalirius herbis; Martial, x, 56, 7: Enterocelarum fertur Podalirius Hermes; Firmicus Maternus, *De Math.*, vii, 24: Medicorum Podaliriorum geniturae; *ib.*, 25; Callioporum musicorum geniturae. *Irus*. Ovid, *Tristia*, iii, 7, 42: Irus est subito, qui modo Croesus erat; Martial, xii, 32, 9, Irus tuorum temporum; so in *Vita Gordianorum*, 19: Priamus sui temporis. *Nestor*. Cicero, *Ad Fam.*, ix, 14: non alienum est dignitate tua, quod ipsi Agamemnoni, regum regi, fuit honestum, habere aliquem in consiliis capiendis Nestorem. Although as in some of the other cases the following use of the name is not purely appellative, I may mention its use in the sense of 'old man', although it was probably usual; cp. Juvenal, xii, 128: vivat Pacuvius, quaeso, vel Nestora totum. *Prometheus*. Juvenal, iv, 133: debetur magnus patinae subitusque Prometheus. *Lynceus*. Cicero, *Ad Fam.*, ix, 2, 2: quis est tam Lynceus, qui in tantis tenebris nihil offendat, nusquam incurrat? *Endymion*. Juv., x, 318: Sed tuus Endymion dilectae fiet adulter matronae. *Ucalegon*. *Ib.*, iii, 198: jam poscit aquam, jam frivola transfert Ucalegon (Virgil, *Aen.*, ii, 311).

XX. ROMAN FINDS IN THE NORTH.

(Vol. I, p. 310, l. 7.)

By Dr. Otto Tischler, of Königsberg.

A VERY brisk trade was carried on between the Romans and northern Europe (north Germany, Denmark, south Sweden, and the southernmost part of Norway). Numerous manufactures of Roman origin, especially metallic vessels,¹ and, less frequently, statuettes are to be found throughout this region from Hanover to the Vistula, whereas in East Prussia up to the present only a Roman stewpan and fragments of two tin-plated silver dishes have been discovered. Some of the ornaments, such as dress-pins, buckles, and, later, various enamelled articles point to a direct importation, that is to say, from the frontier provinces of the Roman empire on the Rhine and the Danube. The majority, however, have been manufactured in imitation of Roman models in the north itself, and different districts show different local types. Therefore, in addition to direct importation we must also take into consideration the Roman influence implied by these models, which certainly was all important throughout the north and materially encouraged the artistic skill of the northern barbarians, which is generally rated far too low. We can accurately distinguish the vessels of the early empire (to about the end of the second century) from those of later date. The former are partly far more artistically decorated and often bear trade-marks, which recur in Italy, especially at Pompeii.² While glass vessels

¹ These finds (up to 1880) are described in I. Undset, *Das erste Auftreten des Eisens in Nordeuropa* (German edition, Hamburg, 1882).

² On the Roman stamps and inscriptions on metal vessels and other articles in the north, see Undset, *Iscrizioni latine ritrovate nella Scandinavia* in *Bullettino dell'Istituto di Correspondenza archeologica* (Roma, 1883, pp. 234-236). The difference was first clearly pointed out by Sophus Müller: *En Tidsadskillelse mellem fundene fra den ældre Jernalder i Danmark* in *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed* (Copenhagen, 1874).

of the earlier centuries of the empire occur, though rarely, in the north, glass beads of this period are found in abundance, and in forms which can be accurately classified as to date, but occur, absolutely identical, in the Caucasus and from Egypt to France. In the north they are certainly imported articles, as they were in the greatest part of the world as known to the ancients; in the south also they have been imported from a central source, probably in Egypt.¹ Hence they afford us little information as to the commercial routes, especially as they could easily be transported into the most distant countries, as at the present day to the savage peoples of Central Africa.

But it is not yet clear what kind of productions the Romans received in exchange from the north.

On the trade between the peoples of the south and the north works have been written by Wiberg,² Genthe,³ and v. Sadowski,⁴ the second of which is especially concerned with Etruscan trade. At the time when these publications appeared (1867, 1874, 1877), the archaeological relations of northern Europe and the pre-classical age of Italy were not so well understood as now; hence many articles found in the north were entered in the catalogues as Etruscan importations, which are now recognized beyond doubt as native, or at least northern productions. On finds thus incorrectly judged, on unsafe linguistic and historical foundations, a system of commercial routes has been constructed, which in many respects is opposed to the results of modern research. Sadowski, in particular, has in many cases assumed the roads for eastern Europe only on *a priori* grounds; he goes much into details, but bases his conclusions on foundations that are all uncertain, and sometimes absolutely false. In all three works far too much importance is attached to amber in reference to trade. For in the north undoubtedly imported articles, particularly metal vessels, are frequently found, but not so much in the amber countries as in other regions (*e.g.* the west coast of Jutland); while on the other hand they are hardly met with at all in East Prussian Samland, the chief modern centre of the amber production. We must accordingly assume productions of another kind, as return gifts for the metal articles so common in the north, which we can trace not only radially to the coast, but over extensive tracts of northern Germany.

There is no doubt, however, that amber at different times was greatly in request (see the evidence collected by von Helbig).⁵ Yet we find that the Greeks during the classical period and the Italian peoples (Etruscans, Romans) from about 400 onwards showed

¹ O. Tischler, *Abriß einer Geschichte des Emails*, reprinted from *Schriften der physikalisch-ökonomischen Gesellschaft zu Königsberg*, xxvii (1886), *Verhandlungen*, p. 49.

² C. F. Wiberg, *Der Einfluss der klassischen Völker auf den Norden durch den Handelsverkehr* (German edition, Hamburg, 1882).

³ H. Genthe, *Über den etruskischen Tauschhandel nach dem Norden* (new ed., Erlangen, 1874).

⁴ J. N. von Sadowski, *Die Handelsstrassen der Griechen und Römer* (German edition, Jena, 1877), with which F. Waldmann, *Der Bernstein im Alterthum* (Stettin, 1883) is in complete agreement. For the imported articles in north Germany, see Undset, p. 521.

⁵ W. von Helbig, *Osservazioni sopra il commercio dell' ambra in Atti dell' Acc. dei Lincei*, 3rd ser., *Memorie, classe stor.*, i (1877), pp. 415-435.

little desire for it, although northern gold was much sought after, even before that date, both north and south of the Apennines, where it is found in graves in enormous, though somewhat varying, quantities. The jugs with spouts from Etruria proper belong to the fourth century; they are extraordinarily numerous in southern Germany as far as central Germany and Champagne, but not on the Baltic coast, so that they cannot have reached the north in exchange for amber, but are rather evidences of brisk commercial relations. In the last four centuries B.C., amber is found throughout Germany and France much less frequently than before, so that we cannot assume an increased market for it during this period. It was not till the beginning of the imperial period that north European gold again came greatly into favour in Italy. But while in earlier times only the west coast of Jutland¹ had furnished the south with this valuable material, it was now chiefly supplied from East Prussian Samland, which in the pre-Christian era imported hardly anything from Italy. During the reign of Nero a Roman knight of Carnuntum was sent to these eastern shores to investigate the newly discovered Eldorado,² whence he brought home enormous quantities of amber. But it reached the Romans not so much directly as through the trade between various tribes, being brought by the Germans themselves as far as Pannonia. Nothing has been found to show how far Roman merchants penetrated to the north by way of Bohemia; a cinerary urn with a Roman inscription, said to have been found at Massel in Silesia, which has frequently been regarded as the cinerary urn of a Roman knight, is more than doubtful.³ The most important Roman trade route ran from Carnuntum up the March valley into the district of the Oder, where it branched off to the Elbe and the Vistula. The Rhine route cannot have been nearly so important for east Germany and the amber trade. Wide depressions between mountain ranges and river valleys, large navigable rivers or dry, gently sloping rising ground, leading round the marshes, the risks of which have often been somewhat exaggerated, had been from time immemorial the most natural channels of communication and trade between different peoples. Hence in such districts the inhabitants are more numerous and more prosperous.

The manner in which Sadowski has conjectured the chronological development of trade from the coins occurring in eastern Europe is incorrect. For the period before the empire a supposed find of 40 Greek coins at Schubin (in Posen) was the cause of much confusion, until the investigations of Julius Friedlaender proved the absolute unimportance of this find and the baselessness of the hypothesis⁴ of commercial relations between the Baltic east coast and Greece, especially the Greek colonies on the Black Sea.

¹ C. V. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Alterthumskunde*, ii (Berlin, 1870-1883), p. 476.

² Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxvii, 45.

³ Undset, p. 62.

⁴ First put forward by C. von Levezow in *Abhandlungen d. Berliner Ak. d. Wiss.*, 1833, p. 181. J. Friedlaender's refutation in *Märkische Forschungen*, iii; *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, v, p. 213; *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xiii (Berlin, 1881), p. 234; where he shows that these coins are an artificial mixture of different finds, and that their provenance is probably northern Greece. He further shows that they are for the most part Athenian coins, while Sadowski derives them from Olbia (*Handelsstrassen*, p. 72) and regards them

For the imperial period also, the Roman coins, both silver and bronze, found in such enormous quantities throughout northern Europe, especially East Prussia, must be accounted for quite differently; above all, they appear to have had no connexion with the amber trade. Consequently, at this period amber must have played only a subordinate part, as one of the many articles of exchange. For it is just in the modern amber district that the better Roman articles are scarcely found at all, with the exception of the glass beads which occur everywhere, while they appear in ever increasing quantities from the Vistula to Mecklenburg and Denmark.¹ Now these articles, in conformity with the nature of the carrying trade, might certainly have been kept back amongst the tribes living nearer to the centre; but their occurrence just in the districts lying between both amber coasts would be difficult to explain, unless we are to assume a general trade, comprehending the whole of northern Germany, not however restricted to that limit, but also extending to Sweden and especially to the island of Gotland.

The finds of Roman coins in large numbers in northern Germany,² as already mentioned, play quite a different part from that formerly ascribed to them; in East Prussia, especially, the amber country, which, as regards the first four Christian centuries, has been more thoroughly investigated than any other district of Europe outside the Roman empire, their presence can be most clearly explained;³ it has been proved that they arrived in the district at a tolerably late date, long after the beginning of the amber trade. The single coins found here and there, the majority of them of bronze, are for the most part sepulchral,⁴ and are extremely numerous, even far from the coast. But they only occur in a certain class of graves, mostly of the third century (some at the end of the second at the earliest). For although in the graves of this period coins of the earlier emperors (Trajan, Hadrian) are found, as a rule they are those of the Antonines and the two Faustinas, and in addition, amid precisely similar

as the chief argument for trade relations between Olbia and the lowlands of the Vistula. Similar forgeries (i.e. admixtures of native and foreign articles) are a Greek statuette and Greek coins from the chapel of St. Peter at Koltzen on the gulf of Riga, published in F. C. H. Kruse, *Necrologica* (heft 21) and elsewhere. Their spuriousness is established almost beyond doubt by C. A. Berkholz, *Des Grafen Ludwig August Mellin bisher unbekannter Originalbericht über das angebliche Griechengrab an der livländischen Meeresküste* (Riga, 1875). Greek coins seem really to have been found here and there in the north (Lissauer, p. 57). But their number is extremely small.

¹ In Undset, as above; cp. the contents of the several chapters.

² The relation of these coins to Sweden is clearly explained in O. Montelius, *Die Cultur Schwedens in vorchristlicher Zeit* (German tr. by Appel, Berlin, 1885). On the Roman coins occurring in Scandinavia, especially in Gotland, see O. Montelius, *Remains from the iron age of Scandinavia* (Stockholm, 1869). For West Prussia: A. Lissauer, *Die prähistorischen Denkmäler der Provinz Westpreussen* (Leipzig, 1887), p. 134. For Pomerania: Kühne, *Die in Pommern gemachten römischen u.s.w. Münzfunde*, in *Baltische Studien*, 27 (Stettin, 1877), p. 203. On the finds in other districts of northern Germany: Veltmann, *Funde von Rötermünzen im freien Germanien* (Osnabrück, 1886). For East Prussia, a brief summary in Bender, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des preussischen Geld- und Münzwesens* (Braunsberg, 1878; reprinted from *Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde des Ermlands*, v, 521).

³ O. Tischler, *Das Gräberfeld von Oberhof: Schriften der physikalisch-ökonomischen Gesellschaft zu Königsberg*, xxix (1888), *Verhandlungen*, p. 19.

⁴ [Various objects, such as clothes, jewellery, arms, agricultural implements and tools, toilet articles, food and drink, and coins were placed in the tomb for the use of the deceased in another world. Tr.]

objects, coins of Alexander Severus and Gordianus Pius, down to Philip the Arab ; and it is these later coins, which although not so frequent are yet fairly common, that show by their particularly well-preserved stamp, that they were most recently in circulation. Hence we must take them as the basis of our reckoning, especially as finds in the south establish the fact that during a considerable part of the preceding period coins were not placed in graves. By the side of such sepulchral coins, found in smaller numbers or isolated, large finds have been discovered of bronze, but chiefly silver coins (more than 1000 in one place), which may be regarded as directly imported. Although older coins from the time of Nero onwards are found in these hoards, the latter all extend to the end of the second, but mostly to the beginning of the third century ; hence we see that in addition to the more recent coins quite a number of older ones entered the country, which makes it probable that none of the Roman coins found in East Prussia made their way thither till after 200 or at most shortly before. Hence it would be wrong to draw specific conclusions as to the shifting course of trade from the nature of the coins.¹ Consequently, these coins have no connexion with the east Baltic amber trade that began about the time of Nero, which is also confirmed by the fact that they are found in larger numbers in graves north of Memel than in Samland, the amber district proper, where, however, they are tolerably frequent.

In any case the coins did not reach the north till after the Marcomannic war, which may be looked upon as the beginning of the great migration of the nations. At that time the peoples of the north forced their way in greater numbers into the Roman empire and maintained permanent relations with the inhabitants who remained in the country. Hence, all the masses of coins now made their way to the north, as far as Sweden, especially Gotland (where certainly no amber was found) ; and a more or less complete alteration, pointing especially to the south-east of Europe as far as the Black Sea, took place in the form and decoration of ornamental wares, both those that were imported and those that were manufactured in the country. Splendid sepulchral finds of this period, with altered forms of metal vessels and numerous glass vessels of a new style, have been discovered in graves in Scandinavia as far as Seeland (Zealand) and Scania, further in Mecklenburg,² Thuringia, Silesia,³ east Galicia, and north Hungary.⁴ These graves were originally supposed to be genuine Roman graves, whereas the admixture of late Roman and barbaric articles clearly shows that we have to do with native graves. The most brilliant find of this kind is the grave at Sackrau

¹ Hence Sadowski's attempt must be regarded as unsuccessful, and in particular the chronological dating of brooches according to finds of coins (*Handelsstrassen*, p. 178) as absolutely false.

² G. C. F. Lisch, *Römergräber in Mecklenburg* (*Jahrb. d. Vereins für Mecklenburg. Geschichte und Alterthumskunde*, Schwerin, 1870). The assumption is false ; they are not Roman, but German graves. Bibliography of these graves in Mecklenburg and Scandinavia in Undset.

³ Grempler, *Der Fund von Sackrau* (Brandenburg-Berlin, 1887).

⁴ Amongst other places, at Osztrópataka in Hungary : J. Hampel, *Der Goldfund in Nagy Szent Miklós* (Buda-Pesth, 1885), in which work extremely important aspects of the middle and later Roman empire are elucidated.

near Breslau, containing beautiful bronze vessels, gold ornaments, splendid *millefiori* glass dishes, the date of which is shown by a coin of Claudius Gothicus (268-270).

In East Prussia the import of coins ceases almost entirely after the middle of the third century; only a few isolated specimens of the time of Constantine have been found. But several valuable fifth century finds have been made, consisting of East Roman gold coins, mostly as late as the reign of Anastasius (518), in addition to isolated gold coins, frequently found in the low-lying districts of the Vistula, to the north as far as the south of Sweden and the islands of the Baltic.¹ The most easterly find was made at Klein Tromp near Braunsberg, and was unjustifiably connected with an embassy, sent by the Aestyes to King Theodoric. But it is only one of many, which point to the connexion at this late date of north-east Germany and especially Scandinavia with the Eastern Roman empire.

Consequently, although the details still remain obscure, we find that trade was briskly carried on between the north and the Roman empire, and that after the Marcomannic war it took a more and more easterly direction.

XXI. TOURISTS' INSCRIPTIONS ON THE PYRAMIDS.

(Vol. I, p. 362, l. 28.)

A GREEK inscription in the schol. Clem. Alex. ed. Klotz, iv, p. 113 (Osann, *Syll. inscr.*, p. 413):—

Μνήματα Καίφρῳός τε καὶ ἀντιθέου Μυκερῆνου
καὶ Χέωςος κατιδὼν Μάξιμος ἡγασάμην.

The inscription given in Mommsen (*CIL*, iii, 21) as copied by the Lüneburg nobleman Otto von Neuhaus called Wilhelm of Boldensele, who in 1336 undertook a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, was also copied by Felix Fabri, the preacher-monk of Ulm, who twice made the same pilgrimage (1480, 1483). In his *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Aegypti peregrinationem* (ed. C. D. Hassler in the *Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, vol. iii (bibl. vol. iv), p. 43, he says: *Sunt autem duae pyramides valde eminentes, mirae magnitudinis et latitudinis, sicut montes, ita quod a longe visae apparent turres esse. In his invenimus diversas litteras et scripturas nobis ignotas, in uno tamen latere hos subscriptos invenimus versus, insculptos latinis litteris et scriptura. Then follows the inscription with the following deviations from the text of Boldensele: 1, pyramides; 3, memoriam; 4, centanni, pyramis; 5, tyranne; 6, inter. In addition, at the end of the lines the last letters of the words are repeated except in line 6, where, instead of E, S is written (no doubt by inadvertence). Cp. my 'programm' *De titulo latino in pyramide Aegyptiaca insculpto* (Acad. Alb. Regim. 1869, ii).*

The only improvement in Fabri's copy is *pyramis* for *pyramide* (Boldensele) in line 4. For it is probable, as already conjectured by C. L. Grotefend, in *Zeitschrift des hist. Vereins für Niedersachsen*

¹ Collected in Lissauer, p. 134; Montelius, *Remains from the Iron Age*, p. 19; Kühne, p. 126.

an. 1852 (Hanover, 1885), p. 251, that the first word was not *sil*, but *scil*, so that the line ran :—

Scit nomen Decimi Gentiani pyramis alta.

Perhaps the name was carved above or below the inscription. Mommsen has shown (*CIL*, iii, p. 967) that it refers to Terentius Gentianus (from his inscription *CIL*, iii, 1463, from Sarmizegetusa) : . . . (Te)rentio Gentiano trib. militum quaestori trib. pl. pr. leg. Aug. consuli pontif. cens. provinc. Maced. colonia Ulpia Trajan. Aug. Dac. Sarmizegetusa patrono. From this it is clear that the alteration *censoris* (= censoris) in line 6 (Mommsen, Hirschfeld, and myself) is correct. The following is the probable text of the inscription :—

Vidi pyramidas sine te, dulcissime frater,
et tibi quod potui lacrimas hic maesta profudi,
et nostri memorem luctus hanc sculpo querelam.
Scit nomen Decimi Gentiani pyramis alta,
pontificis comitisque tuis, Trajane, triumphis
lustra sex intra censoris consulis esse.

Cp. Mommsen, *StR*, i⁸, 577, 2. Line 3 is a reminiscence of Horace, *Odes*, iii, 11, 50: i secundo Omine et nostri memorem sepulcro Scalpe querellam.

XXII. THE USE OF THE WORD *ROMANTIC* AS APPLIED TO NATURAL SCENERY.

(Vol. I, p 395, l. 19.)

I AM indebted to H. A. J. Munro (died 1886) for a communication, in which he points out that in England the word 'romantic' was used about the middle of the seventeenth century not only of persons (e.g. in Evelyn's *Diary*, 23rd of September, 1680, of Queen Christina of Sweden), but also of natural scenery, and in the modern sense: 'that which fills the mind with wonder and delight, by uniting the strange and uncommon with the beautiful or grand'. The very interesting passages which show the feeling of that age in regard to nature are the following :—

Pepys's *Diary*, 26th of February, 1665 (describing his first visit to Windsor Castle): 'This being done, to the king's house and to observe the neatness and contrivance of the house and gates: it is the most romantique castle that is in the world. But Lord! the prospect that is in the balcone in the queene's lodgings, and the terrace and walk are strange things to consider, beeing the best in the world, sure!' Evelyn's *Diary*, 27th of June, 1654: 'But what appeared most stupendous to me was the rock of St. Vincent, a little distance from the town (Bristol), the precipice whereof is equal to anything of that nature I have seen in the most confragose cataracts of the Alps, the river gliding between them at an extraordinary depth. . . . There is also on the side of this horrid Alp a very romantic seat'; *ib.*, 3rd of August, 1654: 'Hence to Sir Guy's grot (near Warwick) where, they say, he did his penances and died. 'Tis a squalid den made in the rock, crowned yet with venerable

oaks and looking on a goodly stream, so as, were it improved as it might be, 'twere capable of being made a most romantiq and pleasant place'.

In his *Remarks on several parts of Italy*, etc., in 1701-1703, Addison says of the wild country near the little harbour of Cassis (between Marseilles and Genoa), where according to the legend Mary Magdalene spent the end of her life in sorrow amidst solitary rocks and mountains: 'It is so romantic a scene that it has always probably given occasion to such chimerical relations'. Here the word 'romantic' is used as an entirely objective designation of the wild and fantastic, without any idea of pleasure. On the other hand, the use of the word in Thomson's *Seasons* (1729) leaves no doubt that the poet feels attracted by the romantic nature of the scenery. In *Spring* (1025) the lover

restless runs
To glimmering shades and sympathetic glooms
Where the dun umbrage o'er the falling stream
Romantic hangs;

Autumn (789):—

and here awhile the Muse
High hovering o'er the broad cerulean scene
Sees Caledonia in romantic view.

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu is fond of the word 'romantic': to the quotations in vol. i, p. 404 add the letter to Pope (1st of April, 1717): 'I no longer look on Theocritus as a romantic writer; he has only given a plain image of the way of life amongst the peasants of his country'.

According to Breitingen, *Classisch und Romantisch in Gegenwart*, 1885, no. 5, p. 71, the English 'romantic' is derived from the form *romant* for *roman*. In Philips's *New World of Worlds* (London, 1706) 'romantick' is styled a neologism. Up to the eighteenth century the French only knew the word *romanesque* (*Dict. de l'Acad.*, 1694; *romanesque*: qui tient du roman, etc. Madame de Sévigné: je vous écris romanesquement au bord d'une rivière). Saussure and Diderot use the same word: c'est une vue romanesque, dont on suppose la réalité quelque part (Salon de l'année 1767: *Œuvres*, ed. Naigeon, xiv, 188). Marmontel and Rousseau have *romantique* from the English.

Evidently the form *romanisch* was the first that made its way into German. *Neues ausführliches Dictionarium oder Wörterbuch in drei Sprachen; Teutsch, Französisch, und Englisch* (Geneva, 1695); *Romanesque*: fabelhaft, romanisch (cp. Breitingen as above). Kant uses this form only. Although in Schubert and Rosenkranz's edition (xi, 1, 224) *romantisch* is given in a note on Cervantes, I am convinced by an examination of the original MS. that Kant undoubtedly wrote *romanisch*. In his *Beobachtungen über das Gefühl des Schönen und Erhabenen* (1764) Kant speaks of the knights of the Middle Ages as 'eine seltsame Art heroischer Phantasten, welche Abenteuer aufsuchen, Turniere, Zweikämpfe und *romanische* Handlungen' (*Werke*, iv, 461-463); in a note to this treatise (iv, 407) he says: 'When sublimity or beauty exceeds the recognized mean,

it is usually called *romanisch*. Consequently, in the *Anthropologie* (vii^b, 254): '(der Spanier ist) von romantischer Stimmung des Geistes, wie das Stiergefecht . . . beweist', we should read *romanischer*.

According to Ludwig Hirzel (*Romanisch*, in Haupt's *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alt.*, xxvi, 1882, p. 192) *romantisch* first occurs by the side of *romanisch* in the Berne *Speculateur* (to which Haller contributed) of 1734 in an anonymous essay called '*Historie*'. In this the writer says the *historici* are fond of introducing something *romantisches*, and that Curtius borrows *romanische* sentiments from others. In an essay *Romanes* by the same writer authors of romances are sometimes called *Romanisten*, sometimes *Romantisten*. In Haupt's *Zeitschrift*, xxxii, 1888, pp. 223-226) Hirzel also refers to Gotthard Heidegger's *Mythoscopia Romantica* (a discourse on the so-called romance; Zürich, 1698) in which the word *romantisch* (by the side of *romanisch* and *romanzisch*, though much more common than these) already occurs (but not applied to natural scenery). The time at which the word assumed its different forms appears in fact to have been the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century.

That the form *romantisch* found its way from England 'to Germany through Switzerland' is also confirmed by the following communication from S. Hirzel (died 1877):—

'As far as I can ascertain with the help of Tobler and Hildebrand, the earliest passage (in German literature) in which the word *romantisch* occurs dates from 1740. In J. J. Breitinger's *Fortsetzung der Kritischen Dichtkunst*, we find (p. 283): "Je mehr dergleichen Beiwörter in einer Redensart sind, desto schöner und wahrhaftig *romantisch* ist sie auch." In Goethe the word occurs in a letter belonging to the Leipzig period: "Wenn Ihr kleines Stübgen, das so oft der Zeuge unsrer seeligen Trunkenheit war . . . wenn diese liebe *romantische* Höhle nun auch künftig den Schauplatz der Freuden eines neuen Liebhabers abgibt" (Schöll, *Briefe und Aufsätze*, 25).

'It is not improbable that Goethe became acquainted with the word from Tobler's translation of Thomson's *Seasons* (Zürich, 1765), where it first occurred to me to look for it. Thomson's "Where the dun umbrage o'er the falling stream romantic hangs" is translated by Tobler: "Wo die schwarz-braune Umlaubung *romantisch* über den fallenden Strom hängt". Brockes in his translation (1744) gives *romanisch*. In the passages in Thomson's *Summer* (459) and *Autumn* (880) Tobler also uses *romantisch*. The word occurs in Adelung (1777), although he does not seem to have known that the word was of English origin, but connects it with the French *romanesque*'.

But even if the word became naturalized in German literature mainly as the result of translations of Thomson, individual writers may have borrowed it directly from the English. One of these perhaps was Georg Forster, who is fond of the word, e.g. in his *Reise um die Welt in den Jahren 1772-1775* (published 1777), i, 136 (ed. Brockhaus, 1843): 'Der bezaubernde Gesang (der Vögel) machte die Schönheit dieses wilden romantischen Flecks (in New Zealand) vollkommen'.

XXIII. ON THE MEANING OF THE NAMES *VIOLA* (*τοῦ*),
ANEMONE, *NARCISSUS*, *HYACINTHUS*.

(Vol. I, p. 425, l. 9 from bottom.)

By Prof. Ferdinand Cohn of Breslau.

APART from the incompleteness of the information that has come down to us, the chief reason why previous attempts to refer the names of plants in ancient writers have produced such unsatisfactory results, is the inaccurate use of words. Only the language of science endeavours to establish a special name for every kind of plant, which shall be exclusively appropriate to it and distinguish it from all others; and even the language of science did not attain this exactness until the time of Linnaeus. The language of ordinary life does not hesitate to give entirely different names to the same plant at different times, or in different countries, or, *vice versa*, to give the same name to entirely different plants. Thus, for example, the name chestnut (like the German *kastanie*) is given to two totally different trees, *Castanea vesca*, and *Aesculus Hippocastanum*; the Indian fig is a cactus; the sycamore is a fig, *Ficus Sycomorus*, or more commonly a maple, *Acer pseudo-platanus*; while the trees called by Americans and Australians oak, cedar, pine, etc., are quite different from those bearing these names in Europe. It was the same in ancient times, especially in the poets, who always abused their licence to perpetrate all kinds of inaccuracies; the botany of the poets has hardly anything in common with that of the natural philosophers. But, in antiquity, even the latter had no clear ideas of the relation of genus and species; still less did they trouble themselves about expressing this relation in nomenclature as in modern terminology; of Theophrastus and Dioscorides alone can we as a rule suppose that they attached to their plant-names definite conceptions of plants, with which they were themselves acquainted. Certainly, we must not be content, as is usually the case, to pick out single quotations at our own discretion, and to draw hasty conclusions from them; we must collect all the passages in ancient authors, which refer to a plant, arrange them systematically, and compare them with one another and with nature. If this be done, in numerous cases we shall be able to identify the plant in question. This is especially true of the much disputed *violae* (*τοῦ*, *viola*).

1. Theophrastus discusses *τοῦ* under the *ornamental plants* (*σπερματώματα*, plants used for making garlands), which as a rule are shrubby (*φρυγανικά*) and hence are treated of immediately after trees, since like them they are woody (*ξύλῳ*, *Hist. Plant.*, vi).¹ Most shrubs grow wild, only a few being cultivated, such as roses and violets (vi, 1, 1); the latter are propagated from seeds (vi, 6, 11).

The shrubby violets are also called white (*τοῦ τὸ λευκόν*); they have leaves on the stem (*ἐπικαυλόφυλλον*), but no root leaves; the roots are woody (vi, 6, 11); they bloom for a considerable time (vi, 8, 3). There are many varieties of them; they vary especially in colour, although not so much as the lily (*κρίνον*), of which there

¹ [Unless otherwise specified, the references to Theophrastus are to the *Historia Plantarum*. Ta.]

are also said to be purple varieties (vi, 6, 3). The life of the violet plant (*βίος ιωνιάς*) is three years; when old it produces smaller and paler (*λευκότερα*) flowers. The passages here quoted agree perfectly with the interpretation already given by the earliest commentators, that the *white* violet of Theophrastus is the stock, *Matthiola incana*, the *Leukoje* of the Germans.

But Theophrastus is also acquainted with a black violet (*τον τὸ μέλαν*). This is distinguished from the white by the fact that it is not shrubby (*οὐ φρυγανώδες*), but a herbaceous ornamental plant (*στεφανωτικὸν ποιῶδες*, vi, 6, 1); it has only root leaves (*προσριζύφυλλος*), but no stems or branches (*ἀκλῶν*); its leaves are broad (*πλατύφυλλον*), growing close to the ground (*ἐγγειόφυλλον*); the leaves are also alleged to be fleshy (*σαρκόφυλλον*, vi, 6, 7); this is unintelligible, but as Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, xxi, 27) in the parallel passage speaks of a fleshy *root*, probably *σαρκόρριζον* should be read. The roots of the black violet are numerous and bulbous (*πολλὰν ἔχουσα ῥίζαν. κεφαλόρριζα*), and enable it to survive; it grows wild and thrives on poor soil (*De Causis Plant.*, vi, 20, 2): as a rule it is not cultivated like the rose (*ἀγριον, οὐχ ἡμερον καθάπερ τὸ ῥόδον, De Causis Pl.*, vi, 20, 1); if it is cultivated in a particular manner, it is said to bloom throughout the year (vi, 8, 2): *ὥς δὲ τινὲς φασὶ καὶ δυναμένη δι' ὅλου φέρειν τὸ ἄνθος, ἐὰν τρόπῳ τινι θεραπεύηται, τοῦτο μὲν ἴδιον ἂν ἔχοι. τὸ δὲ δὴ μέλαν ἰον . . . δι' ἐνιαυτοῦ θεραπείας τυγχάνειν (διαμένει).*

In the black violet also the flowers alone are sweet smelling; there is, however, only *one* kind, not many varieties as in the case of the white (vi, 6, 3); yet double flowers are found, which contain one flower in the centre of the other (i, 15, 2).

There is no doubt that the *black* violet of Theophrastus is our 'violet', *Viola odorata* L.

But Theophrastus knows of yet a third violet, also white; he does not however call it *τον τὸ λευκόν*, like the stock, but *λευκόνιον*; it is the first of the flowers of spring, in warmer climates it even blooms in winter; it has a little bulb, like *bolbine*, *kyi*, *sisyrinchion*. This is evidently a kind of snowflake or snowdrop, probably the *Leucojum vernum* which is found not only in Central, but also in Southern Europe. Elsewhere certainly Theophrastus states that the *λευκόνιον* has leaves on the stem (vii, 8, 3), which can only refer to the stock. Perhaps the text is wrong, or he has not been consistent in distinguishing *λευκόνιον* and *τον τὸ λευκόν*.

Theophrastus describes the smell of his violets at great length; he has devoted a whole book (vi) of his *Causae Plantarum* to the philosophy of perfumes. Only the blossoms of the violet have a sweet smell (vi, 2), the other parts have none (*Caus. Plant.*, vi, 11, 4); their smell is pleasanter at a distance than near (*C. Pl.*, vi, 17, 1); in time the smell becomes pungent and unpleasant; it does not last when the blossoms are dry, like that of the rose, which certainly when dry cannot be smelt so far off as when fresh (*C. Pl.*, vi, 14, 11). In mountainous districts the smell of violets and roses is not nearly so pleasant (vi, 8, 6). In a very dry and poor soil, and when the air is hot and dry, the violet loses its smell (*C. Pl.*, vi, 20, 2); violets from Cyrene smell the sweetest (vi, 6, 5), while the blossoms are

said as a rule to be scentless in Egypt (vi, 8, 5) ; in that country also roses and violets are said to blossom two months earlier than in Greece ; nevertheless, they last as long or longer (*ib.*).

Pliny's account of the *viola* is for the most part borrowed from Theophrastus ; he also distinguishes the *viola alba* ; it is reared from seeds (*Nat. Hist.*, xxi, 27) ; but he ascribes to the *viola* simply what Theophrastus says of the smell of the white violet ; and, on the other hand, the long period of bloom and the three years' duration to the *viola alba*, which consequently is to be understood as the stock.

Theophrastus' black violet is called *viola purpurea* by Pliny, *τορρυροῖον* by his contemporary Dioscorides, which is not without interest for the history of the designation of colours. Violet-blue clothes are called *vestis ianthina* (xxi, 27 ; in xxi, 45 this chief colour is described as *amethystinus*, the undertone of which passes from violet into purple and violet-blue : *amethystinus qui a viola et ipse in purpureum (sc. trahitur), quemque ianthinum appellavimus*).

According to Pliny the purple violet grows wild (*silvestre*, xxi, 130 ; *sponæ apricis et macris locis proveniunt*, xxi, 27). The ever-blooming and double violets of Theophrastus are unknown to him.

Dioscorides (cxvii) gives a good description of the purple violets, the leaves of which he compares with those of the ivy, and of the very pleasant smelling little blossoms that spring from the centre of the root on long stalks.

On the other hand Dioscorides (xxi) calls the white violet *λευκόνιον* ; he says that it is a universally known shrub, which however does not always bear white, but also purple-red, blue, or yellow flowers.

Matthioli (1554) in his famous commentary on Dioscorides observes that the blue stock is not known in Italy and that the text is perhaps corrupt ; that the other kinds are very common in gardens, and that women are fond of keeping them outside the windows in pots. White and violet varieties of the stock are also generally known among us (in Germany) ; the yellow variety is perhaps the yellow stock (*Matthiola ochroleuca*), which is sometimes found in Italy.

Pliny also speaks of a yellow violet (*viola lutea*) unknown to Theophrastus ; it is reared from seed. Since Pliny and Dioscorides both state that the yellow violets are used especially in medicine (*e sativis maxima auctoritas luteis*, xxi, 27), we may assume that they are speaking of the same plant ; but from their statements we cannot gather with certainty what plant this is, nor the meaning of the other kinds of violets mentioned by Pliny—*maxima*, *Tusculana*, and the scentless *Calatiana* ; the latter flowers in autumn, the others in the spring (*munus autumnæ, ceteræ veris*) ; perhaps the *viola Calatiana* is the same as the *viola serotina*, whose colour is said to be a deep red, the liveliest of the *conchylia* colours (xxi, 46).

The commentators usually identify the yellow *λευκόνιον* of Dioscorides and the *viola lutea* of Pliny with the wall-flower,¹ *Cheiranthus Cheiri* of the botanists. It is nearly akin to the stock, and can be shown to have been cultivated since the fifteenth century in southern

¹ *Ger. Goldlack, Gelbviolen, Gelbveilchen.*

Europe, and on the further side of the Alps as a common ornamental plant in gardens and in pots ; it is also frequently met with, *e.g.* in the Rhine valley, on old masonry, especially in ruined castles, apparently wild, but probably in reality a relic, run wild, of vanished castle gardens. It is also possible that the wall-flower was introduced into Rome at the beginning of the empire, while in Alexander's time it was not yet cultivated ; however, the name by which it was known to the physicians of the Middle Ages and which is concealed in the Linnaean *Cheiranthus*, is not Greek but Arabic, and points to its being an oriental importation. According to my late colleague Schmölder, *Cheiri* or rather *Chairi* is certainly used in Arabic, but is probably of Persian or rather of Sanskrit origin ; in the latter language it is written *Gairi* and means 'growing in the mountains' ; in the Persian lexicon, yellow, white, violet and black varieties of *Chairi* are mentioned, from which it is clear that *Chairi* is identical with *Ion* and *viola* ; the rocket or dame's violet (*Hesperis matronalis*) is also called *Chairi* or *Hairi*.

The ancient authorities contain interesting statements as to the flowering period of their *violae*. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xxi, 64) has translated the passage referring to it in Theophrastus almost word for word :—

Τῶν ἀνθῶν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκφαίνεται τὸ λευκόν, ὅπου μὲν ὁ ἀὴρ μαλακώτερος εὐθὺς τοῦ χειμῶνος . . . ἀμα δὲ τῷ ἰσθμῷ ἢ μικρόν τι ὕστερον καὶ τὸ φλόγιον καλούμενον τὸ ἀγριον· ταῦτα γὰρ ὧν οἱ στεφανηπλόκοι χρῶνται, πολὺ ἐκτρέχει τῶν ἄλλων.

Florum prima ver nuntiantium viola alba, tepidioribus vero locis etiam hieme emicat. postea quae ion appellatur et purpurea, proxime flammum quod phlox vocatur, silvestre dumtaxat.

Consequently in this passage, Pliny by the *viola alba* does not, as elsewhere, mean the stock but the snowflake ; φλόγιον (= *flammeum*) cannot be identified ; it is certainly not the same as the φλόξ of Theophrastus, which is a *scenitless*, cultivated ornamental flower (στεφανωτικὸν ὄσμον, vi, 6, 2, 11 ; cp. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxi, 59). Therefore *flammeum* or *phlox* is certainly not the wall-flower (*viola lutea*), which has a sweet smell.

Amongst the plants that bloom in the late spring, after the cyclamen, narcissus, lily, and oenanthe, Theophrastus again mentions the black violet (τὸ μέλαν ἰον, vi, 8, 1). Here the text is evidently corrupt, since this flower is one of the earliest spring flowers after the snowflake. In Pliny (xxi, 65) the passage runs : sequitur oenanthe ac melanthium (Sillig, melanion ; *vv. ll.*, melianthum, melanthium) ; certainly some other flower is meant.

The following is the result of our investigations.

The meaning of *Ion* and *viola* by themselves is uncertain, and can only be determined from the context : among the Romans, however, according to Pliny *Ion* was applied to *Viola odorata* alone (*Nat. Hist.*, xxi, 27). On the other hand where *violaria* (violet gardens and beds) are mentioned, the stock is certainly meant, which alone (and not the purple violet) appears to have been cultivated in gardens amongst the Romans.

Ion τὸ μέλαν of Theophrastus, *viola purpurea* of Pliny, *Ion πορφυροῦν* of Dioscorides, is the violet (*Viola odorata*).

τὸν τὸ λευκόν, *leuon* of Theophrastus, *viola alba* of Pliny, λευκῖον of Dioscorides is the stock (*Matthiola incana*).

Λευκῖον of Theophrastus is the snowflake (*Leucojum vernum*).

Λευκῖον of Dioscorides, *viola lutea* of Pliny may be the wall-flower (*Cheiranthus Cheiri*), although this is not absolutely certain; the modern and mediaeval name points to a plant of oriental origin, introduced by Persians or Arabs.

It is a remarkable fact that, although the *violae* play a great part in the literature of the ancients, and according to Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xxi, 14, 27) are almost the only flowers (with the exception of roses) used for garlands, their characteristic forms, as far as I know, are not represented in art. In the very complete list of the plants figured at Pompeii (70 species) published by Prof. Comes (*Illustrazione delle piante rappresentate nei dipinti Pompeiani*, 1879), neither stocks nor violets are mentioned.

[To the above I add the following. In the *Lex Collegi Aesculapi et Hygiae* (Wilmanns, *E. I.*, 320, 43-46 — Orelli, 2417) the 22nd of March (xi kal. apr.) is indicated as *dies violaris*, the 11th of May (v Id. Mai.) as *dies rosae* (in Wilmanns 313, also from the city of Rome, the 21st of May is *dies rosationis*, the date of [*dies viola*]tionis has fallen out). No doubt, we cannot in this case decide with certainty whether the *viola*, from which the earlier day took its name, was the violet, or the stock (or the wall-flower). According to Herr Carl Köhler, gardener at the German embassy in Rome, the (uncultivated) violet chiefly flowers there in February¹ and March (also, particularly in gardens, in October and November); the wall-flower and the winter-stock bloom, according to the state of the weather, at the end of March and April, usually about Easter (hence the name *viola di pasqua*); yet in isolated instances there are flowers throughout the winter, especially in sheltered spots (the summer-stock, which is hardly ever cultivated, flowers according to sowing in June or July). But although on the *dies violaris* there were violets as well as stocks and wall-flowers, they were more probably named after the new than the old flowers. Where *violae* are mentioned together with roses and lilies, they can of course be only stocks (or wall-flowers), e.g. Martial, x, 32, 1: haec mihi, quae colitur violis pictura rosisque; Statius, *Silvae*, i, 2, 22: tu modo fronte rosas, violis modo lilia mixta excipis. The many-coloured violets can only be stocks: Juvenal, xii, 90: tura dabo atque omnes violae jactabo colores. L. F.]

On *Anemona* Theophrastus observes that there are several kinds, which grow wild on mountains and in meadows: the first (τὸν ἀγρίων ἀνεμώνης γένος τὸ ὀρεῖνόν καλούμενον) blooms very early, at the same time as the narcissus and the lily; the meadow-anemone (ἡ λειμωρία καλουμένη) later, shortly before the rose (vi, 8, 1). Elsewhere he mentions an anemone, which blooms in winter (vii, 10, 2); its leaves are on the ground (grow immediately from the

¹ The *violae* offered to the Manes (19th-21st of February) are consequently violets; cp. Nissen, *Ital. Landeskunde*, i, 404, according to whom (p. 400) winter in Italy was colder than it is now. But cp. Olck, *Hat sich das Klima Italiens seit dem Alterthum geändert?* in *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 1887, pp. 465-475.

root; vii, 8, 3) and sprout soon after the flowers (vii, 7, 3). He says nothing of an anemone cultivated in gardens.

On the other hand, Pliny and Dioscorides distinguish the wild and the cultivated anemone (*silvestris et in cultis nascens*); the wild has scarlet (*phoeniceus*) flowers and is mistaken for the wild poppies (*papaver, rhoeas, argemone*), from which, however, it is to be distinguished by its earlier flowering, the absence of milky juice and calyx; the cultivated, which is used for garlands (*anemone coronaria*) has scarlet, purple, or milk-white flowers, the first being the commonest. It has smaller leaves than the wild variety, like *apium* or coriander, and rarely grows higher than half a foot (*Nat. Hist.*, xxi, 164, 165). Dioscorides (*C.*, clxxii) gives a more accurate and detailed explanation. However, it is difficult to say which of the many species of anemone are meant by the wild and cultivated anemones of the ancients; certainly *Anemone coronaria* is included, probably also *A. hortensis* and *pavonina*, all of which adorn south European gardens.

Νάρκισσος in Theophrastus is the same as *λείριον* (vi, 6, 9: *οἱ μὲν τοῦτο, οἱ δὲ ἐκείνον καλοῦσι*). The leaves are numerous, narrow, with an oily gloss (*λιπαροί*), similar to those of the asphodel, yet much broader, like those of the *κρινωνιά*—all bulbous plants have narrow leaves (vii, 13, 1). The leaves of the narcissus grow on the ground, the stem is leafless, grass-green (*πρώτης*), and bears only a single flower at the top (vi, 6, 9); only flower-stalks are produced from the fleshy, large, round root (bulb; vi, 6, 9; vii, 13, 2; *C. Pl.*, i, 4, 1); first the flower-stalks are developed, and then later the leaves, the flower is monopetalous, united below, only divided above into angular segments (*ἀποφύσεις γωνιώδεις*) (i, 13, 2); it has a sweet smell; it forms large black seeds in membranous capsules. There are two kinds of narcissus; one flowers in spring soon after the violets (*μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα [τα] ὁ νάρκισσος καὶ [?] ἡ τὸ λείριον*; the other in autumn at the same time as the saffron (*κρόκος*) *μετόπωρον δὲ τὸ λείριον τὸ ἕτερον* (viii, 2, 3) *ὅψιον δὲ σφόδρα· μετὰ γὰρ ἀρκτουρον καὶ περὶ ἰσημερίαν* (vi, 6, 9).

It is highly probable that Theophrastus is here speaking of two species of the genus *Narcissus*; the species, however, cannot be determined, since no colour is given; the kind that flowers in the autumn may be *Narcissus serotinus* L., which flowers in the district of Naples and the neighbouring islands in September, or *Narcissus elegans*, which flowers from September to November in Tuscany, Naples, Sicily, and Corsica. In the *Flora Italiana* of Cesati, Passerini and Gibelli, among winter narcissi, which begin to flower in November and last till January, *Narcissus unicolor, siculus, Bioniae* and *Tazetta* (December–April) are mentioned; on the other hand *N. poeticus* and *Pseudonarcissus* flower in the spring near Naples.

Pliny's account of the narcissus is confused, except where it is borrowed from Theophrastus; according to him, it is a kind of purple lily, often with double stalk (Theophrastus mentions that of the *κρίνον*). Alterum genus flore candido calyce purpureo is certainly *Narcissus poeticus*; tertio generi cetera eadem, calyx herbaceus (grass-green) may be *N. Tazetta* (*Nat. Hist.*, xxi, 25); *calyx* appears to mean the inner crown (tube or paracorolla) of the nar-

cissus. Pliny's statements as to its flowering period are contradictory ; in Greece they flower after the violets (*seriores supradictis narcissus et lilium trans maria*, in Italia post rosam (xxi, 64) ; in another passage : *omnes serotini, post arcturum florent et per aequinoctium autumnum* (xxi, 25). In the parallel passages of Theophrastus different varieties are distinguished.

Dioscorides describes *N. poeticus* very distinctly : in the wall-paintings of Pompeii according to Comes (pp. 42, 43), *N. poeticus* and *Pseudonarcissus* are represented : Comes also identifies Pliny's narcissus with grass-green calyx with *N. Pseudonarcissus*.

In Theophrastus *δάκνθος* is the latest of the spring flowers used for garlands ; it flowers immediately before the rose, grows wild, is cultivated, blooms for a long time, its blooms are coloured, like the Phrygian *amaracus*, which is also called *pothos* (vii, 8, 1-3). This does not tell us much. Pliny, who in the parallel passage (*Nat. Hist.*, xxi, 67) distinguishes *pothos* from *amaracus*, gives the *hyacinthus* a bulb (xxi, 170) ; the veins on the flower show the Greek letters AI, according to the fable a sign of mourning for Ajax or Hyacinthus ; this description, like that of Dioscorides (iv, 63) suits a gladiolus ; yet the latter occurs in Pliny (xxv, 137) also under the name *xiphion* (*ἔλφιον* or *φάσγανον* in Theophrastus, vi, 8 ; vii, 12, 13 ; Dioscorides, iv, 20). Bissinger, who has recently collected all the literature on *δάκνθος*, also thinks of an iris (*Programm der Studienanstalt zu Erlangen*, 1880). *Delphinium Ajacis* also appears to be called *hyacinthus* (Dioscorides, iii, 77). [*Hyacinthinus* of a colour (*hyacinthina laena*, Persius, i, 32) is to be derived from the precious stone called *hyacinthus* (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxvii, 125.)

VOL. II

XXIV. THREE INSCRIPTIONS ON CHARIOTEERS.

(Vol. II, p. 23, l. 15.)

THE two most comprehensive inscriptions on charioteers (*CIL*, vi, 2, 10047 = Orelli, 2593 and 10048 = Gruter, 337) deserve detailed treatment for two reasons: (1) the numerous difficulties which they present, which, however, can nearly all be removed, although in part only by conjecture; (2) the manifold details of chariot-driving, which we learn from them. In the second inscription, some parts which I had understood wrongly or not at all, have been explained by a third, recently discovered: the inscription on the charioteer Crescens, published with commentary by the Countess Ersilia Lovatelli in the *Bullettino della commissione archeologica comunale*, iv (1878), p. 164, which has been used by Mommsen (*Ephem. epigr.*, iv, pp. 247-252), O. Hirschfeld (*Arch. epigr. Mitth.*, ii, 188) and myself (*Festschrift der Königsb. Universität zum fünfzigjährigen Jubiläum d. arch. Inst.*, p. 7) to elucidate Gruter, 337.

1. The inscription *CIL*, vi, 2, 10047 (= Orelli, 2593), is from the MS. of the Anonymus Einsiedlensis, fol. 75^b and 76^a. Cp. Wilmanns, *Exempla inscr. lat.*, 2600 (ii, p. 181):—

Anon. Einsiedl. fol. 75^b.

In Ipsa Via Flaminea.

1. P. aelius mari

rogati fil. gutta calpurnianus equis his vici in
factione veneta geminatore¹ n. af. lxxxxxii
silvano r. af. cv nitid. gil. af. lii saxone n. af. lx

5. et vici praemia m. I. i. xl ix xxx xvii

Item Ibidem In Ipso Monumento.

3. Ex numero palmarū supra scriptarū ∞ cxxvii

vici in factione albata cii remissus ii xxx i xl i
a pompa iiii equor. anagonū i singularū lxxxxiii
binarū vii Ternarū ii. In factione russata vici

10. lxxiix. Remissus semel xxx i [quaternarū
i] singularū xlii Binarū xxxii Ternarū iii
quaternarū semel. In factione veneta vici
dlxxxxiii xxx xviii sejuce i xl viii l i

a pompa xxxv Trigas xv ii Triga

15. xx vi.² Equor. anagonū i sacro.

¹ The MS. has *geminatore*, which appears to me an error or a corruption, the name *Geminator* being so exactly suited to a circus horse.

² Mommsen, *l.c.*, p. 251^a: xxv i.

fol. 76^a.

- quinquennialis certaminis i Remissus semel. singularū cccxxxiii Binarū clxxxiv Ternarū lxxv in factione prasina vici xxxlxiv xxx i xl ii pedibus ad quadrigā lx i¹ a pompa vi
 20. singularū cxvi Binarū clxxxiii Ternarū lxxiii. Hoc monumentum vivus feci.

Item In Ipso Monūto

2. P. aelius mari

rogati fil. gutta calpurnianus milli (*sic*) palmas cōplevi. in factione prasina equis his danao

25. b. af. xix oceano n. ccviii victore r.

ccccxix vindice b. clvii et vici p̄mia

majora xl iii xxx iii.

The mention of the palmae supra scriptae (6) shows that the Einsiedeln monk has not copied all the inscriptions on the memorial; probably he has even omitted the most important. It is doubtful whether the memorial contained lists of the victories of the Whites and Reds, as well as those of the Blues and Greens. Perhaps, as Mommsen thinks, the former were omitted, since at the time only the latter were valued. In addition, on the site of the memorial, fragments of a large circus relief have recently been discovered, which appears to have belonged to it (Visconti e Vespignani, *Dalle scoperte avvenute per la demolizione della Porta Flaminia*, in *Bull. d. commiss. archcol. comun.*, iii [1877], p. 201).

Mommsen had published some remarks on the inscription (*Ber. d. sächs. Gesch.*, 1850, p. 312); I had discussed it in the *Programm Acad. Albert. Regimont.*, 1886, ii, where however I was mistaken on some essential points.

The memorial is a sepulchral monument (21), erected to himself during his lifetime by Publius Aelius Gutta Calpurnianus, son of Marius Rogatus, on the Via Flaminia, probably after his retirement from his career as a charioteer. The inscription cannot be earlier than the second century, as is shown by the name Publius Aelius, which appears to have been equally common in the time of the Severi (cp. Aelia gens in *StRE*, i², 339). From the horse's name Saxo we should rather ascribe it to the third or fourth century. The earliest mention of the Saxons is in Ptolemy, ii, 11, 11 and 31; but they must have been long known, and intercourse with them must have been considerable, for horses to have been imported from them or named after them (Saxo was an African horse).

Gutta was one of the charioteers, who had gained more than a thousand victories (a so-called *miliarius*: 5, 6, 23, 24). According to 6, he had gained 1127 prizes (not identical with the *praemia* of 5).

From 6 to 21 the 1127 victories are classified; although those enumerated apparently amount to 10 short of the total, this may be accounted for by the omission of a figure (in a place which, as will be seen, can be specified).

The 1127 victories are classified according to the four factions, subdivided again according as they were gained in contests of four,

¹ Mommsen, *loc.*, p. 250: lxi.

eight, twelve, or sixteen chariots, in ordinary races, or in certain unusual contests specially named. I will deal with the subdivisions first, as offering least difficulty. It is clear from the inscriptions that, as was to be expected, the contest of four chariots, *i.e.* one from each faction (*certamina singularum sc. quadrigarum*) was by far the most common; according to the inscription on Diocles (*CIL*, vi, 10048) the victory in this must have been considered one of the most honourable. Contests of two chariots from each faction, that is, eight in all (*certamina binarum*) were tolerably frequent; of three from each, that is, twelve in all (*ternarum*), rare; of four from each, that is, sixteen in all (*quaternarum*), extremely rare. Of the 1127 victories of Gutta only one, of the 47 of Crescens and the 1462 of Diocles not one was gained in the last named (*cp.* Marquardt, *StV*, iii, 513, 1). Now, according to the text of the *Anonymus Einsiedlensis*, Gutta gained the following victories:—

	Whites.	Reds.	Blues.	Greens.
In contests of 1 chariot ..	83	42	334	116
" " 2 chariots ..	7	32	184	184
" " 3 chariots ..	2	3	65	64
" " 4 chariots ..	0	1	0	0
	92	78	583	364

The above totals give a grand total of 1117. The difference between this and the grand total 1127 given above, shows that x has fallen out somewhere. It can be shown that it has done so in the first total.

A glance at the numbers which in 7, 10, 13, 18 follow immediately upon the names of the four factions shows that they are arrived at by addition; and doubtful or incorrect figures can be checked by comparison. Since, in 7, in *factione albata cii* (prizes) are mentioned, the 10 wanted to make up the total must have fallen out in the list of the White victories, where addition only gives 92: probably we should read xvii for vii in 9. According to the same enumeration, the Red victories are 78; consequently, in 10, *lxxix* should be read instead of *lxxii x*.

The numbers following these four sums are consequently not to be added together with them; they are only intended to bring into prominence victories in exceptional kinds of races, which are already included in those sums.

This makes it probable that the numbers xxx, xl, l and lx, which in 7, 10, 13, 18, 19 follow the totals in the enumeration of the special classes, also indicate classes of contests. This conjecture is rendered certain by other inscriptions. In the inscription of Diocles, it is said of another charioteer (line 17): *primus omnium urbis conditae ad HS l vicit vii*: of three others (18): *[qui] ad HS l vicissent xl*; of Diocles himself (21): *l vicit x, lx, i*. It is clear that the amounts xxx, xl, l, lx denote the value of the prizes contested. No doubt *sestertia* is to be supplied, so that *e.g.* *vicit xxx i* = *vicit ad triginta HS* (*i.e.* in a race for a stake of 30,000 sesterces) *semel*. It may be supposed that only the most experienced drivers were allowed to take part in these contests, which probably presented special difficulties.

Similarly, in the inscription on Marcus Aurelius Polynices (Hen-

zen, 6179 = *CIL*, vi, 2, 10049), after the classification of his 739 victories according to factions (Red, 655; Green, 55; Blue, 12; White, 17): *praemia* xxxx n. iii xxx xxvi pura n. xi octojug. n. viii dec. n. viiii sejug. n. iii, i.e. three prizes of 40,000 sesterces, 26 of 30,000, 11 pure (i.e. simple, perhaps also those of 15,000 in the inscriptions of Diocles and Gutta). The six, eight, and ten in hand races were perhaps always such prize races, the amount of the prize being perhaps fixed once for all, so that they were not specially stated. Probably such races brought the largest income to the victors, although part of the prize money went to the faction funds. Such a victory is no doubt referred to in Martial, x, 74, 5:—

Cum Scopus una quindecim graves hora
ferventis auri victor auferat saccos.

If now the inscription of Polynices shows that in that of Gutta figures written together must in many cases be separated (e.g. in 7, xxx i (ad xxx HS semel), xl i must be written for xxxi and xli); it is further clear that in 5 and 25 f. the numbers of the *praemia* of 30,000, 40,000, and 50,000 sesterces won in the Blues and Greens are stated. The *m* in 5 is probably nothing but *majora*, possibly *milia* (HS).

The *praemia majora* in 5 and 25, won by Gutta for the Greens and Blues, are at variance with the corresponding figures in the central section. But as it is impossible to ascertain where the error lies, all emendations of individual figures are worthless, and the amount of the *praemia majora* won by Gutta must remain doubtful.

The other varieties mentioned offer no difficulty. *Remissus* evidently = *revocatus* (Orelli, 2594 = *CIL*, vi, 10,055: *vicit ii, revocatus ii*). The meaning is clear from Ovid (*Amores*, iii, 2, 73), where the poet, despairing of the victory of the charioteer in whom he is interested, exclaims:—

favimus ignavo. sed enim revocate, Quirites,
et date jactatis undique signa togis.

75 en revocant.

77 jamque patent iterum reserato carcere postes.

evolat admissis discolor agmen equis.

nunc saltem supera, spatioque insurge patenti;

sint mea, sint dominae fac rata vota meae.

sunt dominae rata vota meae; mea vota supersunt.

ille tenet palmam, palma petenda mihi est.

Evidently a race, which had been undecided or interrupted, was run again at the wish of the people, signified by napkins or togas; the victor in this repeated contest was *revocatus* or *remissus* Seneca, *Controv.*, i, 3, 10: Varus Quintilius . . . dixit . . . : (dii) incestam, ne cito supplicium transcurreret, revocaverunt. Cestius multa contumeliose dixit in hanc sententiam: sic, inquit, quomodo quadrigas revocaverunt? nam et ante posuisti similitudinem, quia et haec de carcere exierat. The figures show, that such repetitions were rare at that time.

A *pompa*. Bianconi (*Descr. de' cerchi*, p. xxxviii) conjectures that a *pompa* denotes a victory in which the charioteer started from the door near the central or proceSSIONAL gate. But (to say nothing

of the singularity of such nomenclature) this is improbable, since this was evidently an advantage, while in other cases only obstacles and difficulties are stated, the overcoming of which enhanced the glory of the victory. Perhaps a *pompa* denotes the first race, which directly followed the procession, permission to enter for which may have been an honour granted only to experienced charioteers. This race also 'put both horses and drivers to the severest test, especially if they had been exposed for hours to the fatigues of the procession.' G(ustav) F(reytag), *Sportbericht eines römischen Jockeys*, in *Grenzboten* (1869), ii, p. 451.

Equorum anagouum. Of course a victory with horses which had never run before, was especially honourable.

Sejuge and *triga* or *trigas* need no explanation. Consequently, while victory with the *biga* was only an honour for novices, experts competed for that with the *triga*; of course the prizes were smaller than in the six-in-hand races. Whether the prize in 15 was 20,000 or 25,000 sesterces (in the former case Gutta received it six times, in the latter once) cannot be decided.

Sacro quinquennalis certaminis. No doubt victory in the *agon Capitolinus* is meant (see last section). When the monument was erected, it must have been the only *quinquennale certamen* in Rome.

Pedibus ad quadrigam. According to this specification, which, as far as I know, only occurs here, the kind of racing described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (vii, 73) was still common: *ὅταν γὰρ τέλος αἱ τῶν ἵππων ἀμιλλᾷ λάβωνται, ἀποκηδῶνται ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρμάτων οἱ παροχούμενοι τοῖς ἡνίοχοις—τὸν σταδίαον ἀμιλλῶνται δρόμον αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους*. Thus in this case there was a double victory (by the runner and the charioteer) to be won. *Pedibus ad quadrigam*, therefore, does not mean that Gutta gained a victory in this manner (i.e. running), but it indicates the variety of the race, in which as in the rest he gained a victory by chariot-driving. I do not agree with Mommsen in referring the number lxi to the number of victories won in this class of contest, since it must have been very rare, to judge from the total absence of further mention of it. I believe that the copyist has wrongly combined the value of the prize (60,000 sesterces) with the number of victories won (i, i.e. semel): accordingly I read *lxi*.

The list of Gutta's victories was accordingly as follows:—

	Whites.	Reds.	Blues.	Greens:
Class of contest	102	78	583	364
Remissus	2	1	1	0 times
ad xxx HS	1	1	17	1 "
ad xl HS	1	0	0	2 "
a pompa	4	0	35	6 "
equorum anagouum	1	0	1	0 "
sejuge ad xl HS	0	0	1	0 "
sejuge ad l HS	0	0	9	0 "
sejuge (ad lx HS ?)	0	0	1	0 "
trigas ad xv HS	0	0	2	0 "
triga ad xx HS	0	0	6	0 "
sacro. quinq. cert.	0	0	1	0 "
pedibus ad quadr. ad lx HS. .	0	0	0	1 "

Although the middle section can thus be almost completely explained, the figures in the first and third are so corrupt that no certain restoration is possible. Two lists are here given: one of the prizes which Gutta won in the Blues and the Greens, the other of the number of times he was victorious for both parties with the same horses. I have already observed that the amounts of the former cannot be ascertained with certainty. But even in the numbers of the latter those of the victories with the Greens (23-25 in the third section) must be wrong. Gutta had won in all 583 victories for the Blues, 364 for the Greens. Consequently, the totals of the victories won for these two parties with the same horses could at most equal these two totals; we should expect the number to be considerably smaller. For it is hardly conceivable that so many victories should have been won for the Blues and Greens with the same four principal horses¹ (3, 4 and 23-25). It was especially honourable to have gained a large number of victories with *one* principal horse, but of course almost impossible always to win with one and the same. Now Gutta had won most victories for the two parties whom he chiefly served with four principal horses in each case, and therefore the numbers of these victories are only fractions of all his victories for the Greens and the Blues. Of the 583 victories for the Blues he had won:—

92	with Geminator	} as principal horse of the four-in-hand.
105	„ Silvanus	
52	„ Nitidus	
60	„ Saxo	

309

The remaining 274 victories for the Blues had evidently been distributed among so many different principal horses, that it did not seem worth while to give the individual figures. There is no reason to doubt the correctness of the numbers.

For the Greens Gutta had won 364 victories, but the numbers of the victories won give a far larger total:—

19	with Danaus	} as principal horse of the four-in-hand.
209	„ Oceanus	
429	„ Victor	
157	„ Vindex	

814

There is consequently no doubt that C has been written at least five times too often owing to a misunderstanding. Perhaps the total number of victories with these four horses was 314.

The totals 309 and 814 added together give 1123, that is to say, a number almost identical with the grand total of Gutta's victories (1127). At first sight this might lead us to suppose that all the victories (only differently distributed) are again enumerated here, those for the Whites and Reds being reckoned in with those of the two chief factions, and that the inscription belongs to a period when the union of the former with the latter had already taken place. But,

¹ The left outside horses.

apart from all other considerations, this conjecture is shown to be quite erroneous by the addition of the undoubtedly correct totals.

Victories for the Whites and Greens, 102 + 364 = 466
 „ „ Reds „ Blues, 78 + 583 = 661

The numbers 309 and 814 vary so greatly from these figures, which are required if the union be supposed to have taken place, that this fact alone would be sufficient to exclude any such idea. Freytag (as above, p. 455), who takes the 1123 victories to include all Gutta's victories except four which were not gained by the two four-in-hands named, assumes that 'in factione veneta' (3) and 'in factione prasina' (24) only mean 'that the first four horses belong to his earlier, the latter to his later period'. I cannot admit this assumption.

2. The charioteer Diocles of Gruter, 327 = *CIL*, vi, 2, 10,048 is further known from an inscription of Praeneste (Gruter, 76, 4 = *CIL*, xiv, 2884):—

C. Appuleio Diocli
 agitatori primo fact.
 russat. natione Hispano
 Fortunae Primigeniae
 d. d.

C. Appuleius Nymphidianus
 et Nymphidia filii.

This inscription may refer to the later lifetime of Diocles, who, having realized a considerable fortune, had abandoned the dangers and exertions of the Circus for the retirement of Praeneste.

The monument Gruter, 337 = *CIL*, vi, 2, 10,048) was perhaps also erected by his admirers or supporters, after he had given up his career as a chariot-driver, while still in the prime of life. The stone has long been lost, but we possess the text of the inscription in an admirable copy by Smetius, whose accuracy is shown by the fact that all the figures which can be checked by comparison with each other are correct. Although the text of Smetius may contain some trifling errors, it is a perfectly satisfactory foundation for elucidation. With the exception of the insertions to supply the gaps and a few unimportant emendations mentioned in their place, I give it as it stands, only that the figures indicating the amounts of the prizes are in all cases marked with a stroke above (frequently omitted in Gruter): cp. Wilmanns, *Ex. Inscr.*, 2601.

1. C. Appu]leius Diocles agitator factionis russatae.
2. nat]ione Hispanus Lusitanus annorum xxxxi mens. vii d. xxiii.
3. pri]mum agitavit in factione alb. Acilio Aviola et Corellio Pansa cos. (A.D. 122).
4. primu]m vicit in factione eadem M'. Acilio Glabrione C. Bellicio Torquato cos. (A.D. 124).
5. p]rimum agitavit in factione prasina Torquato Asprenate ii et Annio Libone cos. (A.D. 128) primum vicit
6. in factione russata Laenate Pontiano et Antonio¹ Rufino cos. (A.D. 131) summa : quadriga agitavit annis xxiii. missus ostio iiii cclvii

¹ Smetius : Annio ; cp. Wilmanns, *Ex.*, ii, p. 185, 5 ; Henzen, 6996.

7. vicit ∞ ccc]clxii. a pompa cx. siugularum vicit ∞ lxxiii. inde praemia maiora vicit lxxxxii xxx xxxii, ex his sejuges iii; xxxxxviii,

8. ex his sejuge]s? ii; [xxviii, inde septejuge i; [x iii binarum vicit cccxxxxvii. trigas ad HS xv iiii. ternarum vicit li. ad honorem venit ∞.

9. tulit s]ecundas dccc]lxi. tertias dlxxvi. quartas ad HS ∞ i. frustra exit ∞ cccli. ad venetum vicit x. ad albatum vicit lxxxxi. inde ad HS xxxii (xxx ii?)

10. retulit quae]tum HS ccc]lviii [xlii cxx. praeterea bigas. M. vicit iii, ad albatu i, ad prasinu ii. occupavit et vicit dccc]xv. successit et vicit lxvii.

11. praemisit et vici]t? xxxvi. variis generibus vic. xxxxii. eripuit et vicit dii. prasinis ccxvi. venetis ccv. albatis lxxxi. equos centenarios fecit n. viiii et ducenar. i

12. insignia ejus.

13. to ¹ sibi, quo anno primum quadrigis victor exstitit bis, eripuit bis. actis continetur, Avilium Teren factionis suae primum omnium vicisse ∞ xi, ex quibus anno uno plurimum vincendo vicit

14. . . . singularum at Diocles quo an]no primum centum victorias consecutus est, victor ciii, singularum vicit lxxxiii. adhuc augens gloriam tituli sui praecessit Thallum factionis suae, qui primus in factione russata

15. . . . at Dio]cles omnium agitatorum eminentissimus, quo anno alieno principio victor cxxxiii, singularum vicit cxviii; quo titulo praecessit omnium factionum agitadores, qui umquam

16. certaminibus ludorum ci]rcensium interfuerunt. omnium admiratione merito notatum est, quod uno anno alieno principio duobus introjugis Cotyno et Pompeiano, vicit lxxxviii l x i [iiii x] i xxx ii.

17. nn. fact]ionis prasinac, victor ∞ xxv, primus omnium urbis conditae ad HS I vicit vii. Diocles praecedens eum introjugis tribus Abigeio Lucido Parato I vicit viii.

18. praecedens C]omnunem (sic) Venustum Epaphroditum, tres agitadores miliarios factionis venetae, [qui] ad HS I vicissent xi, Diocles Pompeiano et Lucido duobus introjugis I vicit

19. xii? nn.]factionis prasinac victor ∞ xxv et Flavius Scopus, victor ii xlvi et Pompeius Musclosus victor iii dlvi, tres agitadores victores vi dcxxxii, ad HS I vicerunt xxviii,

20. at Diocles omnium agitatorum emi]nentissimus, victor ∞ cccclxii, I vicit xxviii. nobilissimo titulo Diocles nitet, cum Fortunatus factionis prasinac, in victore Tusco victor cclxxxvi. I vicit ix. Diocles

21. in Pompeiano victore victo]r clii, I vicit x, l x i. novis coactionibus et numquam ante titulis scriptis Diocles eminet, quod una die sejuges ad HS x] missus bis, utrasque victor eminuit atque amplius

22. . . . suisque septem equis in se junctis, numquam ante

¹ Bormann: [praemio dato annos . . . , na]to sibi,

hoc numero equorum spectato, certamine ad HS $\overline{\Gamma}$ in Abigeio victor eminuit, et sine flagello alis certaminibus ad HS $\overline{\text{xxx}}$

23. vicit; adque? cum prim^{um} visus esset his novitatibus duplici ornatus est gloria. inter miliarios agitadores primum locum obtinere videtur Pontius Epaphroditus factionis venetae,

24. qui temporibus imp. nostri Antoⁿnini Aug. Pii solus victor ∞ cccclxvii, singularum vicit dcccxi. ad Diocles praecedens eum, victor ∞ cccclxii inter singulares (read: inter has singularum) ^a vicit ∞ lxiiii. isdem temporibus

25. Pontius Epaphroditus eripuit] et vicit cccclxvii: Diocles eripuit et vicit dii. Diocles agitator quo anno vicit cxvii (Abigeio Lucido Pompeiano introjugis tribus victor ciii) inter

26. . . . inter emⁿinentes agitatur res introjugis Afris plurimum vicerunt Pontius Epaphroditus factionis venetae (in Bubalo vicit cxxxiii) Pompeius Musclosus factionis prasinae

27. (in . . . vicit] cxv). Diocles superatis eis, in Pompeiano victor clii, singularum vicit cxxxiii. ampliatis titulis suis, Cotyno Galata Abigeio Lucido Pompeiano introjugis quinque

28. victor cccxxxxv, singularum vicit cclxxxxvii.

NOTES.

1-6. In the year 122 Diocles, probably while still very young, appeared for the first time in the Whites (3), gained a victory for them in 124 (line 4), drove for the Greens for the first time in 128 (line 5), won a victory for the Reds (probably at his first appearance) in 131 (line 6), to whom he appears to have remained attached from that time. According to 11 he had won 216 victories for the Greens, 205 for the Blues, 81 for the Whites; the remaining 960 victories were consequently won for the Reds.^a When the monument was erected, he was 42 years, 7 months, 23 days old (2) and had won 1462 victories (20). Now, since 100 victories in a year were considered very glorious (14) and, in addition, Diocles in his first years of driving cannot of course have won nearly as many victories as at a later date, his last 1400 victories were probably distributed over the years 130-146. He drove the four-in-hand for 24 years (6); as he began his career in 122, the memorial, as Hirschfeld observes, must have been erected after 146, or at the earliest in that year. Then Diocles was born in 104 and began driving four-in-hands at the age of 18, whereas Crescens did the same when only 13.

6. Summa: quadriga agitavit annis xxiiii. missus ostio $\overline{\text{iiii}}$ cclvii.

7. vicit ∞ ccc]clxii. a pompa cx.

Summa, as Hirschfeld observes, stands for *summa summarum*; cp. Wilmanns, 2599, l. 16: sum(ma) sum(marum) quadri(ga) vic(it) vii. The meaning of *missus ostio* is shown by the inscription on Crescens, 13: miss(us) ost(io) dclxxxvi vicit xxxvii. *Ostio missus* being equivalent to taking part in the racing, $\overline{\text{iiii}}$ cclvii is the number

^a Mommsen: duabus autem q^{um}; Hirschfeld: cum primus omni]um.

^b Perhaps inter singulares (i.e. missus) is correct, or inter singularum, as in the inscription of Crescens (15).

^c A charioteer named Musclosus had gained 682 victories: 672 for the Reds, 3 for the Whites, 5 for the Greens, 2 for the Blues: *CIL*, vi, 2, 10063.

of all the races in which Diocles took part ; this was followed by the number of victories won (1462), the last figures of which are still preserved, so that the restoration of line 7 is certain. On a *pompa* see above. Here it is only stated how often Diocles took part in these difficult and honourable races, the number of which (110) is consequently included in that of the total number of his races (4257) ; but there is no indication how many times he was successful.

The enumeration of the victories begins with :—

7. singularum vicit ∞ lxiii ; inde praemia majora vicit lxxxii. xxx xxxii, ex his sejuges iii ; xxxx xxviii,

8. ex his sejuge]s ? ii ; Γxxviii, inde septejuge i ; Γx iii. binarum vicit cccxxxvii. trigas ad HS xv iii. ternarum vicit li.

The total number of Diocles' victories was 1462 ; and the addition of the three first numbers gives this total.

(in certaminibus)	singularum	(quadrigarum)	1064	times
"	binarum	"	347	"
"	ternarum	"	51	"
			1462	

These figures, which can be proved correct, again show the preponderance of races of one team at a time, and also that races of more than three teams at a time were extremely rare (cp. also line 9) ; and finally, that the remaining victories mentioned here must already be included in the larger sums. In the 1064 victories in races of one team at a time Diocles also won *praemia majora* to the number of 92. Of these there were :—

32 prizes of 30,000 sesterces =	960,000 sesterces
(amongst them three for races with six-in-hands).	
28 prizes of 40,000 sesterces =	1,120,000 sesterces
(amongst them two for races with six or seven-in-hands).	
29 prizes of 50,000 sesterces =	1,450,000 ¹ sesterces
(amongst them one for a race with a seven-in-hand).	
3 prizes of 60,000 sesterces =	180,000 sesterces
92	3,710,000 sesterces.
Also, 4 prizes of 15,000 in races of	
two three-in-hands at a time	60,000 "

Grand total of the *praemia majora* 3,770,000 sesterces.

It is easy to understand that it was in the *certamina binarum* that the races with *trigae* took place, in which 24 horses (in 8 chariots) had not much less room in the course than 16 horses (in 4 chariots) in the *certamina singularum* ; also, that the prizes for these victories were much lower (ad HS xv), than those with six and seven-in-hands.

As Diocles (according to line 10) had won on the whole 35,863,120 sesterces, after deducting the amount of the extraordinary prizes (3,770,000), we obtain 32,093,120 sesterces as the amount of the ordinary prizes. In accordance with this, Mommsen has attempted to ascertain the prizes for the different classes of ordinary races. From

¹ These are also mentioned in line 20.

the passage of Martial quoted above (p. 151) he assumes that the ordinary first prizes in races of a four-in-hand at a time (which were certainly smaller than the lowest extraordinary prize of 30,000 sesterces) amounted to 15,000 sesterces. This is not improbable, but, as Mommsen himself observes, there are so many possibilities that such calculations cannot be made with any degree of certainty.

8. ad honorem venit ∞. 9. tulit secundas dccclxi. tertias dlxxvi. quartas ad HS ∞ i. frustra exit ∞ cccli. ad venetum vicit x. ad albatum vicit lxxxxi. inde ad HS xxxii (xxx ii?). 10. retulit quaest]um¹ HS ccclviii lxiii cxx. praeterea bigas M vicit iii, ad albatu i, ad prasinu ii.

With the exception of certain victories (line 9), which in any case are already included in the larger numbers, the races here enumerated are those in which Diocles had received only second, third and fourth prizes, or none at all. Hence the addition of these totals to the total of the victories (1462) must give the number (4257) of all the races in which Diocles took part. The following sum gives 4251 to start with:—

Victories	1,462
Second prizes	861
Third prizes	576
Fourth prize	1 ²
No prizes	1,351
	4,251

The question now is, which are the 6 missing races. Hirschfeld thought of reading 'ad honorem venit vi' in 8, against which Bormann observes (*CIL*, vi, 10,048): at titulo infra 10,055 videtur probari, agitatore dictum ad honorem venisse, quotienscumque non frustra exierit, sed vel vicerit vel tertias vel secundas tulerit. The inscription 10,055 (Orelli, 2594) contains the following list: vic. quadri. xlvii secund. cxx . . . tertias cxlvi. bigas vic. viii secundas iix terti(as) iix adgente quadrig. (pedibus ad quadrigam?) vicit ii revocatus ii instauratiam (instauratitio die?) tertias i ad honore(m) veni(t) cccli.iii. If the figure of the second prizes be restored by the addition of xi, the addition of all the prizes won actually gives the total 354. If then 'ad honorem venit' means 'gained prizes of some kind or other', in line 8 (of the Diocles inscription) these words must have been followed by ∞ ∞ dccc, since Diocles had only failed in 1351 races, and 6 are apparently specially included in line 10. The only objection to Bormann's proposal to place the required number after 'ad honorem venit' is, that the assumption of so serious an error in the copy at the end of a line where there is no vacant space is suspicious.

Mommsen and Bormann are right in looking for the six missing races in line 10: praeterea bigas M vicit iii, ad albatu i, ad prasinu ii. We may, with Mommsen, take M to mean *miliarias*, i.e. races in which the prize was 1000 sesterces. Mommsen understands 'ad albatum

¹ This restoration is shown to be correct by the Crescens inscription (line 19).

² Unless the last of four chariots exceptionally obtained a prize, there must have been races, although of very rare occurrence, in which five chariots took part. Philo, *De Animal.*, 58, mentions a seven-chariot race in Alexandria.

vicit' of a race in which Diocles defeated two charioteers, but was himself defeated by the White. It seems better to understand a race in which he ran a dead heat with the White, otherwise 'vicit' would hardly have been admissible. It is uncertain whether in such a case the two victorious charioteers received first or second prizes; the latter is more probable. In any case, the 10 races, in which Diocles (with the four-in-hand) 'ad venetum vicit', and the 91, in which 'ad albatum vicit' (9) with the same, are included in one of the earlier totals. If all the figures in 10 are correct, after 3 full victories with the two-in-hand, an equal number of incomplete victories are enumerated—in all, 6 races in which he was not unsuccessful.

The number of races in which Diocles took part (4257) in 24 years gives about 177 a year, while on the whole in each year, reckoning only 50 circus days with 16 races on each, 800 took place, consequently in reality certainly much more. In ten years Crescens only took part in 686 races with the four-in-hand.

10.	occupavit et vicit dcccxv	.. .. .	815
	successit et vicit lxxvii	.. .. .	67
11.	praemisit et vicit ? xxxvi	.. .. .	36
	variis generibus vic. xxxxi	.. .. .	42
	eripuit et vicit dii		
	prasinis ccxvi,		
	venetis ccv		
	albatis lxxxi	.. .. .	502
			1,462

The total shows that here again all Diocles' victories with *quadrigae* etc., are enumerated, and that they are classified according to the various issues of the races. The sums 'in prasinis albatis venetis' are parts of the total in 'eripuit et vicit' (502), as the addition shows. This has already been observed by Anton Elter (*Die Gladiatoren-tesseeren*, in *Rhein. Mus.*, xli [1886], p. 537), who on this ground has rightly corrected my interpretation of the passage: as *eripuit* implies some one from whom the victory was 'snatched', the one who at the critical moment was next, *eripuit* must mean 'won with difficulty, after a hard struggle'. From 25 this appears to have been the most honourable victory of all. Elter's explanation of 'occupavit et vicit', 'easily gained' agrees in the main with my own: a victory, in which the victor took the lead from the outset and kept it. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, viii, 160: *excusso in carceribus auriga albatu (equi) Corace (equo) occupavere, primatum (Jan: prima tum, Sillig) optinuerunt, opponentes, effundentes, omniaque contra aemulos quae debuissent peritissimo auriga insistente facientes*. On the other hand, the meaning of 'praemisit et vicit', and of 'successit et vicit' (probably 'was second at first'; Elter's 'kept the lead brilliantly' is improbable) is doubtful. I had explained the former of a victory, in which the victor had allowed his competitors a considerable start (a handicap); to this Elter rightly objects 'that such exceptional cases, which alter the character of the competition, if they occurred, could not lead to a terminology, which adapted itself to the rest'. 'Praemisit,' therefore, probably

means: 'at first (purposely dropping behind) let the others get ahead'. But Elter's explanation—'a victory resulting from the others coming to grief, refusing to race, or otherwise retiring from the contest', appears to me quite untenable. For admitting that 'allowed to come in front' would be a suitable expression for a victory in which the victor 'drives alone over the course', it by no means follows from 'praemissus vicit' (15) in the Crescens inscription (*CIL*, vi, 2, 10,050) that 'praemissus vicit' was the original form. Rather, on the analogy of the other expressions and the fully written 'praemissit et vicit' (*CIL*, vi, 2, 10,053), *praemissit* should be supplied (missit, *CIL*, vi, 2, 14,338 = i, 1012; cp. Quintilian, i, 20, 7; Corssen, *Aussprache und Vocalismus*, i, 2, p. 282). But that *praemissit* 'in the language of the turf is the same as and derived from *praemissus*', can only be believed by one who believes the *spectavit* of the gladiatorial *tesserae* to be derived from *spectatus*, which I look upon as not only not proved, but as absolutely impossible. A transference of *praemissit* from the falling charioteer to his follower who was allowed to get ahead (so Meier, *Die Gladiatorentesseren*, p. 6, 6) appears to me as incredible as an 'abrupt change' of *praemissus* into *praemissit*.

11. equos centenarios fecit n̄. viiii et ducenar. i. equos centenarios, ducenarios fecit of course means: he won 100, 200 victories with them. Two *centenarii* in Gruter, 338, 5: Aquilo n. k. Aquilonis. vicit cxxx. secund. tulit lxxxviii ter. tul. xxxvii. Hirpinus n. Aquilonis vicit cxliiii. secundas tulit lvi tert. tul. xxxvi.

Insignia ejus.

.....]to sibi, quo anno primum quadrigis victor exstitit bis, eripuit bis.

The restoration of the beginning of the line is uncertain (see above). The two first victories of Diocles with four-in-hands were also the most difficult to obtain (eripuit et vicit).

13. actis continetur Avil. Teren factionis suae primum omnium vicisse ∞ xi ex quibus anno uno plurimum vincendo vicit.

14. . . . singularum . . . at Diocles quo an]no primum centum victorias consecutus est (victor ciii), singularum vicit lxxxiii.

Avilius Teres is no doubt identical with the Teres whose name occurs in the very fragmentary inscription *CIL*, vi, 2, 10,054 (whether the words 'temporibus Neronis' refer to him, is at least doubtful). He was a freedman, if not of the same man, at least of the same family, one of whose slaves was 'Thallus agitator L. Avilli Plantae ser(vus)', mentioned below. The patron of Teres and the master of Thallus was a 'dominus factionis russatae', to which Thallus belonged. This is shown by the inscription *CIL*, vi, 10,077: D. m. L. Avilio Galatae fact. russ. lib. item Juliae C. l. Ampliatae, etc., and 10,069: L. Avill(io) Dionysio cond(itori) gr(egis) russatae. Diocles is thus compared first with previous charioteers of his own party, then from line 17 with those of the other. We cannot say for certain in what *acta* the 1011 victories of Teres were recorded, since evidently the factions also kept *acta*, from which the precise statements made here and in the Teres inscription as to the performances of former charioteers are no doubt derived. But considering the importance attached to circus affairs, it is at least possible that the

acta diurna are meant.¹ Even Cassius Dio gives the number (certainly incorrectly recorded) of the victories of a charioteer murdered by Caracalla: *καὶ ἐν Ῥώμῃ δὲ αὕτῃ ἀνδρὰ μὲν ἄλλως οὐκ ἐλλόγιμον, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιτήδευσιν ἐπιφανέστατον ἐξεργάσατο. τὸν γὰρ Εὐπρεπὴ τὸν ἀρματηλάτην, ἐπειδὴ τοῦναντία αὐτῷ ἐσπούδαζεν, ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐν γῆρᾳ ἀπέθανε, πλείστοις ἀγῶσιν ἰππῶν στεφανωθεὶς. δύο γὰρ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑπτακοσίους ἀνείλετο, δσοὺς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος. (lxxvii, 1).* Dio must have been well aware that 782 was not a large number of victories, especially for an old charioteer; unless the number is wrongly given (according to line 19 it might have been 3782), he perhaps had before him a similar list to ours, and erroneously substituted the total of a certain class of victories for the grand total. The grand total of the victories of Musclosus mentioned above (p. 156, n. 3) is 682, those of a certain Scorpionian 700 (Hirschfeld, *Arch. epigr. Mitth.*, ii, 187), of Avilius Teres 1011. M. Aurelius Polynicus who died in his thirtieth year had won 739 victories: M. Aurelius Mollicius Tatianus who died in his twenty-first year, 125 (*CIL*, vi, 2, 10,049); yet Scopus, who died at the age of twenty-seven (Martial, x, 53) had won 2048, and Pompeius Musclosus mentioned with him in line 19, 3559. Consequently, Mommsen was wrong in believing (*CIL*, vi, 2, 10,058: M. Aurelio Libero—agitatori factionis prasinæ nn. ob ill palmarum hoc donum vovit), that 3000 was an improbable number of victories for a charioteer.

Of course it was particularly honourable to have won 100 victories in a year; but we see from 14, that the larger the number of victories in *certamina singularum*, the greater the honour; so that victories of this kind must have been the most highly prized (cp. also 27 and 28).

15. *Adhuc augens gloriam tituli sui praecessit Thallus factionis suae, qui primus in factione russata (15) . . . at Dio[cles] omnium agitatorum eminentissimus, quo anno alieno principio victor cxxxiii, singularum vicit cxviii; quo titulo praecessit omnium factionum agitadores, qui unquam (16) [certaminibus ludorum c]ircensium interfuerunt.*

Here again it is emphasized as particularly honourable, that of the 134 victories of Diocles in one year 118 were *singularum*, a figure which neither Thallus (who obviously was able to show the proportionally largest number of *singularum*) nor any other charioteer had reached. The 134 victories were no ordinary ones, but *alieno principio*, the meaning of which can only be conjectured. It is said that 'alieno principio, Cotyno et Pompeiano vicit'. Hence I should be inclined to believe that, since Cotynus and Pompeianus are the names of the two middle horses in harness (*introjugi*), *principium* is the chief horse on the left (qui demonstrabat quadrigam). Now charioteers sometimes showed their prowess by winning with the horses of another faction. Flavius Caper, *De Orthographia*, GL, vii, p. 104, 12: *inversis armis gladiatores pugnasse non est dicendum, sed versis, h. e. transmutatis, sed nec inversis pannis agitasse aurigas, sed versis.* The description (appendix xxv) of the variety of race called *diversum* in Constantinople shows that the charioteers, when they changed their colours, also changed the chariots and

¹ *CIL*, vi, 2, 10054, line 6: . . . [actis ?] script(um) fuit: grex prasinus vic(it) ∞ clv. R.L.M.

horses, which carried the colours. But it must have been evidence of the highest excellence to win with a strange near-horse. Thallus (14) is no doubt the charioteer mentioned by Martial, iv, 67, 5 (praetor ait: 'scis me Scorpo Thalloque daturum'). According to the inscription set up by Thallus himself in A.D. 90 and quoted on line 14, Scorpus (whose name occurs in 19) was a slave of L. Avilius Planta.

16. omnium admiratione merito notatum est, quod uno anno alieno principio, duobus introjugis Cotyno et Pompeiano vicit lxxxxviii l̄x i l̄ iii x̄l i xxx ii, i.e. he was victorious in the manner specified 99 times in one year—in one race for a prize of 60,000 sesterces, in four for 50,000, in one for 40,000, in two for 30,000.

17. nn. fact]ionis prasinæ, victor ∞ xxv, primus omnium urbis conditæ ad HS l̄ vicit vii. Diocles præcedens eum, introjugis tribus, Abigeio Lucido Parato l̄ vicit viii. See above, p. 158. Consequently, in these difficult contests Diocles had won more victories than the unknown rival, with the same three horses, two of which on each occasion ran as *introjugi*.

18. præcedens C]omnunem (read Communem) Venustum Epaphroditum, tres agitadores miliarios factionis venetæ, [qui] ad HS l̄ visissent xi, Diocles Pompeiano et Lucido duobus introjugis l̄ vicit (19) [xii ?].

The need for the restorations qui and xii (or a larger number) is obvious.

19. nn.] factionis prasinæ, victor ∞ xxv, et Flavius Scorpus victor iī xlviii et Pompeius Musclosus, victor iiī dlviii, tres agitadores victores vī dcxxxii, ad HS l̄ vicerunt xxviii; (20) [at Diocles omnium agitatorum emi]nentissimus, victor ∞ ccclxii, l̄ vicit xxviii.

Consequently, Diocles was inferior to the two last-named charioteers in the number of his victories, but was superior in that he alone in racing had won 29 times for 50,000 sesterces, while they had only been victorious on the whole 28 times together with a third *miliarius*. The unknown driver of the Greens (in line 17) cannot be the Fortunatus of line 20, who with his horse Tuscus had already gained 9 victories for 50,000 sesterces alone in racing, whereas the driver whose name is missing had only won 7 times (according to 17). Addition shows the correctness of the numbers of the victories.

Victories of the unknown	.. .. .	1,025
„ of Flavius Scorpus ¹	.. .. .	2,048
„ of Pompeius Musclosus	.. .. .	3,559
		6,632

20. nobilissimo titulo Diocles nitet, cum Fortunatus factionis prasinæ in victore Tusco victor ccclxxxvi, l̄ vicit ix, Diocles (21) in [Pompeiano victore victo]r clii, l̄ vicit x, l̄ x i. Thus, while Fortunatus, with 386 victories had only won 9 times for 50,000 sesterces with the victorious racer Tuscus, Diocles, with 152 victories, had

¹ Martial (x, 53, 3) says of Scorpus:—

invida quem Lachesis raptum trieteride nona,
dum numerat palmas, credidit esse senem.

won 10 times for 50,000, once for 60,000 sesterces with Pompeianus (the restoration is clear from line 21).

21. novis coactionibus et numquam ante titulis scriptis Diocles eminet, quod una die sejuges ad HS $\bar{x}$ missus bis, utrasque victor emineuit, adque amplius (22) suisque septem equis in se junctis, numquam ante hoc numero equorum spectato, certamine ad HS $\bar{x}$ emineuit, et sine flagello alis certaminibus ad HS xxx (23) [vicit, adque? cum prim]um visus esset his novitatibus, duplici ornatus est gloria.

Although the restorations are not certain, the general sense is clear. The only word of doubtful meaning is *coactiones* (*coactor* a *theatro* Marcelliano (?): *Bull. com. d. R.*, 1886, p. 310, 1336); I believe, however, that it can mean 'receipts, revenues', so far as the victors collected them from the factions, which furnished the stakes for such prize-contests. Certainly we have no information as to such stakes, but Mommsen's assertion that the 'factions' would never have given money for prizes, seems to me very hazardous, considering the little we know about the circus games. I certainly do not believe that the passage he quotes from Gaius (iv, 15: *causae coniectio quasi causae suae in breve coactio*) proves that *coactiones* can mean *comparationes victoriarum*. Further, of the successes of Diocles here recorded, it was not the prize of 40,000 sesterces that could be described as 'new', but only the fact that *two* such prizes were offered for two races with six-in-hands on *one* day; Diocles conquered in both. Nor could the number of seven horses to one chariot be anything new; the novelty was that they were put to *in se juncti*, i.e. without a yoke.

23. inter miliiarios agitadores primum locum obtinere videtur Pontius Epaphroditus factionis venetae, (24) [qui temporibus imp. nostri Anto]nini Aug. Pii solus victor ∞ cccclxvii, singularum vicit dccccxi. ad Diocles praecedens eum victor ∞ cccclxii, inter singulares (*read* inter has singularum) vicit ∞ lxiv. isdem temporibus (25) [Pontius Epaphroditus eripuit] et vicit cccclxvii; Diocles eripuit et vicit dii.

Here, after the greatest charioteers of the past, the greatest of the present is compared with Diocles. Although he had gained five more victories than Diocles, the latter gained a far greater number of those that were most highly prized (singularum and eripuit et vicit). The figures in these two classes are the same as in lines 7 and 11.

25. Diocles agitator quo anno vicit cxxvii (Abigeio Lucido Pompeiano introjugis tribus victor ciii) inter (26) [inter em]inentes agitadores introjugis Afris plurimum vicerunt Pontius Epaphroditus factionis venetae (in Bubalo vicit cxxxiii) Pompeius Musclosus factionis prasinae (27) [in vicit] cxv. Diocles superatis eis in Pompeiano, victor clii, singularum vicit cxxxiii. ampliatis titulis suis, Cotyno Galata Abigeio Lucido Pompeiano introjugis quinque (28) victor ccccxv, singularum vicit cccclxxxvii.

In the main there is no doubt as to the sense of what has fallen out. In 25 the number of a certain class of victories amongst the 127 in a certain year must have been given, e.g. 'inter [has singu-

larum vicit cx]'. In 27 the name of the horse was mentioned, with which Pompeius had gained 115 victories, possibly also a third charioteer with the number of his victories with one horse. The length of the part that has fallen out cannot be accurately determined.

As for the matter of this last section, this much is clear, that it was considered as great an honour to have gained a large number of victories with the same *introjugi*, as with one chief horse. Only the last named five *introjugi* were evidently not always put to at the same time, since so large a number of races with six or seven-in-hands is inconceivable; it is much more probable that Diocles won the 445 victories with these five *introjugi* alternately. The same may be said of the three *introjugi* in 24.

3. The frequently mentioned Crescens inscription, like others of the same kind, was found near the stadium of Domitian, and is hence rightly interpreted as an honorary inscription by its editress, Countess Lovatelli. It is as follows:—

Crescens agit(ator)
factionis ven(etae)
natione Maurus
annorum xxii.

5. quadriga primum
vicit L. Vipstano (8th of November, 115)

Messalla cos. natale
divi Nervae miss(u) xxiiii
equis his: Circio, Accep-

10. tore, Delicato, Cotyno. (10th of May, 124)

ex Messalla in Glabri-
onem cos. in natale
divi Claudii miss(us) ost(io)
dclxxxvi vicit xxxvii.

15. inter sing(ularum) vic(it) xix binar(um)
xxiii, tern(arum) v; praemiss(it) i,
occup(avit) viii, eripuit xxxviii.
secund(as) tulit cxxx; tert(ias) cxi.
quaest(um) ret(ulit) HS $\overline{\text{xv}}$ $\overline{\text{lviii}}$

20. cccxxxxvi.

The only mistake made by the editress is in the restoration *praemiss(us)* in 16. Mommsen gives *praemiss(u)*, i.e. *alius aurigae*, but the following perfects and the standing form in expressions of this kind lead us to expect *praemisit*. Consequently, there is little doubt that we should read *praemiss(it)*; see above, p. 160.

XXV. *DIVERSIUM*.

(Vol. II, p. 31, line 7.)

(See the *Programm Acad. Alb. Regimont.*, 1872, ii.)

THE kind of race mentioned by Flavius Caper (*De Orihographia*, GL, vii, p. 104, 12; cp. above p. 161) in which the charioteers strove to outdo each other *versis pannis*, was evidently the same as, or very similar to, the *diversium* of Constantinople. It has been

shown by G. Kaibel (*De monumentorum aliquot Graecorum carminibus*, Bonner Doctordissertation, 1871, p. 18; *Epigr. Gr.*, p. 338) that the epigram on the famous charioteer (φακτιονάρης), Porphyrius (*Anth. Plan.*, v, 340 = Jacobs, *Anthol. Gr.*, iii, p. 239 vi),¹ partly preserved on the base of his statue at Constantinople, refers to it. The horses of the four-in-hands of Porphyrius there represented are : Nicopolemus, Radiatus, Pyrrhus, Euthynicus; Halieus, Anthypatus, Cynagus, Pelorius; Aristides, Palaestiniarches, Pyrrhus, Radiatus. The epigram is as follows :—

Ἄλλοις παυσαμένοισιν, δεθλεύοντι δὲ μούνῳ
 Πορφυρίῳ βασιλεὺς τοῦτο δέδωκε γέρας.
 πολλαίκι νικήσας γὰρ εὐὸς πῶρεν ὠκίας ἵππους,
 λάξετο δ' ἀντιπάλων καὶ πάλιν ἐστέφετα.
 ἔνθεν ἔην Ἰπράσινοις ἔρις ἀσπετος, ἔνθεν αὐτῇ.
 ὡς Βενέτους, τέρψῃ, κόρανε, καὶ Ἰπράσινοις.

That this epigram refers to the *diversium* (διβέρσιον) is clear from the passage quoted by Kaibel from Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Cerimoniis Aulae Byzantinae*, i, 69, p. 336 Bonn edition.² From this somewhat obscure passage³ it appears that at that time the exchange of colours and teams, although not greatly in vogue, took place between Greens and Blues, on the one hand, and Whites and Reds, on the other. I do not understand what is meant by the *σκεύη* which were not exchanged. There were two kinds of *diversia*. In the one the servants and assistants remained with the charioteers of their party, in the other with the team, that is to say, they went over to the charioteer of the other party. In the latter case the victorious charioteers received the prizes in the faction with whose team they had won; in the former, in their own. At the end of the passage a third kind appears to be mentioned, in which the teams ran without the charioteers (who had gone over to the opposite party), probably urged on by the shouts and whips of the assistants. The victory won in this manner by the horses alone was put down to the party, by whose charioteers they were trained. Although in the time of Claudius⁴ a victory won by a team without a driver was still regarded as wonderful, it is quite conceivable that in later times circus horses were trained for this kind of race, as is suggested by the following

¹ Mordtmann, *Das Denkmal des Porphyrius*, in *Mith. d. deutschen archäol. Instituts in Athen*, v, 1880, pp. 295–308, Taf. xvi. He places the erection of the memorial shortly before the accession of Anastasius or the beginning of his reign (491–518): Porphyrius received the title ὁ εὐδόκιμος, which was given to charioteers at Constantinople.

² The so-called χορευτικοί on the N.W. side of the pedestal of the statue of Porphyrius is as follows (Mordtmann, p. 304): ὁλοὺς ὠδε, ὁλοὺς ἐκεῖ καὶ διβέρσια δεύτερον Μόρος ἐνίκησε Πορφυρίῳ ὁ εὐδόκιμος Σὺ βίγκας Πορφυρί.

³ Quoted in full in the German text (ed. 6).

⁴ Claudii Caesaris saecularium ludorum circensis excusso in carceribus auriga albatī equo Corace occupavere, primum obtinuerunt oppoſites, effundentes omnia contra aemulos quae debuissent peritissimo auriga insistente facientes, cum puderet hominum ar es ab equis vinci, peracto legitimo cursu ad cretam steterē (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, viii, 174); equi destituti ab auriga—tendebant—in cursus sollicitationem—ita ut—quasi per lineam directe currentes expedite medium tenerent stadii, ne forte post se qui sequebantur, praecedentes praecederent excederentque circulum; eo vero loco ubi multi gyri aguntur apte commodeque sese vertentes obviabant aliis; perpendendo illud quoque ut circulum propius contingeret temo cum equo a sinistra existente, ne videlicet gyrys maioris periodi longitudinem relinqueret et qui post veniebat et ceteris (Philo, *De Animalibus*, 58).

anecdote told by Libanius (ed. Reiske, iv, p. 150, repeated in Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, vii, 23): παράσιτος ἐπὶ δειπνῶν κληθεὶς βουλόμενος θάπτον ἀπαντῆσαι, ἵππον λαβὼν ἐξ ἵπποδρόμου ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ κεκληκόςτος. βωμὸς δὲ ἦν πρὸ τῆς αὐλῆας θύρας. νομίσας δὲ καμπτὸν εἶναι τὸν βωμὸν ὁ ἵππος ἔκαμψε καὶ συναρπάσας τὸν παράσιτον ἀπήγαγε καὶ μέγας ἀδειπνὸς τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ αὐτὸν προσαγγέλλει. *ib.* p. 154: τὸ σύνθημα δὲ οἶμαι τοῖς τοῖς περὶ τὰς ἀμίλλας καὶ τοὺς δρόμους ἀσκουμένοις, ἐπειδὴν θορυβοῦσιν τῶν θεατῶν ἀκούωσι, πάσῃ δυνάμει συντελεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τάχος.

The *πανία* (*panni*) exchanged by the charioteers are no doubt the *tunicæ* themselves; cp. the tenth epigram on Porphyrius (*Anthol. Graeca*, ed. Jacobs, iii, 240)—χρώμασι καὶ πέπλοις συμμετέβαλλε τύχας, which Kaibel (p. 25) rightly refers to the *diversium*. The agreement between the charioteers who made the exchange (*e.g.* not to damage the other party's chariot wilfully) is alluded to in the third epigram on Porphyrius:—

ὅς καὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ ὁ μὲν φρονος ἥνιοχ' ἦος
ἐξ ἐτέρων ἐτέρους αἰὲν ἀμειβόμενος.

It is uncertain whether the forms of the *diversium* in vogue at Constantinople existed in the Roman circus-games of the early empire. It is not clear whether the younger Pliny in the following passage (*Epp.*, ix, 6, 2) is speaking of a fact or only assuming a possible case: si tamen aut velocitate equorum aut hominum arte traherentur, esset ratio nonnulla; nunc favent panno, pannum amant, et si in ipso cursu medioque certamine hic color illuc, ille huc transferatur, studium favorque transibit et repente agitatores illos, equos illos, quos procul noscitant, quorum clamitant nomina, relinquunt.

According to the passage from Constantine Porphyrogenitus the *diversium* took place in the afternoon; cp. also the 50th epigram on the charioteer Constantinus (*Anthol. Graeca*, ed. Jacobs, iii, p. 250), who gained 25 victories in the morning, and afterwards 21 with exchanged horses. In the Roman circus also the show had probably been for a long time divided into an *ante-meridianum* and a *pomeridianum spectaculum* (Augustine, *Conf.*, viii, 6) by an interval at noon, after the first ten or twelve races; the passage in Cicero (*Orator*, 47, 137: et 'posmeridianas quadrigas' quam 'postmeridianas' libentius dixerim, already read by Velius Longus, *De Orthographia* in *GL.*, vii, 79 refers to this. Hence there is no difficulty, and the alteration of Döderlein (cp. Fleckeisen, *Krit. Miscellen*, progr. des Vitzthumschen Gymn., 1864, p. 48), who inserts *quadrijugas* after *postmeridianas* is no improvement.¹

XXVI. REPRESENTATIONS OF GLADIATORS (AND VENATORES) IN WORKS OF ART.

(Vol. II, p. 51, line 17.)

I HAVE no idea of giving a complete list of such monuments; my only intention is to illustrate the different classes of them by the aid of the most important examples known to me.

¹ [See also article by Pollak in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, v, pt. 1 (1905). Tr.]

Lamps. On these, as is well known, representations of gladiators, owing to their being intended for graves, are very frequent: Henzen, *Expl. mus. Borgh.*, p. 82. Cp. *Bull. Nap.*, ii, p. 139; *Lucerne Ercolanesi*, tav. 8; Jahn, *Alterthümer von Vindonissa*, p. 16, taf. 2; *Revue archéol.*, xvi, 371 (lamp from Constantine); Hübner, *Antiken von Madrid*, p. 621 (lamp; a *venator* fighting with four boars; inscribed SAECUL; for similar lamps, intended for illuminations at the secular festival of 248, cp. De Rossi, *Bull. di archeol. crist.*, ii, serie 1, 1870, p. 87). Lamps, resembling a gladiator's helmet in form, are frequent (P. J. Meier, *Gladiatorendarstellungen*, etc., in *Westdeutsche Zeitschr. f. G. u. K.*, i, p. 165).

Earthen vessels. On red ones, according to Leemans (*Rev. arch.*, ix, p. 71) *retiarii*, and shows generally, are frequently represented in the Leyden museum; cp. Janssen, *Monuments grecs étrusques et rom.*, ii, 2056, 2099; *Sammlung röm. Denkm. in Baiern*, ed. by the Academy (1888, heft ii, taf. 5 and 7). An earthen vase at Colchester with a bear-baiting, tamed deer, a hare and a dog, and pictures of a *secutor* and a *retiarius*, together with the inscriptions: Memnon sacviii (?) and Valentinu(s) legionis xxx (erected in lower Germany by Trajan; the writing is of the end of the first or beginning of the second century); Hübner, *Monatsber. der Berl. Akad.*, Feb. 3, 1868.

Glasses. See Henzen as above and *Vetri raccolti dal cav. Bartoldi*, tav. i. Trimalchio (Petronius, 52) had 'in poculis Hermerotis pugnas et Petraitis' (so cod. Tragur.). From the Pompeian *graffito*, representing a gladiatorial combat with the names Prudes and Tetrates inscribed (Avellino, *Atti di soc. Pontan.*, iii, p. 194 = *CIL*, iv, 538), I had conjectured 'Tetratus' for 'Petraius'. The same names recur on a green glass vessel in the Vienna museum (Arneth, *Kameen*, taf. 22, 5), also on a gladiatorial scene: (Tetr)aites Prudes Calamus (*CIL*, iii, 2, 6014, 2), and on two glass vessels, found near Chambéry (Tetrates, Prudes, Spiculus, Columbu(s), Gamus, Merops, Calamus, Hermes: F. Lenormant, *Rev. archéol.*, 1865, pp. 305-310, taf. xx - *CIL*, xii, 5696, 32) and in La Vendée (Hübner, *Eph. Epigr.*, iv, p. 209; cp. Allmer and Terre-basse, *Inscr. de Vienne*, iii, p. 220). But at Lillebonne, in the *Cimetière romain du Catillon* a vessel of greenish glass has been found, with a gladiatorial combat in relief, on which are the names Petrahes and Prudes (Cochet, *Rev. archéol.*, xvi, 1867, p. 151); and the epitaph of a *retiarius* at Makri (Telmissus) in Lycia runs: 'Επειὶ Παιτραίτης μετὰ τῶν συγκαταπαιτρῶν (Benndorf-Niemann, *Reise in Lykien*, i, 41, 157). This confirms the form Petraitis (Παιτραίτης as cognomen of the god Men: Lebas-Waddington, 668, 676; cp. *CIA*, iii, 73), of which Petrahites and Petrahes may have been vulgar by-forms: cp. Bücheler, *Rhein. Mus.*, 1872, p. 474.

Gems. See e.g. Lippert's *Dactyliotheek*; cp. also *Impr. gemm. dell' Inst.*, vi, 79; *BdI*, 1839, p. 112.

Reliefs. At Pompeii, of stucco, on the monument usually called the monument of Scaurus (Nissen, *Pomp. Stud.*, 392; *Mus. Borb.*, xv, tav. 27). Another of marble (16 palms wide, 5½ high) from the *necropoli marittima* (*Bull. Nap.*, iv, tav. 1). Near Aeclanum (memorial of a certain Celsus): *IRN.*, 1194 = *CIL*, ix, 1037. At Abella:

IRN, 1952 = *CIL*, x, 1211. At Venafrum (6 pairs, belonging to a Cassius and a Julius, the combatants indicated by V and M; IRN, 4649 = *CIL*, x, 4920. In regard to the Roman Torlonia relief with contests with wild beasts (*Mon. d. Inst.*, iii, tav. 38), Henzen (*AdI*, xiv, p. 12) conjectures with probability that it comes from the theatre of Marcellus; cp. *BdI*, 1853, p. 130; 163, p. 67 (terracotta relief, bronze figurettes, lamp).

The custom of exhibiting in public pictures of gladiatorial shows dates from the time of the republic; the first who did so being a certain L. (? C.) Terentius Lucanus, who set up his picture in the 'nemus Dianae' (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxv, 52; Henzen, as above, p. 15). Perhaps this is the same person whose name appears in a group of frequently occurring silver and copper coins, which according to Mommsen (*Gesch. d. v. Münzw.*, p. 554, 164) belong to the seventh century rather than the sixth. During the empire, when large paintings of remarkable events were generally in favour, it was evidently very common; cp. O. Müller as above, 211, 2. In IRN, 1439 = *CIL*, ix, 1666, the picture of a *munus* is mentioned, which was exhibited in a *porticus* at Beneventum. The paintings in the amphitheatre at Pompeii are well known (Overbeck-Mau, *Pompeii*, ed. 4, p. 181).

Mosaics. The *Musaico Massimi* (cp. Marini, *Atti fr. Arv.*, p. 165) edited by Winckelmann (*Mon. In.*, i, 197) is now at Barcelona (Hübner, *Aniken von Madrid*, p. 196); De Rossi (*Bull. crist.*, v, 87) assigns it to the fourth century, since the *editor* (the giver of the show) is a certain Symmachus. The most important is the Borghese, from the floor of a Tusculan villa (Canina, *BdI*, 1834, pp. 9-96), ed. by Henzen (*Diss. dell' Acad. pontef. di Roma*, xii, 1852); according to De Rossi, it is also a fourth century work. In Germany a mosaic at Augsburg, on which there are also circus games (Gruter, 336). Further, that at Nennig (von Wilmowsky, *Die röm. Villa zu Nennig und ihr Mosaik*, i, 1864, ii, 1865), which the editor (i, 13) endeavours without sufficient reason to put back to the time of Hadrian; cp. also Gerhard, *Denkm. u. Forsch.* (1854), p. 434 and *Revue archéol.*, xii (p. 106) with illustrations. In England, at Bignor in Sussex (*Archaeol. Britan.*, xviii, 1, p. 203). In France, discovered at Rheims in 1860; Desjardins, *BdI*, 1861, no. 6 (chiefly *venationes*; between Caracalla and Constantine); Loriguet, *Mosaïque de Reims*, 1861 (not procurable). See further appendix xxix.

XXVII. THE GLADIATORIAL TESSERAE.¹

(Vol. II, p. 57.)

RITSCHL, in his treatise *Die Tesserae gladiatoriae der Römer* (1864), expressed the opinion that these *tesserae* were medals for bravery, which also at the same time served as documentary evidence in claims for pensions. His solution of SP as *spectatus* was proved untenable by the discovery of six genuine *tesserae* on which *spectavit* was written in full, which has been explained in various ways

¹ See my discussion on the games in Marquardt's *StV*, iii, 560, 6-8.

(cp. Haug, *Die tesserae gladiatoriae. Bericht über römische Epigraphik* in Bursian's *Jahresber.*, lvi, 1888, pp. 103-107).

1. Bücheler (*Jen. Litt. Z.*, 1877, p. 736) has (after Mommsen, *CIL*, i, p. 195) again disputed the necessity of identifying these *tesserae* as gladiatorial. He regards them as 'mementos, hung up in temples on the images of the gods' by slaves, who, exceptionally admitted to the performance of certain sacred acts from which they were usually excluded, had been allowed for once to enjoy the sight of the divinity.

2. Mommsen (in Hübner, *Tesserae gladiatoriae* in *Ephem. epigr.*, iii, p. 163) assumes, with Hübner's approval, that the possessor of the *tessera* had been removed from the arena to the spectators (i.e., had been free from the obligation of fighting) on the day whose date it bore. Similarly Henzen and De Rossi (*BdI*, 1882, p. 8), the latter of whom remarks that the SP occurring in the list of gladiators (*CIL*, vi, 631) together with VET and TIR might mean *spectator*.

3. P. J. Meier (*De gladiatura Romana*, 1881, p. 53, 1) supplies *populus* as the subject of *spectavit*, 'ita ut tesseris indicetur, quando primum spectavit populus gladiatorem, i.e. tiro in ordinem gladiatorum sit receptus'.

4. Mommsen (*Die Gladiatorentesseren*, in *Hermes*, xxi, 1886, p. 266). The *tesserae* (an institution of the private gladiatorial schools) entitled the gladiator to look on as a spectator at the exercises of the school, in which he had hitherto been obliged to take part. With this was perhaps combined the right of superintending and examining the others by the presentation of the *rudis* (the wooden sword presented to gladiators on their discharge). Every gladiator who possessed the *rudis* was *spectator*, but not *vice versa*. The reason why the calends and ides are the favourite dates on the *tesserae* is, that the owners of gladiators were in the habit of striking out the names of combatants at the beginning or in the middle of the month (p. 271). Perhaps freedom from service also brought with it a certain retiring pension (p. 275).

5. A. Elter (*Die Gladiatorentesseren*, in *Rheinisches Museum*, xli, 1886, pp. 517-548) thinks *spectavit* must be identical with *spectatus* est, and consequently means, 'he has made his *spectatio*, is *spectatus*, can at any time appear as a qualified gladiator'. The *tesserae* are the diplomas, examination certificates of the *tirones* (for the issue of which the calends and ides seemed the most suitable times) or rather extracts from them (p. 526). They constituted the most important first step, the first official document in this career, the necessary certificate of qualification for the profession. They were a kind of passport or proof of identity, especially needed in private institutions with their frequently changing staff of qualified gladiators, officially issued by the authorities who superintended the games and exercised a sort of control over such institutions. On the other hand, they were superfluous in the imperial gladiatorial schools (p. 524). Consequently, in *spectare* we have to recognize the specific meaning 'to test, examine' (p. 530). Lebas (on Morcelli, *Delle Tessere*, p. 52) had already assumed the identity of *spectavit* and *spectatus*.

6. P. J. Meier (*Die Gladiatorentesseren*, in *Rheinisches Museum*,

xlii, 1886, p. 122) thinks that Elter's conjecture is only tenable if combined with his own. The sentence 'X (in this case *populus*) spectavit gladiatorem', the object being strongly emphasized and gradually becoming logically the grammatical subject, gave rise to the sentence 'gladiator spectavit'. The dates of the *lesserae* are those of the first public appearance of the recruits.

7. F. Haug (*Berliner philol. Wochenschrift*, 1888, p. 763): *spectavit* means 'he has tested, examined', and the gladiator previously standing in the nominative is not the examinee, but the examiner (against this Meier, p. 1004). Cp. also Haug, *Bericht über röm. Epigraphik*, in Bursian, lvi, 1888, p. 106, where he refers to *CIL*, ii, 4963 = Wilmanns, 2823 (Celer... Borea[e]... muneris tessera[m] dedit) in support of his view.

These various explanations are proof that our data are insufficient to solve the problem. I confess that they all seem to me to be based upon more or less hazardous suppositions. The assumption that an examination was necessary to acquire the right of practising the gladiatorial profession, is impossible for more reasons than one. At a time when the most important posts were obtained without examination (officials, teachers, physicians, advocates), the right to practise a dishonourable calling could not have been dependent upon an examination, if voluntarily entered upon. But it is well known that the combatants were slaves or little better, and no officials had the right to instruct their owners (or the contractors) as to the use they should make of them, provided that no breach of the law was committed.

Is it to be believed that all the owners of gladiators and contractors for the combats (at least in Italy) had agreed to allow only 'approved' gladiators to appear (in which case we should have to assume equally unanimous rules of examination)? For the gladiators, spoken of by Petronius (*Cena*, 45) would have owed their certificates to an excessive leniency on the part of the 'examination commissary'. Nor can I believe, with Meier (p. 16) that there ever existed a 'guild' of gladiators.

XXVIII. SUMMA AND SECUNDA RUDIS; PRIMUS AND SECUNDUS PALUS.

(Vol. II, p. 57, line 15.)

MOMMSEN (*Hermes*, xxi, 269) understands *summa* and *secunda rudis* of those gladiators who had been exempted from service by the bestowal of the *rudis*; they acted as first and second inspectors in a division or troop, and like the *lanistae* (*Passio Perpet. et Felic.*, 10: 'ferens virgam quasi lanista') carried as a badge a staff also called *rudis* (Gloss. Lab.: *rudis páβdos ἡ τῶν ἐπιστατῶν τῶν μοιραίων*), which always appears on monuments (Meier, *Rhein. Mus.*, xlii, 134: cp. also the inscription on the tomb of Flavius Sigerius: *summa rudis, vixit annis sexaginta*: *CIL*, viii, 10,983). Of course only a few of those who were freed from service (*rudarii*, Suetonius, *Tiber.*, 7; ἀποταξάμενοι Gloss. Lab.) became inspectors. They might

also be instructors (*doctores*), although this can hardly have been the rule.

On the other hand, *primus* and *secundus palus* can only refer to gladiators on active service. The former is clearly formed on the analogy of *primus pilus* (πρωτόπαλος in Dio, lxxii, 23 supposes a by-form *primopalus* as well as *primopilus*), the latter being of later origin. As the analogous formation implies an analogous meaning, *primus palus* can only mean the gladiator who was the best, at the head of his class; the combination with the genitive plural (*Vita Commodi*, 15, 8: '*palus primus secutorum*') is the original one, and that with the nom. sing. an abbreviation. The origin of the expression is obscure. Although the combatants who had become masters of their class of course continued their exercises, they certainly did not make use of the *palus*, which was only suitable for beginners. Hence it is inconceivable, that *primus* and *secundus palus* should have been names for the two 'exercise classes', into which all the gladiators (except recruits) were divided; and the assumption that *primus palus* = *veteranus* and *secundus palus* = *spectatus* (Meier, *Glad. Rom.*, p. 54; *Rhein. Mus.*, xlii, 136) is equally improbable and arbitrary.

XXIX. COSTUME AND ARMS OF THE GLADIATORS.

(Vol. II, p. 60.)

THE very numerous figured representations that have been discovered in modern times have greatly increased our knowledge of this subject, to which Henzen's admirable elucidation of the Borghesi mosaic is a special contribution. I have been unable to obtain Olenine's treatise *Sur le costume des gladiateurs*. Lastly, P. J. Meier has discussed the subject in a number of writings: *De gladiatura romana quaestiones selectae* (Bonn, 1881, pp. 13-46: *de gladiatorum armaturis*); *Gladiatorenarstellungen auf rheinischen Monumenten in Westdeutsche Zeitschr. f. Gesch. u. Kunst*, i, 153-177; *Gladiatorenreliefs des Berliner Museums in Archäol. Zeit.*, xl (1882), p. 147, taf. 6, 1; *Dei monumenti rappresentanti gladiatorii in BdI*, 1884, pp. 157-160. Of the monuments known to me I shall only mention those which are in any respect remarkable or informing.

1. **Retiarii.** Since this class of gladiators cannot possibly be confused with any other, our information in regard to it is most exact. Caylus (*Rec. d'ant.*, iii, pl. 24, 2 and 2: clay-figure, remarkable for the *galerus*). The mosaics referred to above (p. 168): Winckelmann, *Monum. ined.*, i, 197 (musaico Massimi). *Arch. Britan.* xi, p. 49 (cp. *Rev. archéol.*, ix, p. 183); xviii, p. 203 (mosaic from Bignor; cp. *Rev. arch.*, v, p. 562); *Atti dell' accademia ponteficia*, 1852, xii (the Borghese mosaic); *Archaeol. Brit.*, xix, p. 70 (relief of the *malus oculus*, repeated by Jahn in *Ber. d. sächs. G.*, 1855, taf. iii, 1); *Mus. Borb.*, xv, tav. 27 (so-called monument of Scaurus; cp. Mazois, *Ruines de Pompéi*, pl. 32); *Bull. Nap. n. s.* (1853), i, t. 7 (*Dipinti graffiti e bassirilievi pompejani*), ii (1854), t. 9, 20 and 21 (bone statuette); *Rev. archéol.*, viii, pl. 169 (gladiatorial weapons; cp. p. 147); ix, pl. 183 (reliefs of *retiarii*); Garrucci,

Graffiti di Pompei, tav. xii (combat between a *retarius* and a *Samnis*); Stevenson, *BdI*, 1883, p. 102 (the same); Benndorff-Niemann, *Reise in Lykien*, i (grave of a *retarius*).

The *retarii* were the only gladiators who appeared without a covering for the head (Suetonius, *Claud.*, 34; Juvenal, viii, 200-206). They wore a short tunic (Suetonius, *Calig.*, 30; Juvenal, ii, 142; vii, 207) or a simple *subligaculum* (a short apron above the hips), as usually on monuments (in the Mus. Borgh. white). With the exception of some bandages round the legs, their defensive arms were limited to the broad belly-band (*balteus*) and a sleeve on the left arm, with a kind of leather or metal shoulder-piece, rising above the left shoulder, to supply the place of the shield. This shoulder-piece (which is especially large on the Bignor mosaic and looks like a wing) was called *galerus*, as Henzen (*Mus. Borgh.*, p. 113) has recognized from the scholiast on Juvenal, viii, 208 (ed. Jahn): '*galerus est umero impositus gladiatoris*' (cp. *BdI*, 1853, p. 130). So unsuitable a name would certainly arouse suspicion, if it were not evidently a technical expression. Garrucci also in later times has recognized the *galerus* in the shoulder-pieces (*Bull. Nap.*, n. s., i, p. 101, 103 tav. 7, where such *galeri* found in Pompeii are represented; cp. *Rev. Archéol.*, v, 8, pl. 165). On the grave-stone of a *retarius* named Glaucus (*CIL*, v, 1, 3466) found at Verona the third object by the side of the dagger and trident, which Mommsen was unable to explain, is in all probability the *galerus*. In the passage of Juvenal, viii, 207:

Credamus tunicae, de faucibus aurea cum se
porrigat et longo jactetur spira galero,

Garrucci explains *spira* as a string fastened on one side to the *galerus*, on the other to the rope of the net, so that it fell from the former round the breast of the *retarius*. Scholiast: [*SPIRA*] hujusmodi aliquid, quo citius sparsum funem vel jactatum retium colligerent. According to Meier (*De gladiatura romana*, p. 30) the *spira* is rather the circular coiled up (Festus, p. 330 M: '*spira—funis nauticus in orbem convolutus*') rope of the net, which the *retarius*, when he wishes to throw, must guide to the left shoulder on which is the *galerus*; probably the *spira* was fastened to the *balteus*, but in such a manner that in case of need it could be detached.

A head-band, described by Galen, may also have been especially or exclusively used by *retarii*, who wore no helmet. Galen, *De fasciis*, 32, xviii a, 797: τὸ ἡμικρόβιον προσλαβὼν τὰ καλούμενα ὅσα οὕτως ὀνομάζεται. ἐπιδέχεται δ' ἥτοι εὐκρεπείας χάριν ἐν μονομαχίαις ἢ χάριν τοῦ κράττημα γίνεσθαι τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπὶ προσώπου τινὸς συμπτώματος μεθοδευομένου· ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν εὐκρεπείας ἕνεκα ἐπιδέοιτο βραχέα εἶναι δεῖ ταῦτα καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῷ μετώπῳ τετάχθαι. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν τὴν ἐμφέρειαν πρὸς τὸ ζῶον ἀποσώζῃ. The *retarius* on a Pompeian relief (*Bull. Nap.*, iv, tav. i; Meier, *Glad. rom.*, p. 29) wears such a band.

The offensive weapons of the *retarius* were in the first place the net (*jaculum*), which in Winckelmann (*Mon. ined.*, 197) appears so large as almost entirely to cover the figure of his opponent. It also appears in *Rev. arch.*, vol. ix. pl. 183, 2; *Archaeol. Brit.*, xviii, p. 203, and Gori, *Inscr.*, iii, p. 99, represented in *Bull. Nap.*, 1853,

tav. vii, 12). The reason of its rare occurrence on monuments is probably that the *retiaris* carried it folded together, before they flung it (Isidorus, *Origines*, xviii, 54 : ferebat occulte rete). It is not probable, as assumed by Meier (p. 32) and Henzen, that the *retiaris* did not always carry the weapon after which they were named and the clever handling of which must have constituted the chief interest of the combats in which they took part. If they missed their aim they retired, until they had made the net ready for another throw and were in a position to attack again ; hence the *retarius* is likened by Artemidorus (*Oneirocritica*, ii, 3) to a woman *καὶ φυγάδα καὶ ῥῆστα τῷ βουλομένῳ πλησιάζουσαν* : cp. Juvenal, viii, 204 ; *Gloss. Lab.*, RETIARIUS : δικτυοφόρος c. δικτυοβόλος.

His other weapons were the trident, the tunny-fish harpoon (*fuscina*) and the dagger (Valerius Maximus, i, 7, 8 and most of the monuments). The figure in *Rev. arch.*, v, 562, taken by Letronne for a *dimachaerus* is correctly explained by Chabouillet in *Rev. arch.*, viii, 416, as a *retarius* with dagger and trident : cp. Garrucci, *Bull. Nap.*, 1865, p. 134.

The throwing of the net may have been an old method of fighting, represented on an antique paste (Welcker, *Alle Denkmäler*, 2, tafel 16, 32) and occurring in the duel between Phrynon and Pittacus (Diog. Laërt., i, 74 ; Polyaeus, i, 25 ; cp. also Diod. Sic., xvii, 43, according to whom the Tyrians used tridents and fishing nets against their Macedonian besiegers). Strabo (xiii, 1, 38, p. 600 : see Welcker above) has evidently added the trident in his account of the duel in order, like the Roman archaeologists (Festus, s.v. *retarius*), to make this engagement the prototype of the *retiaris* combats. Whether the gladiatorial net and harpoon were really borrowed from fishing or not, such weapons were bound to suggest the idea of fishing. (Arnobius, *Adv. gentes*, vi, 12 : cum *fuscina* rex maris, tamquam illi pugna sit gladiatorii obeunda certaminis ; Martial, v, 24, 12 : *aequoreus tridens* ; *Aequoreus*, name of a *retarius*, *CIL*, x, 1927. One of the *galeri* found at Pompeii, *Bull. Nap.*, 1853, n. s. i, tav. vii, 2, contains a crab, a dolphin, and an anchor). In the joke told by Quintilian (*Inst. Orat.*, vi, 3, 61 : *Pedo de mirmillone qui retiarium consequabatur nec feriebat, Vivom, inquit, capere volt*), the only possible method of making sense seems to be the conjecture of Leemans (*Rev. arch.*, ix, p. 82 : de *retiaris* qui *mirmillonem*, etc.), although even then the joke is very poor. The fish, which is said to have been attached to the helmets of the *Galli* and *mirmillones*, who fought with the *retiaris*, is also found on those of other gladiators (Meier, p. 36, 3). The satirical song of the *retiaris* to the *mirmillones* : *non te peto, piscem peto, quid me fugi* ', Galle ? consists, as observed by Meineke (*Progr. des Joachimsth. Gymn.*, 1851), of *Ionici a majore*. From a similar (perhaps even the same) poem may be derived the mode of address (---o---o---o---) 'mortue Galle' mentioned by Martial, viii, 75, 16 :

hic mihi de multis unus, Lucane, videtur,
cui merito dici 'mortue Galle' potest.

These satirical songs were probably sung with appropriate rhythmic movement and to the accompaniment of music. It has been

observed that music was played during the combats. But of course they could not fight according to time; this would only be possible in sham fights. Of these Petronius (36) says: 'processit statim scissor et ad symphoniam ita gesticulatus laceravit obsonium, ut putares essedarium hydraule cantante pugnare (on the *essedarii* see below).

From the fact that the *retiarii* had no covering for the face (Juvenal, viii, 200) and were most lightly armed, Henzen (p. 113) concludes that they were the most despised of all the gladiators. Similar to them were the

2. **Laquearii**, who were armed with a noose instead of a casting-net. They are only mentioned in Isidorus, *Origines*, xviii, 56: 'quorum pugna erat, fugientes in ludo homines injecto laqueo imeditos consecutosque prosternere, amictos umbone pelliceo'. According to representations (on a gem and a clay-relief in Meier, p. 44) they also wore the *galerus*, but had no other defensive weapons.

The *retiarii* also fought in troops (*gregatim*; Suetonius, *Calig.*, 30), but evidently never against one another, but against the *Galli*,¹ *murmillo*nes (Valerius Maximus, i, 7, 8; Peto Albinovanus in Quintilian, vi, 3, 61), *Samnites* (who occur as opponents of the *retiarii* especially on the Bignor and Borghese mosaics, and also on that of Nennig, whose editor erroneously takes the *Samnis* for a *murmillo*) and *secutores*. The combats of the *retiarii* with the latter continued to a very late date (Meier, p. 22). The opponents of the *retiarii* are also represented by the term (originating in gladiatorial circles) *contraverele* [i.e. *contravetarius*] (Henzen, 6174 = Wilmanns, 2616 = *CIL*, vi, 2, 10, 180); this is also the meaning of >RET written by the side of six names of gladiators in *CIL*, vi, 1, 636 (A.D. 177).

3. **Secutores**. First mentioned in Suetonius, *Calig.*, 30; on Victorius' conjecture in Cicero, *ad Att.*, vii, 14, 2—*secutorum* for *scutorum*, cp. Meier, p. 19. They were the chief opponents of the *retiarii* (Isidorus, *Orig.*, xviii, 56: 'secutor ab insequendo retiarium dictus, διὰ γὰρ διώκει, says Artemidorus, *Oneirocr.* as above). Their arms were sword, shield, visored helmet, and a greave. The latter is evident from Philogelos (ed. Eberhard, 87): σχολαστικὸς ἐπὶ τῆς αἰκίας σεκούτωρος σχῆμα λαβὼν ἐπαιζεν. ἀφ' οὗ δὲ τινος ἀπαγγελλαντος αὐτῷ τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ πατρὸς, βίψας τὸ δπλον, ἔλκε τὴν κρημίδα. φθάσαντος δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ ἐπιστῆναι, ἔχων τὴν περικεφαλαίαν βιβλῶν ἀνεγίνωσκε. Dio, lxxii, 19, says of Commodus when fighting as a *secutor*: οὐδὲ ἐφίλει ὥσπερ εἶχε διὰ τοῦ κρᾶνους; schol. Juv. vi, 108: ATTRITUS GALEA: apparet eum secutorem fuisse; on the shape of the helmet, see Meier, p. 25. With this agrees the monument of a certain Urbicus secutor, poorly reproduced in Muratori, 617, 1, more accurately described by Cavedoni (*BdI*, 1846, p. 190) and Meier (*Gl. rom.*, p. 21); cp. also *AdI*, 1850, p. 125 (lamp from Salona). Isidorus (*l.c.*) gives them 'cuspidem et massam plumbeam', which is unintelligible; Leemans' conjecture 'cassidem et magnum clypeum' (*Rev. arch.*, ix, p. 80) cannot be supported.

The *secutores* were armed in exactly the same manner as the

4. **Samnites** (according to Meier, p. 14, the oldest class). As

¹ It is hazardous to conclude (with Meier, *Westd. Ztschr.*, i, 161), from lack of evidence that the combats between *retiarii* and *murmillo*nes ceased in the second century.

they are last mentioned by Horace, Meier (pp. 19-25) conjectures that later, as the opponents of the *reliarii*, they received the name of *secutores*, which first occurs under Caligula (Suetonius, *Calig.*, 30); as opponents of the *Thraeces*, that of *oplomachi*. The equipment of the Samnite soldiers as described by Livy (ix, 40) was somewhat modified in the case of the gladiators named after them. Their characteristic weapons were: the large oblong shield, often somewhat concave (Winckelmann, *Mon. ined.*, 199), but which on the monuments is only exceptionally (as in Livy's description) narrower at the bottom than at the top (so according to O. Hirschfeld's communication in the relief from Cavallargues mentioned in the note on ii, 61, 1, and in the gravestone described by Gurlitt in *Antike Denkmäler, Epigr. archäol. Mitth. aus Oesterreich*, i, 7; cp. the same i, 100); the sleeve on the right arm common to all gladiators, the greave on the left leg, the girdle, the visored helmet (worn also by other classes, Meier, p. 18), with crest and very long plume (Varro, *Ling. Lat.*, ii, 11), and a short sword. These arms are called by Juvenal, vi, 256: *balteus et manicae et cristae crurisque sinistri dimidium tegimen*. According to Cicero (*De Orat.*, ii, 325: *prolusio . . . Samnitium, qui vibrant hastas ante pugnam, quibus in pugnando nihil utuntur*) they carried lances only in sham fights; later, according to the monuments, perhaps also in serious combat (Meier, p. 34). The 'spongia pectori tegumentum' (Livy) was dispensed with, since as a rule the gladiator's breast was left unprotected (Meier, p. 17). Cp. Henzen (p. 107) and the particularly instructive representation of the figure of a Samnite from the Campana collection (tav. 7, 1). According to this Henzen has shown the Samnites on the Borghese mosaic as opponents of the *reliarii* (*secutores*), just as they appear on the Bignor mosaic; on the other hand, contending with *Thraeces* (*oplomachi*) in Bartoli, *Lucernae sepp.*, i, 22, Overbeck-Mau, *Pompeji*⁴, p. 182 (picture on the breastwall of the arena) and Boissieu, *Inscr. de Lyon*, p. 464 (terracotta vase). Other representations of Samnites: Guattani, *Mon. ined.*, 1787, tav. 3 (repeated in Clarac, *Mus. de Sculpt.*, pl. 866); *BdI*, 1850, p. 167; Bursian, *Zwei Bronzestatuellen aus Avenches in Anzeiger für schweizerische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde*, 1865, no. 1.

5. *Thraeces*. First mentioned in Cicero, *Phil.*, vi, 13; vii, 17; *Prov. Cons.*, 9; last in Ausonius, *Technopaeg.*, p. 488 Toll.; schol. Juvenal, viii, 201; Meier, p. 33. They carried the small shield (*parma*), with which they were opposed to the Samnites, who were armed with the large shield (*scutum*). According to Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xxxiii, 129) the *parma* was round and somewhat concave: 'plurimumque refert concava sint (specula) et poculi modo, an parmae Thraecidicae'; and so it appears on the monument of Scaurus. More frequently, however, it is not round, but square, like the *scutum*; see e.g. the monuments of the *Thraex* Priscus (*Mus. Veron.*, 444, 2) and of M. Antonius Exochus (Fabretti, *Col. Traj.*, 256 = *CIL*, vi, 10, 194). On the monument of a *Thraex*, described by Borghesi (*Bull. Nap.*, i, p. 95) the shield is 'grande e ricurvo' (large and bent round). The *parma* must also have been square, otherwise Martial (xiv, 213) could not have spoken of it as capable of being used as a *scutum* by a dwarf. Their characteristic

offensive weapon was the *sica* (the national weapon of the Thracians, Val. Max., iii, 2, 12), a short curved sword. *Corp. Glossar. Latin.*, ed. Goetz and Gundermann, ii, p. 183^b: *sica* ῥακικὸν ξίφος ἐπικαμπές. It is called 'falx supina' by Juvenal (viii, 201), and boars' tusks, 'dentium sicae,' by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xviii, 2). This is the shape of the *sica* on a relief in the amphitheatre of Nîmes, representing a combat between a *Thraex* and a *Samnis* (Pelet, *Descr. de l'amph. de N.*, pl. iii, f. 1). But more frequently the blade is not curved, but forms an angle about halfway down, as on the monument of Exochus (Overbeck-Mau, *Pompeji*⁴, p. 182), on the trophies of gladiatorial weapons in the gladiators' school at Pompeii (*Bull. Nap.*, 1853, tav. vii, 13 and 14; cp. also p. 114). The want of the large shield was compensated by a more complete equipment; hence Artemidorus attributes to them τὸ ἐσκεπάζθαι τοῖς ὅπλοις. Like other gladiators, particularly the *Samnites* (from whom, however, they are distinguished by having, in addition to the *parma* and *sica*, greaves on both legs), they wear the visor and the sleeve on the right arm; cp. Henzen, *Mus. Borgh.*, p. 112, *Bull. Nap.*, i, p. 95. By this the *Thraeces* on the monument of Scaurus, whom Mazois (*Ruines de Pompéi*, pl. 32) takes from Samnites, may be identified. In Seneca (*Quaest. Nat.*, iv, praef. 8) Haase's emendation 'quamvis staturam habeas [Thraecis cum] Thraece compositi' is impossible; the sense requires something like 'staturam—nani cum Thraece compositi'. It was natural that these heavily-armed combatants should generally be recruited from men of great stature; but in Petronius (45): 'unus alicujus *staturae* fuit Thraex', Scheffer's conjecture *staturae* is to be rejected. On monuments *parmati* are also seen with lances and straight swords (Meier, p. 34; Pacho, *Voyage dans le Cyrénaïque*, p. 53); on the other hand, a *scutatus* with a *sica* in a Pompeian graffito (Avellino, *Osservazioni*). In regard to this it must be observed that it would be idle to attempt to distribute all the representations of gladiators amongst the classes known to us. For in the first place they had no regular uniforms, but their equipments were undoubtedly subject to countless modifications that varied according to time and place; and in the second place the representations are certainly not always true. The *Thraeces* also fought with one another (according to the monuments), and with the *murmillones* (Meier, p. 33). But their chief opponents were the

6. **Oplomachi** (the usual form in inscriptions and good MSS.; Meier, p. 22, 4). Lipsius supposed that it was a later name for the *Samnites* (taken from their *scutum* [ὄπλον]). The occurrence of *Samnis* together with *oplomachus* in the list *IRN*, 737 (= *CIL*, ix, 466) may be explained by the assumption that the former name for the opponents of the *reliarii* had not yet been superseded by the later *secutor*, whereas the opponents of the *Thraeces* were already called *oplomachi* (see above). In the Pompeian list (*CIL*, vi, 2508) they appear not only as opponents of the *Thraeces*, but also of the *murmillones* and *dimachaeri* (Meier, pp. 22-25).

7. **Galli** and 8. **Murmillones** (apparently the only inscriptional form; Meier, p. 35, 1). According to Festus, p. 285 M (*murmilonicum genus armorum Gallicum est ipsique murmillones ante*

Galli appellabantur in quorum galeis piscis effigies inerat) the second name (derived from the fish *μορμύρος* or *μορμύλος*) also denoted the Gallic combatants; both names, however, occur together in the list *IRN*, 737 (= *CIL*, ix, 466). Certainly, the only other place where the *Galli* are mentioned is the satirical song of the *retiararii* (see above), whereas the *murmillo*nes are frequently referred to down to the latest times. Their chief opponents were the *retiararii*, also the *Thraeces* (Meier, p. 37); it cannot be concluded with certainty from *CIG*, 2164 (Meier, p. 41) that they fought against each other. The passages in Ammianus Marcellinus (xvi, 12, 40: seque in modum murmillonum opperens; xxiii, 6, 83: pedites in speciem murmillonum contacti) throw no light upon their equipment. Lipsius, who concluded from them that they were heavily armed, identified them with the *cruppellarii* of the Aeduians, slaves intended to serve as gladiators, 'quibus more gentico continuum ferri tegimen' (Tacitus, *Ann.*, iii, 43). Meier, on the other hand, thinks that they were lightly armed, and identifies them on a number of monuments (pp. 38-42).

9. **Dimachaeri**. Artemidorus, *Oneirocr.*, ii, 32 ed. Reif.: *διμάχαιρος δὲ καὶ ὁ λεγόμενος ὀρβήλας*. For the last word (so in V [Marcianus 268], in L [Laurentianus 87, 8] *ἀρβήλας*) which is evidently corrupted, Hercher gives *μορμύλων*; but this is very improbable, since the two classes have nothing in common. I conjecture that *βήλης* (*veles*) is the true reading, and that the corruption may have arisen from *ὁ καὶ βήλης* (καὶ in an abbreviated form) being written in the margin. Dymachero sive assidario in Orelli, 2584 = Boissieu, *Inscr. de Lyon*, p. 469). The figure in *Mus. Borb.*, viii, pp. 7, 8 has been wrongly explained as a *dimachaerus* (see p. 173).

10. **Vellites**. Isidorus, *Origines*, xviii, 57: velitum pugna erat ut ultro citroque tela objectarent; according to Cicero (*Brutus*, 78, 271) they had 'hastae amentatae' (spears with straps or thongs attached); 'hasta velitaris evolsa corpori hominis (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxviii, 134). In Nonius Marcellus, *De Propri. Serm.*, i, p. 56 M, ed. Quicherat, p. 57, 1: PETAUURISTAE: idem (Varro) de Vita Populi Romani lib. ii: 'nec minus in alio genere sunt ludii vellites (ludi velitis, Kraner, Varro *De v. p. R.*, ii, 21, p. 33) Galli, Germani, petauristae'. It is clear from Seneca, *Apocol.*, 6: 'ad xvi lapidem natus est a Vienna, Gallus germanus) that in this obscure passage we should write 'Galli germani'. Can 'Galli germani', no doubt a popular expression, mean real Gallic tumblers as opposed to the gladiators called *Galli*? (cp. the *Programm Acad. Alb. Regiment*, 1873, v, p. 3). Ovid, *Ibis*, 45: utque petit primo plenum flaventis harenae nondum calfacti velitis hasta solum; cp. Cicero, *Orator*, ii, 78, 316 and Marquardt, *StV*, iii², 562, 2. Perhaps also the 'veles bonu' sub vitem qui subicit hastas (Lucilius, ed. Gerlach, fr. inc. 44; cp. Festus, p. 310, Paul., p. 328 ed. O. M.) is a gladiator. Spears are to be seen on the gladiatorial trophies of Pompeii (*Bull. Nap.*, 1853, p. 115) and on graffiti.

11. **Provocatores** (Cicero, *Pro Sextio*, 64). The monument of a certain Anicetus provocator (Henzen, 6173 = *CIL*, vi, 10, 183) exhibits, according to Meier's description (*BdI*, 1884, p. 158) a gla-

diator equipped with *scutum*, sword, and greave (the Samnite accoutrement). On the other hand, in Garrucci (p. 13) there is an inscription: Mansuetus provocator victor Veneri parmam feret (unless we should read *palmam*; cp. Garrucci, *BdI*, 1865, p. 79). From the inscription of a prov(ocator spat(arius) (= *CIL*, vi, 7659) Garrucci assumes a special class of *provocatores*, who were armed with the 'gladii minores, quos spatas vocant' (Vegetius, *De re mil.*, ii, 15). Wilmanns (*E. I.*, 2609, 1) and Meier (*BdI*, 1884, p. 158 note) consider 'spat.' to be a mistake for 'spect'.

12. **Essedaril** (Cicero, *Ad Fam.*, vii, 10), probably introduced by Caesar. No doubt they imitated as closely as possible the British fighters in chariots, thus described by Caesar (*De Bell. Gall.*, iv, 33): *mobilitatem equitum, stabilitatem peditum in praeliis praestant; ac tantum usu quotidiano et exercitio efficiunt ut in declivi ac praecipiti loco incitatos equos sustinere, et brevi moderari ac flectere, et per temonem percurrere et in iugo insistere et inde se in currus citissime recipere consueverint*. Burmann quotes this passage and Seneca, *Epp.*, 29, on Petronius, 36: *ita gesticulatus laceravit obsonium, ut putares essedarium hydraule cantante pugnare, from which it is clear that the *essedarii* sometimes carried out their artistic movements in musical time*. Lipsius (*Saturn.*, ii, 12) rightly concluded from Suetonius (*Calig.*, 35), where the *essedarius* Porius sets his slaves free 'ob prosperam pugnam', that on every chariot (as amongst the Britons) there was a driver as well as the combatant. The mention of a 'mulier essedaria' in Petronius (45) cannot be accidental. The *essedarii* may have come especially into vogue as the result of the wars in Britain under Claudius and Nero; British women appear to have frequently taken part in battle (Tacitus, *Ann.*, xiv, 35): *Boudicca, curra filias prae se vehens—solum quidem Britannis feminarum ductu bellare testabatur*. *Esse(darius)* in the list *CIL*, ix, 466. Inscription on an *essedarius* named M. Bostorius in Garrucci, *Graffiti*, p. 66; *CIL*, vi, 631; cp. Meier, *Gl. rom.*, p. 43.

13. **Equites**. 'Equi gladiatorum' are mentioned in Cicero (*Pro Sestio*, 59, 126); *IRN*, 736 = *CIL*, ix, 465; eq. vet. lud. mag. (*CIL*, vi, 10,167); Artemidorus, *l.c.*; Galen, *De Comp. med. p. gen.*, iii, 2 ed. Kuehn, xiii, p. 601: *θεασάμενος γὰρ τινα μονομάχων τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων*. Isidorus (*Origines*, xviii, 53): *genera gladiatorum plura, quorum primus ludus equestrium. duo enim equites praecedentibus prius signis militaribus, unus a porta orientis alter ab occidentis procedebant in equis albis cum aureis galeis minoribus et habilioribus armis, sicque atroci perseverantia pro virtute sua inibant pugnam*. The horsemen fighting with one another on the monument of Scaurus have long coats of mail, small round shields, brassards on the right arm, tunics, visor-helmets, and spears; cp. also Meier in *Westd. Zeitschrift*, i, 165.

14. **Andabetae**. Occurs in Cicero (*Ad Fam.*, vii, 10); also the title of one of Varro's satires (Petronius, ed. Bücheler³, p. 165). From the gloss in Mai (*Class. Auct.*, vii, 551): *andabetae gens quoadam* and the mention of *ἀνδραβάραι* (*ἀνδαβάραι*?) amongst the legionary soldiers in Lydas (*De Magistratibus*, i, 46) Meier conjectures that they were gladiators who, like the *Samnites*, *Galli*, and *Thraeces*

appeared in their national armour. Nothing further is known of them except that they fought without being able to see, *i.e.* they probably wore a visor without eye-holes (Jerome, *Adv. Jovin.*, i, 37, *Adv. Helvid.*, 3, p. 3A, *Contra Rufin.*, 3, p. 101A; cp. the 'combat à l'aveuglette' in Lacroix, *Mœurs*, etc., *au moyen âge*, p. 236). Lipsius (*Sat.*, ii, 12) without reason took them for horsemen, chiefly because, according to Artemidorus (*l.c.*) the *ἵππεύς* means *γυμναῖα* . . . *φρένας οὐκ ἔχουσιν*; but it is quite inadmissible to conclude from this, not only that the horsemen could not see, but that the *andabatae* and *equites* were identical. Turnebus (*Adv.*, ii, 20) with as little reason identified *andabates* with the Greek *ἀνδάρης*, according to which he fought from a chariot. What Orelli (2569) says is correct. They are rarely mentioned on inscriptions or monuments, and by no writer of the imperial period (Jerome probably only draws from Varro); so perhaps this method of fighting fell into disuse at the end of the republic.

15. **Paenularii.** Orelli, 2566 = *CIL*, vi, 631 (inscription of the colleg. *Silvani*) and Henzen, 6176 = *CIL*, vi, 10,168 (a 'paegniarius ludi magni', who lived to nearly 100); Wilmanns, *E.I.*, 2617; *CIL*, vi, 10,182. Suetonius, *Calig.*, 26, ed. Roth: *tabidis feris vilissimos senioque confectos gladiatores*, "quoque paegniaris patres familiarum notos sed insignis debilitate aliqua obiciebat (*cod. Mem. pegniaries*, other *codd.* *pegmares*, for which Scutilli [*De coll. gladi.*] and Marini [*Iscr. alb.*, p. 12] had already conjectured *paegniarios*). That they were dwarfs, as conjectured by Cavedoni (*BdI*, 1846, p. 191) is improbable. Perhaps they carried *arma lusoria* (arms incapable of causing death). The mosaic found at Nennig represents a fight between two *paegniarii*; they are protecting themselves with small shields, and carry in the left hand a staff bent round at the top with a large knob, in the right a whip. Meier (*Westd. Ztschr.*, i, 157) believes that they appeared at the midday interval, according to Seneca (*Epp.*, 7): *casu in meridianum spectaculum incidi lusus expectans et sales et aliquid laxamenti*, and Tertullian (*Ad Nat.*, i, 10 = *Apolog.*, 15) *risimus et meridiani ludi de deis lusus* (? a pantomime). The assumption of Henzen (*Mus. Borgh.*, p. 117) that *meridiani* was the name of a special class of gladiators, is based on an inscription (Orelli, 2587 = Gruter, 335, 4) which is not genuine. Other classes of gladiators are erroneously assumed or at least cannot be certainly shown to have existed. The *manicarii* in the colleg. *Silvani* (*CIL*, vi, 631) are not gladiators but makers of brassards, which is the less remarkable, as an *uncior* was also a member of this *collegium*. The *velarii* who drew up and pulled to the awning of the amphitheatre may also have belonged to the gladiatorial 'families' (the whole troop of gladiators under one trainer was often called *familia*): Orelli, 2569, *Ind.* p. 189; Herzog, *Gall. Narb. App.* 315 (Antipolis = *CIG*, 6776): *Ἀντιπολὶς καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ τὸ γενικὸν μισθολόγων καὶ οὐδ' ἀρ[ιστο]* . . .

16. **Scissores.** Only in the list *IRN*, 737 = *CIL*, ix, 466, where a Marcus Caecilius scisso(r) is mentioned, as a *tiro*, killed or dead (Meier, p. 43, 2).

17. **Sagittarii.** *IRN*, 737 = *CIL*, ix, 466. Meier concludes from the following passages that not only those who fought with wild

beasts, but also gladiators proper used bow and arrows: Persius (iv, 42): *caedimus inque vicem praebemus crura sagittis*—*ilia subter caecum vulnus habes, sed lato balteus auro praetegit*; cp. schol. *Nux*,¹ 171: *corpora praebemus plagis, ut saepe sagittis, quem (codd. cum) populus manicas deposuisse vetat (i.e., quem populus non mittit)*. In the latter passage gladiators may be meant, whose death was demanded by the people, and who were obliged to serve as targets for archers. In the former *caedimus* leads to the assumption that gladiators differently equipped (? horsemen) were matched with the archers.

Gladiators might be skilled in more than one mode of fighting. Boissieu, *Inscr. de Lyon*, p. 469 = Muratori, 613, 3: *dymachaero sive assidario p. vii rv(di)*; Martial, v, 25, 11:—

Hermes belligera superbus hasta,
Hermes aequoreo minax tridente,
Hermes casside languida timendus.

Hermes was a *velox* and a *retiarius*: the third class cannot be defined with certainty.

Venatores. To these belonged the *taurocentae* and *taurarii* (*IRN*, 2378 = *CIL*, x, 1074); the same inscription mentions *succursores* and *ponlarii* (? *contarii* from *κοντῆς*; cp. *κοντοκυνήγιον*, *CIG*, 3422). *Succursores* probably, like *successores* (a successor Augusti in *IRN*, 4785 = *CIL*, ix, 2369), appear to have been persons who irritated the bull and then took to flight (Henzen, *Mon. Borgh.*, p. 151). On monuments the figures of men badly armed or quite unarmed are probably condemned criminals (*bestiarii*), the well-equipped trained *venatores*, whose chief armament was the *manica*. Fronto, *Ad M. Caesarem epp.*, v, 23: *consul populi Romani posita praetexta manicam induit, leonem inter juvenes quinquatribus percussit populo Romano spectante*. Whereupon Marcus inquires: *quando id factum et an Romae? num illud dicis in Albano factum sub Domitiano?* In Juvenal, iv, 99: *cominus ursos figebat—nudus arena venator, nudus = wearing nothing but the simple tunica*. Well-armed *venatores* may be seen in Bartoli, *Pitt. antiche*, ii, 27, especially on the Torlonia relief (see above, p. 168), where Henzen's (*Mus. Borgh.*, p. 117; cp. *AdI*, 1841, p. 15) recognition of a Parthian equipment receives additional support from the fact that the Parthians were experts at shooting wild animals with arrows: Tirdates distinguished himself in this manner (Dio, lxiii, 3), and Commodus took lessons in archery from Parthians, in javelin-throwing from Moors (Herodian, i, 15). A *venator* on horseback, pursuing a deer in flight, already wounded by a spear, in Garrucci, *Graff.*, pl. xiv, 5 (cp. p. 74); mounted *venatores* on contorniates (Sabatier, *Descr. gén. des c.*, pl. iv, 1 and pl. ix). Slings as weapons of *venatores* (P. J. Meier, in *Bonner Jahrbücher*, lxi, p. 111). On the whole they appeared variously equipped, sometimes without any defensive weapons, only armed with a hunting spear (*Bull. Nap.*, iv, tav. 1). Yet *venatores* appears to have been the general name for all who

¹ [An elegy on a 'nut-tree' sometimes ascribed to Ovid (printed in Bährens, *Poetae Latini minores*, i, 90). It is probably not by him, but at any rate belongs to the Augustan age. Tr.]

fought with wild beasts (except condemned criminals); P. J. Meier's conjecture (*BdI*, 1884, p. 159) that only those were so called 'che facevano uso di brache ed erano muniti completamente d'arnesi da caccia', the heavily (in Samnite fashion) armed *provocatores*, is at once arbitrary and improbable.

XXX. ON THE ANIMALS USED FOR THE ROMAN *VENATIONES*
(Vol. II, p. 62.)

OF the treatises on this subject with which I am acquainted the most complete, the best arranged and most instructive (in spite of errors in detail) is that of Mongez, *Mémoire sur les animaux promenés ou tués dans les cirques* in *Mémoires de l'Institut*, tom. x (1833), pp. 360-460. In the following survey I have as far as possible preserved the chronological order and discussed the animals in the order in which they became known at Rome or are mentioned by ancient writers. Three periods may be distinguished.

a. From the introduction of the *venationes* to the games of Scaurus (186-58 B.C.).

Elephants. The Romans first became acquainted with elephants in the war in Lucania against Pyrrhus, whence they were popularly called 'Lucanian oxen', an expression first occurring in Plautus (Marcellinus, *Chronic.* ad a. 496 p. C.: India Anastasio principi elephantem, quem Plautus poeta noster misit; L. Müller in *Rhein. Mus.*, xxi, p. 299), and last used by the Christian writer Claudianus Mamertus in the fifth century (*ib.* in *N. Jahrb. f. Phil.*, 1886, p. 391). They were first exhibited in Rome at the triumph of Manius Curius Dentatus (275 B.C.; Seneca, *De Brevitate Vitae*, xiii, 3). Lucius Caecilius Metellus, the victor over the Carthaginians, who triumphed 250 B.C., caused 120 (or 140 or 142) elephants to be driven into the circus; according to Verrius they were killed, according to other authorities, not (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, viii, 16; Seneca, *De Brev. Vit.*, 13, 8). A coin of the *gens Caecilia* (Ursini, *Fam. rom.*, p. 37) exhibits, in commemoration of this triumph, an elephant with a bell round its neck. They were first made to fight in Rome 99 and 79 B.C. against bulls (Pliny, *l.c.*; Gran. Licinian., xxxi). Pompey, who first rode in a chariot drawn by elephants, at his African triumph in 81 B.C. (Pliny, *ib.*, viii, 4; according to Plutarch, *Vit. Pomp.*, 14, 3, however, the gate being too narrow, he was obliged to use horses), was also the first to set them fighting (20, 17, or 18 of them) with men (at the dedication of his theatre, 55 B.C., Seneca, *ib.*; Pliny, *ib.*; Dio, xxxix, 38; Cicero, *Ad Fam.*, vii, 1).

Under the empire, when elephants were chiefly used for drawing imperial triumphal and processional chariots (also for heavy loads, e.g. the colossus of Nero in Hadrian's reign was drawn from its place by 24 elephants; *Vit. Hadr.*, 19), their appearance in the circus was generally limited to the performance of tricks; they were only rarely given up to the *venationes*. Even at the dedication of the Flavian amphitheatre only four fought (Dio, lxvi, 25; one with a

bull, *Lib. Spect.*, 17) ; one (against a rhinoceros) in A.D. 5 (Dio, lv, 27) ; Commodus killed two (Dio, lxxii, 10) ; one was killed in 202 (Dio, lxxvi, 1) ; one in 212 (Dio, lxxvii, 16) ; one in 218 (Dio, lxxix, 9). On coins of Titus, Antoninus Pius, Commodus, Severus, of the years 80, 149, 183, 197 the elephant appears dressed in a coat of mail resembling net-work. A coin of Gordian, representing an elephant (accompanied by a mahout) fighting against a bull in the amphitheatre, is repeated on a contorniate (Sabatier, *Descr. gén.*, t. viii, 11).

African wild animals (Africanae, Ὀνπία Λιβυκά, i.e. various species of the genus *Felis*, especially spotted, such as *panthers* and *leopards*, which the Romans, according to Brehm, *Illustr. Thierl.*, i, 257, rightly regarded as two distinct species ; the name *leopardus* first occurs in the *Scriptores historiae Augustae* ; see Mongez, p. 379, and cf. Keller, *Thiere d. kl. Alterth.*, p. 144) were seen at Rome as early as the first *venatio*, 186 B.C. (Livy, xxxix, 22), and (63 in number) at a second in 169 B.C. (Livy, xlv, 18). The tribune Gnaeus Aufidius (according to Pighi, *Ann.*, iii, p. 106, probably in 140 B.C.) contrary to an old decree of the senate, exceptionally allowed their introduction. During his aedileship Scaurus exhibited 150, all spotted ; Pompey 410 ; Publius Servilius, when praetor in 25 B.C., 300 (Dio, xiii, 27) ; Augustus 420 (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, viii, 64), according to Dio, at the dedication of the theatre of Marcellus (13 B.C.), as many as 600 at once (Dio, liv, 26), altogether some 3500 during his reign (*Mon. Ancyr.*) ; Caligula 400 at the dedication of the temple of Augustus A.D. 37 (Dio, lix, 7) ; Claudius, A.D. 41, 300 (Dio, lx, 7). These were the most commonly used of the non-European animals at *venationes*, in Rome and in the *municipia* (at Verona, Pliny, *Epp.*, vi, 34 ; Allifae, *IRN*, 4768 = *CIL*, ix, 2350).

Hyaenas. Only mentioned once (*Gordiani Tres*, 33 ; belbi, id est, hyaenae decem) ; cp. *Edict. Diocl.*, viii, 19, 59 : *pellis hyaenae infecta . . . confecta*. They seem to have been little suited for *venationes*.

Lions. Exhibited at the first *venatio* of M. Fulvius (Livy *l.c.*), but probably without fighting ; Quintus Scaevola (consul B.C. 95) during his aedileship first gave a fight with a number of lions, even these being probably chained up ; they were first let loose in the circus by Sulla at a show given by him during his praetorship ; javelin-throwers were obtained from King Bocchus to fight with them (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, viii, 53 ; Seneca, *De Brev. Vit.*, xiii, 6). According to Pliny these were 100 lions with manes (*jubati*), also distinguished elsewhere (e.g. *Vit. Prob.*, 19) from the rest ; Mongez (p. 390) conjectures that only those with manes were real lions, the others being Indian leopards (*chasseur des Indes* : *Felis jubata* Linn.). However, there is a maneless kind of lion in India, in Gujrat (*Felis leo Goojratensis* ; Oken, *Allg. Naturgesch.*, vii, 2, p. 1658 ; Brehm, *Illustr. Thierl.*, i, 213) : it is also found in other parts of India, and perhaps the south Persian is to be included in this variety, which may have been commoner in antiquity than at the present day. Pompey exhibited 600 in the circus, 325 of them with manes (according to Dio, xxxix, 38 ; Plutarch, *Pomp.*, 52, gives only 507) ; Caesar 400 (Pliny, *l.c.*) ; Augustus, at the dedica-

tion of the temple of Mars Ultor (2 B.C.) 200 (Dio, lv, 10) ; Germanicus (A.D. 12) 200 (Dio, lvi, 27) ; Nero (A.D. 56) 300 (Dio, lxi, 9). Hadrian (*Vita*, 18) is said to have frequently provided 100 lions for the circus ; in the year 118 on his birthday, 100 lions and 100 lionesses (Dio, lxi, 8). Antoninus Pius (*Vita*, 10) also exhibited 100 lions at once, probably at the secular games celebrated with great magnificence in the year 900 of the city (A.D. 147 ; Victor, *Caes.*, 15), and in like manner Marcus Aurelius (Eutropius, viii, 14 ; cp. Eusebius, *Chron.*, 181). Commodus is said to have slain the same number at a single show (Herodian, i, 15 ; Ammianus Marcellinus, xxxi, 10, 19). Probus (*Vita*, 19) caused 100 maned lions, whose roaring was like thunder, and 100 lionesses, to be slain in the amphitheatre.

Ostriches. Exhibited at the first *venationes* in the circus. Plautus, *Persa*, ii, 2, 17 : *vola curriculo. istuc (?) marinus passer per circum solet*. Commodus shot them as they were running with arrows, the points of which were crescent-shaped (Herodian, i, 15, 5 ; cp. Dio, lxxii, 20). The first Gordian, when aedile (*Vit.*, i, 3), at his sixth show exhibited 300 Moorish ostriches dyed red (in the inscription *CIL*, x, 3704 : *venatione pass., denis bestis et iiii feris dent., pass.* is not to be taken with Lipsius for *passerum*, but = *passiva*, i.e. *promiscua* ; Mommsen, *Mith. d. arch. Inst.*, 1888, p. 82). Trained *Cranes* are the only other birds which are mentioned in connexion with *venationes* (Dio, lxvi, 25). *Parrots* and other rare birds were, however, used at exhibitions, probably also to adorn the forum on the occasion of the spectacles (Varro, *R.R.*, iii, 9, 7 : *gallinae rusticae . . . in ornatibus publicis poni solent cum psittacis et merulis albis, item aliis id genus rebus inusitatis*).

As far as we know, these were the only non-European animals used in *venationes* before the aedileship of Scaurus. Of European animals, the following are mentioned :—

Bears. From Lucania (Varro, *L.L.*, v, 100 ; Martial, *Spect.*, 8 ; Galen, *De alimentor. facultatibus*, iii, 2 ed. Kuehn, vi, 666 : *ἐν Λευκανίᾳ δὲ τῆς Ἰταλίας τὸ μεταξύ πρὸς ἄρκτου τε καὶ οὐός* ; ? Petronius, 66 : *ursina . . . ipsum aprum sapit*). From Apulia (Symmachus, *Epp.*, x, 13 and 15). From Dalmatia (*ib.*, x, 20). Caledonius ursus (Martial, *Spect.*, 7, 3). Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus when curule aedile (B.C. 61), first exhibited 100 Numidian bears. There can be no doubt that bears were found in Numidia ; this is attested by numerous passages in ancient writers (Herodotus, iv, 191 ; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, viii, 131 ; Martial, i, 104, 5 ; Juvenal, iv, 99 ; Dio, liii, 27, etc.), and also by the fact that Charlemagne received a bear from that country (Monach. Gall., *Gesta Karoli*, iii, 8). Shaw (*Voyages*, 1723, i, 323) says that the bear is found in Barbary, cp. Oken, *Allgemeine Naturgeschichte*, vii, 2, p. 1670 ; Brehm, *Illustr. Thierl.*, i, 580, doubts this. Cp. on the other hand Keller, *Thiere d. klass. Alt.*, p. 365, 3 ; and on the diffusion of the bear in Spain, Gaul, Germany, Noricum, Pannonia, Thrace, northern Greece, anterior Asia, *ib.*, p. 106. As early as 169 B.C. 40 bears were exhibited (Liv., xlv, 18) ; in later times, their number equalled or exceeded that of the *Africanæ bestiae*. Thus, Publius Servilius during his praetorship (25 B.C.) exhibited 300 bears (Dio, liii, 27) ; Caligula 400 (Dio,

lix, 7) ; Nero 400 (Dio, lxi, 9). Commodus slew 100 (Dio, lxxii, 18) ; the first Gordian (*Vit.*, 3) exhibited on one day 1000 together with 100 *Africanæ bestiae* ; Probus 300 (*Vit.*, 19). Minturnæ (*CIL*, x, 6012), A.D. 249 : cum ursis ii (et ?) herban.

Bulls. Very frequently mentioned ; as early as 79 B.C. fighting with elephants (so often, e.g. Martial, *Spect.*, 17), later in particular with men. Varro, *R.R.*, iii, 5, 3 : ostium habere (ornithona oportet) humile et angustum et potissimum ejus generis quod cochleam appellant, ut solet esse in cavea in qua tauri pugnare solent. The numbers are not given as a rule, since they were evidently too common. Theodosius is said to have forbidden bull-fights at Rome (Prudentius, *Adv. Symmachum*, ii, 1122). *Zebus.* First mentioned at one of Nero's shows : Vidimus et tauros quibus aut cervicē levata deformis scapulis torus eminet (Calpurnius, *Ecl.*, vii, 60) ; carici quoque in parte Asiae foedi visu tubere super armos a cervicibus eminente (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, viii, 45). They were especially common in Cyprus (Κύπριοι βόες, tauri Cypriaci ; Keller, pp. 66-72, who wrongly put the show described by Calpurnius in the reign of Carinus).

Boars. Martial, v, 65, 10 : quod tua Maenaliος collocat hasta sues ? Tamed : *ib.*, i, 104, 6 : et quantum Calydon tulisse fertur, pareat purpureis aper capristis. At the *decennalia* of Severus (A.D. 202) 60 boars had to fight with one another (Dio, lxxvi, 1) ; 150 boars (*Gord. Tres.*, 3) ; 1000 (*Probus*, 19).

Wild and tame animals of various kinds, included under the general title of *animalia herbatia* (*Vit. Probi*, 19 ; *BdI*, 1859, p. 51 = *CIL*, viii, 7969 [Rusicade] venat. vari gen. dentatar. ferar. et [man]suet. item herbat). The same are meant by *herbanæ* (Mommsen, *IRN*, 4063 = *CIL*, x, 6012 ; cp. Henzen, *AdI*, xxv, 118), *herbariæ* (*CIL*, x, 7295 [Panormus] . . . omni genere herbariarum et numerosas orientales ; pp. herbariarum, Henzen, 6177 = *CIL*, vi, 10,209). Varro (*R.R.*, iii, 13) describes the preserves of Quintus Hortensius on his Laurentine estate, where at a blast of the horn ' tanta circumfluxit nos cervorum aprorum et ceterorum quadrupedum multitudo, ut non minus formosum mihi visum sit spectaculum quam in circo maximo aedilium sine Africanis bestiis cum fiunt venationes ; Plautus, *Persa*, iii, 3, 30 : citius extemplo a foro fugiunt quam ex porta ludis quum emissus lepus ; Ovid, *Metam.*, xi, 25 : structoque utrinque theatro ut matutina cervus periturus harena. Such animals were especially baited at the Floralia (Ovid, *Fasti*, v, 371 : imbelles capreae sollicitusque lepus) ; foxes at the Cerialia (cp. Preller, *RM*, ii³, 43). Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, x, 35, 57 : canem currentem post leporem jam non spectro cum in circo fit.

Of course they were also often seen in large numbers in the *venationes* of the imperial period (*Gordiani Tres.*, 3 : cervi palmati ducenti mixtis Britannis). In the latest as well as the earliest times, the *venationes* appear to have been again chiefly supplied with such animals as were more readily obtainable and were less dangerous ; at least they are particularly frequent on diptychs (so also Millin, *Voy. d. l. midi*, p. 100, pl. xxiv, 3 and *BdI*, 1851, p. 92) and contorniates (Morelli, *Thes.*, vol. iii, p. 1, tab. 33, 19 [vol. i, p. 335], vol. iii, p. ii, tab. 18, 19 [vol. ii, 79] ; other *venationes* (*ib.*, tab. 20 and 49).

All these European animals were also common at the games of the *municipia* (bulls and boars, e.g. in the Pompeian relief, *Bull. Nap.*, iv, tav. 1).

b. From the games of Scaurus to the dedication of the Theatre of Marcellus (58–11 B.C.).

Egyptian animals. First exhibited in Rome by Marcus Aemilius Scaurus, when curule aedile, at his famous shows (58 B.C.). They may have been procured by him during his inroad upon the country of the Nabataeans in Petra (Mommsen, *Rom. Münzw.*, p. 627, note 468).

The Hippopotamus, then exhibited for the first time, (Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, viii, 96; *Ammian. Marcel.*, xxii, 15, 21) was probably first killed at the celebration of Augustus' Egyptian triumph (29 B.C.; Dio, li, 23; Mongez, p. 428). Of course it was rarely seen, even in imperial times; one occasion was the games of Nero described by Calpurnius (*Ecl.*, vii, 66). Several are said to have been exhibited at the shows given by Antoninus Pius (*Vita*, 10), and Elagabalus owned some (*Vita*, 28). There was one at Rome during the reign of the third Gordian (*Vita*, 33).

The *Crocodile* also was exhibited for the first time in Rome by Scaurus; five of them, together with the hippopotamus, were kept in a reservoir dug for the purpose (Pliny, *l.c.*). At the dedication festival of the temple of Mars Ultor (2 B.C.) Augustus had the circus Flaminius flooded and 36 crocodiles killed (Dio, lv, 10). Strabo (xvii, 1, 44, p. 815 c) seems to be describing a different show. By the side of the reservoir was a stand, on which the crocodiles could bask in the sun. Some Tentyrites (men from Tentyra) pulled them up with nets from the water and let them down again; these men mingled freely with the animals without being injured. Domitian also exhibited crocodiles (A.D. 90; Martial, v, 65, 13: *saepe licet Graiae numeretur belua Lerna, improba Niliacis quid facit hydra feris?*), as did Antoninus Pius (*Vita*, 10); Elagabalus had one (*Vita*, 28); Symmachus intended to exhibit several at his shows, but they all died (*Epp.*, vi, 43; ix, 132).

The first *Rhinoceros* was seen in Rome at the games given by Pompey (55 B.C.; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, viii, 71). Lucilius had already heard of it (*Sat.*, 3, 21: *dente adverso eminulo hic est, rhinoceros velut Aethiops*). A rhinoceros was first killed by order of Augustus (29 B.C.; Dio, li, 23), after it had been exhibited in the *septa* (Suetonius, *Aug.*, 43). A rhinoceros fought with an elephant (A.D. 5; Dio, lv, 27). Strabo, who describes the fight (p. 775), had seen it himself. Pliny (*l.c.*) says the one-horned species had been often seen. Domitian was perhaps the first to exhibit the two-horned rhinoceros (Martial, *Spect.*, 22 ed. Friedländer); it is immortalized on his coins (Eckhel, vi, 393). Pausanias (ix, 21, 2) also saw one at Rome; it was called the Ethiopian bull. Commodus is said to have slain several (Dio, lxxii, 10); Caracalla had one killed (*ib.*, lxxvii, 6); Elagabalus possessed one (*Vita*, 28). One was exhibited at the secular games of Philip the Arabian (*Gordian. tert. Vita*, 33).

The *Chama* from Gaul (*Gallic rufus*) was first seen at the games of Pompey; it was shaped like a wolf and spotted like a pard (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, viii, 70); also called by the Romans *lupus cervarius* (*ib.*,

84). It is the lynx (*loup-cervier* of the French). Cp. Mongez, p. 401, who quotes the following from Thevet, *Cosmographie du Levant*: 'Les loup-cerviers sont trop plus cruelz que ceux dont nous avons maintenant parlé, et de cette espèce on en vit un en France, n'y ha pas long temps; lequel sortant de la forest d'Orléans, au pays de Berry, l'an 1548, dévora plusieurs personnes.' It is now extinct in France. Probably Caesar had sent this animal to Pompey from Gaul. *Edict. Diocl.*, viii, 35: *pellis lupi cervarii infecta . . . confecta*.

Lastly, at these games there was seen for the first and apparently the only time the Ethiopian *Cepus* (Pliny, viii, 70), a sort of ape with a tail (Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.*, ii, 8), according to Mongez (pp. 402-404) belonging to the class 'des singes-macaques habitans de la Guinée et de l'intérieur de l'Afrique': since Pliny says that their hands and feet are very like those of human beings, Keller (*Thiere des class. Alterth.*, p. 16) thinks they may be gorillas.

The Giraffe was first exhibited by Caesar at the triumphal games (46 B.C.; Dio, xliii, 23; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, viii, 69). It is spoken of by Varro (*L.L.*, v, 20: *Alexandrea camelopardalis nuper adducta*) and Horace (*Epp.*, ii, 1, 194). Pliny says that the animal, which the Greeks and Romans called *camelopardalis*, or wild sheep (*ovis fera*, no doubt a popular name), was known to the Ethiopians as *nabun*. On the Palestrina mosaic Νάβου and Καμηλοπαρδαλις are different but similar animals (Barthélemy, *Mos. de Palestrina*, p. 40). Cp. Brandt, *Bull. de l'ac. imp. de St.-Petersbourg*, 1860, t. i, p. 353: Is the *Nabus* of Pliny identical with his *camelopardalis*? The Arabic name is *zarāfa* (the lovely); modern Greek ζοράφι; in Albertus Magnus, *seraph*. See Mongez, pp. 413 and 418, who (pp. 411-422) has given the most complete collection of the statements of ancient and modern writers on the giraffe with which I am acquainted; cp. also Jahn, *Columbar. der Villa Pamfili*, p. 45). The first description of it by an eye-witness, subsequent to the Augustan age, is that of Pausanias, who saw one in Rome and calls it the Indian camel (ix, 21, 3); Florentinus, who is said to have lived under Macrinus, next saw one there (*Geopon.*, xvi, 22) and Dio (lxxii, 10) who saw one slain by Commodus. Under the third Gordian there were ten at Rome, which were led in procession at the secular games of Philip the Arabian (A.D. 247; *Gordian. III.*, 33); some also took part in Aurelian's triumph over Zenobia (A.D. 278; *Vit. Aurel.*, 33); two were sent from India in 496 to Theodosius (Marcellinus Comes, Chron. of the year). Ancient representations of the giraffe in Jahn as above (taf. i, 1 and *BdI*, 1858, p. 125: sarcophagus with the Indian triumph of Bacchus); cp. p. 173; *AdI*, 1863, p. 375; *Mon. d. I.*, vi and vii, tav. 80).

c. From the dedication of the theatre of Marcellus (11 B.C.) to the latest times.

The Tiger was first seen at Rome during the reign of Augustus. Varro (*L.L.*, v, 20) declared that it was impossible to capture it alive, although Seleucus I, towards the end of the fourth century, had already presented one to the Athenians, mentioned by Philemon and Alexis in Athenaeus (xiii, p. 590); cp. *Ausland*, 1860, p. 833 (*Der Tiger im Alterthum*). According to Dio (liv, 9) the first tigers

were presented to Augustus by an Indian embassy, which met him on the island of Samos (19 B.C.) ; according to Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, viii, 65) he exhibited the first tiger at Rome on the 4th of May, 11 B.C., at the dedication of the theatre of Marcellus ; it was tame and kept in a cage. Claudius exhibited four. A tame tiger also mentioned in Martial (*Sp.*, 18 ; i, 104, 1-3). Domitian presented a large number of tigers (probably at the shows given to celebrate the Sarmatian triumph, at the beginning of the year 93 ; cp. Martial, viii, 26 ed. Friedländer) ; so also Antoninus Pius (*Vita*, 10) ; ten were slain at a show given by Septimius Severus in 203 (Dio, lxxvi, 7). At the wedding of Elagabalus (A.D. 218) (who, attired as Bacchus drove teams of deer, lions and tigers, *Vita*, 28) 51 tigers are said to have been killed (Dio, lxxix, 9). Gordian III possessed ten (*Vita*, 33) ; Aurelian, four (*Vita*, 33).

In addition to the above, the following animals are mentioned as having been exhibited in Rome during the imperial period at the *venationes* or on other occasions.

The *Bubalus*, at the shows of Domitian. According to Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, viii, 38) the ignorant vulgar ('imperitum vulgus') gave this Greek name of the *antelope* to the *aurochs* (urus, *Bos urus*, *primigenius*), and the confusion was kept up : 'when buffaloes made their appearance in Italy under the Lombards, the name was ready to hand' (Hehn, *Culturpft.*⁴, p. 502). Also, the other wild ox found in Germany, the *Bison* (a name borrowed from the Germanic *wisand* by the Greeks and Romans), *Bos bison* (first occurs in Seneca, *Hippol.*, 65 : villosi . . . bisontes latisque feri cornibus uri). Tame, in Martial (*Spect.*, 23, 5 ; i, 104, 8 : turpes esseda quod trahunt bisontes) ; Mongez, p. 433 ; also Calpurnius (*Ecl.*, iii, 61) and at the games of Severus in 202 (Dio, lxxvi, 1) ; accurately described in Mongez, p. 450. Pausanias calls these animals, elsewhere called βόες ἄγριοι (Keller, *Thiere des cl. Alt.*, p. 53), 'Paeonian bulls' (they were especially common in Paeonia), and describes in detail the method of hunting them (x, 13, 2) ; he saw one in Rome (ix, 21, 3). At the present time this animal, 'the largest of the mammalia of continental Europe', is only found in the primeval forest of Bialowicza in the Russian province of Grodno (Brehm, *Illustr. Thierl.*, ii, 636). Cp. the comprehensive article 'Wisunt' in Schade's *Alld. Wörterb.*⁵, 1173-1185 and Keller as above, pp. 53-65. Further, the *Damma* (Martial, *Spect.*, 30), according to Cuvier an African antelope called *nanguer* (Mongez, p. 434) ; cp. Martial, iv, 35, 74, xiii, 94. It is often mentioned later, 200 in *Vita Gordiani III* (3), 2000 in *Vita Probi* (19). The *Oryx* (Martial, xiii, 95 : matutinarum non ultima præda ferarum, saevus oryx), a one-horned (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xi, 255) animal from the African deserts (*ib.*, x, 201). Martial (xiii, 100) also mentions the *Onager* (Cicero, *Ad Att.*, vi, 1, 25) as seen at *venationes*. It was formerly identified with the zebra (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. 20). Mongez (pp. 443-446) rejects this view, not only because the ancients mention that the *onager* was tamed, which the zebra never could be (cp., however, Brehm, *Illustr. Thierl.*, ii, 378), but also because it would have been truly extraordinary if they had said nothing about the characteristic stripes when describing the animal. The zebra is first described by Philostorgus (*Hist.*

Ecl., iii, 11) under the name *ὄνος ἄγριος*. Cuvier identified the onager of the Romans with the jagatai (*Equus hemionus* Pallas), others with the wild ass. It is frequently mentioned later (Dio, lxxvi, 1; *Gordiani Tres*, 3 [30]: *Gord. III*, 33: xx onagri, 1 equi feri).

At the shows of Antoninus Pius, where 'animals from every part of the world were' to be seen (*Vita*, 10), the following, not yet mentioned, were exhibited: the *Strepsiceros* (an African variety of antelope: Mongez, p. 439) and the *Crocota*. The latter, described by Dio, lxxvi, 1, at the games of Severus in 202 under the name *κοροκόττας* (Haupt, *Opuscula*, ii, 187 note; elsewhere used for an Ethiopian animal, Rohde, *Gr. Rom.*, 229, 2), which in his opinion had never been seen before that time, has been taken for a hyaena (Mongez, p. 436). According to the coins in Eckhel (*D.N.*, vii, 19), which for the first time exhibit the inscription *Municipientia* with reference to *venationes* and on the reverse a lion passant or an elephant in a coat of mail, these shows took place in the year 149.

Besides the above, Pausanias saw *white Deer* at Rome (viii, 17, 3) and the Gallic *Alces* (*ἄλκη*, ix, 21, 3), 'resembling in appearance both a stag and a camel', the elk. Gordian I and Gordian III had ten elks; and Aurelian a certain number (*Gordiani Tres*, 2; *Gordianus III*, 33: *Aurelian.*, 33). Henzen (*Ann. d. Inst.*, xxv, p. 118) thinks he can recognize the animal (Calpurnius, *Ecl.*, 7, 58: *raram silvis etiam quibus editur alcen*) on a diptych (*Mon. dell' Inst.*, v, 51).

The *Hippotigris*, mentioned by Dio (lxxvii, 6) as having been slain at the games of Caracalla is certainly the zebra, which was so called from uniting in itself the characteristics of the horse and the tiger, as the *camelopardalis* those of the camel and the pard: cp. Brehm, *Illustr. Thierl.*, ii, 373.

At the games of Gordian I mention is also made of: *oves ferae* C, *tauri Cypriaci* C, *ibices* CC. *Oves ferae* (here of course not giraffes) are animals of the class mentioned by Columella (*R.R.*, vii, 2, 4: *nam cum in municipium Gaditanum ex vicino Africae miri coloris silvestres feri arietes sicut aliae bestiae munerariis apportarentur*); *Edict. Diocl.*, viii, 25: *pellis obiferi (ὀβιφέρι)*; cp. Apicius, viii, 4 and Ducange, s.v. The wild maned sheep (*Ovis tragelaphus* Desm.), small flocks of which inhabit the high plateaux of Algeria, stands one metre high up to the withers, is very shy, and characteristically distinguished by a splendid mane on the underside of the neck, a much shorter one reaching over the withers, and thick knee-tufts (Schwarz, *Algerien*, 1881, p. 320). *Tauri Cypriaci* are zebus (see p. 184). The *ibex* is mentioned by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, viii, 214: *caprarum* genus). *Ibices* and *oves ferae* in *Vit. Probi* (19).

In the description of the shows in Calpurnius (*Ecl.*, 3, 57) the following animals are also mentioned: the *white Hare* (*Lepus variabilis* Pall.), the *horned Boar* (probably the babiroussa) and the *Phoca* (cp. also Aegae in Cilicia in the list of the amphitheatres); Mongez, pp. 448-453. *Pellis vituli marini infecta . . . confecta* (*Edict. Diocl.*, viii, 37).

Symmachus (*Epp.*, ix, 125) procured for his games some *Addaces* (a kind of gazelle) and *Pygargi* (perhaps *Capra aegagrus* Pall; Mongez, p. 456), also dogs from Scotland (*Epp.*, ii, 77), already

exported in Strabo's time (iv, 5, 2 p. 199) ; British hounds (Grat. Falisc., *Cyneg.*, 174 ; Nemesianus, *Cyneg.*, 124).

Snakes are never mentioned in the accounts of the *venationes* at Rome and were only used for show (see appendix ii). Philo (*De Animal.*, 52) saw a fight between a poisonous snake and one of another kind at Alexandria.

XXXI. HOW ANIMALS WERE CAUGHT FOR THE AMPHITHEATRE.

(Vol. II, page 69, line 5.)

THE animals were often captured in pits. Paulus, *Lib. x ad Sabinum. Digg.*, ix, 2, 28 : qui foveas ursorum cervorumque capiendorum causa faciunt ; cp. Pollux, v, 81 ; Festus, p. 87 (Keller, *Thiere d. klass. Alt.*, 372, 151) ; also in nets. Nets with feathers tied to them for catching bears, sows, deer, wolves and foxes are described by Oppian (*Cyneg.*, iv, 534 ; Keller, 120) and Nemesianus (*Cyneg.*, iii, 303). Panthers caught in Mauretania with snares, with rotten meat for bait (Aelian, *Nat. An.*, xiii, 10) ; differently, in Oppian (iv, 320). The hippopotamus caught in pit-falls (Achilles Tatius, iv, 2) ; a hippopotamus hunt with harpoons Diod. Sic., i, 35), as still in the Sudan (Brehm, *Illustr. Thierl.*, ii, 776). Cp. the representations on the Palestrina mosaic and Gerhard, *Archäol. Anzeiger*, 1858, p. 169*. The crocodile caught in nets, Diod. Sic., *l.c.* The manner of catching the bison, Pausanias, x, 13, 2. The *βοι δγριοι* (?) lassoed in Numidia by horsemen, Arrian, *De Venat.*, 24, 3. For the fabulous tiger-hunt, in which mounted huntsmen took the tiger cubs from their lair and saved themselves by dropping them in front of the mother in pursuit, see Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, viii, 66 ; Pomponius Mela, iii, 5 ; Martial, viii, 26 ; Bartoli, *Sepolcro de' Nasoni* ; Keller, p. 132. A different method in Oppian, iii, 353.

XXXII. MODERN ANIMAL FIGHTS.

(Vol. II, page 71, line 14.)

FIGHTS between animals are a very favourite amusement in Asia at the present day, as in the time of the caliphs (especially dog, cock, and ram fights ; Kremer, *Culturgesch. d. Or.*, ii, 75 and 203, 1). Fights between broad-tailed rams, camels, and buffaloes in Armenia (Brugsch, *Reise nach Persien*, i, 122, 125, 140). In Bokhara and Turkestan generally, ram-fights (Vambery, *Skizzen aus Mittelasien* p. 139). Animal fights are the diversion and often the only occupation of Indian princes. In Bharatpur antelopes, rams, cocks, and quails are trained to fight ; male elephants formerly at Lucknow (Orlich, *Reise in Indien*, pp. 195 and 207). One of the favourite amusements of the Javanese is a fight between a tiger and a native buffalo ; the former has often to be urged on by prodding it with sharp-pointed sticks, pouring boiling water over it, or pelting it with lighted straw (Selberg, *Reise nach Java*, 1846, p. 154).

In Europe also animal fights seem to have been by no means uncommon in earlier times. Queen Christina of Sweden arranged a fight between a lion and a bear and an aurochs (Grauert, *Königin*

Christine und ihr Hof, i, 421). On the 20th of January, 1701, at the celebration of the first coronation of a Prussian king, a baiting was held in the presence of the court, in the *Hetzgarten* (place for baiting wild beasts) at Königsberg, at which, in an hour and a half, 14 wolves, 1 aurochs, 3 bears, and 1 wild boar were slain (*Erläutertes Preussen*, v, 332). Such exhibitions also took place in Warsaw under Stanislaus Augustus (E. von der Brüggen, *Polens Auflösung*, pp. 151 and 159—fight between an elk and a bear—and 295). At Vienna, up to 1796, when the *Hetzhaus*, which held more than 3000 spectators, was burnt down with most of the animals, this kind of show was a very favourite one (hence *Hetz* was used in the sense of 'amusement'). Nicolai (*Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz*, 1781, iv, p. 630) represents these baitings as in the highest degree disgusting.

More barbarous than any animal fight is a custom which (according to the *Augsb. Allgem. Ztg.* (*Beilage* of the 18th of December, 1864) existed in the country towns of the States of the Church. 'On a fixed day in the year a bull is tied up in the market-place and all the inhabitants are allowed to amuse themselves by ill-treating it. It is beaten with sticks, pelted with stones, stabbed and hacked with knives, until it is dead.'

XXXIII. EXECUTIONS AND OTHER PUNISHMENTS CARRIED OUT IN THE AMPHITHEATRE.

(Vol. II, p. 72, line 6.)

IN addition to the shows, the amphitheatre was often used for carrying out sentences and executions. Suetonius (*Calig.*, 27): Atellanæ poetam ob ambigui joci versiculum media amphitheatri harena igni cremavit; cp. *ib.* (*Tiber.*, 75): corpus ut moveri a Miseno coepit, conclamantibus plerisque Atellam potius deferendum et in amphitheatro semiustulandum. Suetonius (*Titus*, 8): (delatores) assidue in foro flagellis ac fustibus caesos ac novissime traductos per amphitheatri harenam, partim subici ac venire imperavit, partim in asperrimas insularum avehi; cp. Martial, *Lib. Spect.*, 4, 4 b. Similarly, Trajan ordered the *delatores* (informers) who had been sentenced to deportation to be exhibited in the amphitheatre (Pliny, *Paneg.*, 34). *Vit. Hadrian.*, 18: decoctores bonorum suorum, si suae auctoritatis essent, catomidiari in amphitheatro et dimitti jussit. The amphitheatre in Constantinople was also used for executions: Bock, *Sur l'amph. de C.* (Suidas, s.v. κυρήγιον); Justinian ordered pagan books to be burnt there (Malalas, xviii, p. 48, 1; cp. also commentators on Ammianus Marcellinus, xxvi, 3, 2).

XXXIV. ON THE VELARIUM OF THE AMPHITHEATRE.

(Vol. II, p. 79, line 22.)

IN a short treatise (pp. 38) entitled *Del Velario e delle vele negli anfiteatri, specialmente nell'anfiteatro Flaviano* (Roma, n.d., Topografia di G. Menicanti), the architect Efisio Luigi Tocco contests the view (put forward by H. Barbarus and illustrated by a drawing by C.

Fontana, p. 8), that the perforated stone slabs in the cornices of theatres and amphitheatres could have been intended for holding masts or poles. The system of cordage would have exerted a considerable strain in the direction of the centre upon the entire periphery, and the slabs, being without any *point d'appui* outside, might easily have driven in the edge of the wall, especially during a strong wind; in order to support masts, they ought to have been constructed on the inner side of the periphery, where the edge of the wall would have acted as a support (p. 17). The slabs were, he considers, really intended to serve as supports for an uppermost wooden storey (p. 19). The author assumes, as the chief and absolutely indispensable *point d'appui* of the *velarium* a large mast in the centre of the arena. Consequently, the *velarium* was in the form 'di un gran padiglione, il quale avesse il suo centro alquanto acuminato, e tenacemente appoggiato al grand' albero di cui abbiamo parlato (a large pavilion, or bell-tent, the centre of which was somewhat pointed and firmly supported by the tall mast of which we have spoken). A construction like Fontana's would have been severely damaged by a sudden storm.

But the careful examination, kindly undertaken at my request by Mr. Paul Laspeyres (died 1881) in Rome, shows Tocco's assumption to be completely untenable. 'The old theory appears to me unassailable, although I am not quite clear as to the manner in which the awning was spread. But I have no doubt whatever that the necessary ropes were attached exclusively to the exterior upper periphery of the amphitheatre, by a ring of firmly planted masts. By using the corbels preserved in so many amphitheatres, with corresponding apertures in the cornice, the masts were fixed with complete security; for in the first place a stone corbel in which a mast is inserted at the point where it projects from the wall is capable of supporting weights far more enormous than any which could be required here, and secondly the four surfaces presented by the sides of the apertures in the cornice at the top of the wall afford effective resistance to the pressure. The tension of the rope only draws the mast inwards towards the centre of the building, and this pressure is entirely counteracted, just as in an arch, by the curve of the wall. Any tendency to sway from side to side is effectively checked by the compact mass of the cornice. The outer side of the aperture is no doubt somewhat weak, but owing to the constant strain of the mast towards the centre pressure will never be exerted outwards. The lower the point at which the rope is attached to the mast (and I know no reason why it should be particularly high), the shorter will be the lever which exerts pressure inwards and the less will be the strain on the structure generally. But in my opinion Tocco's theory requires these masts for the attachment of the lower ends of the ropes supporting the pavilion he assumes, for in any case, to avoid inconvenience, the ropes must have been attached above the heads of the spectators.

'The suspension of the *velarium* in the form of a pavilion with a central column would certainly have a pleasing appearance, but the construction would be impossible, because sufficient stability could not be given to the lofty mast in the centre of the arena, on

which the whole structure would depend. This central support would therefore have to take the form of a firmly braced towerlike scaffolding which would seriously interfere with the view of the arena'. Apart from many other considerations, the mere notion of such a central support 200 feet high (the outer wall having a height of 180 feet) is 'a monstrosity which ought to have roused Tocco's suspicions, and made him perceive that his whole idea is untenable'.

XXXV. ABOLITION OF THE GLADIATORIAL SHOWS. GLADIATORIAL SHOWS IN THE MIDDLE AGES AND MORE RECENT TIMES.

(Vol. II, p. 80, line 22.)

DE ROSSI (*Epigrafe storica scoperta in Porto alludente agli ultimi spettacoli gladiatorii ed alla loro abolizione*, in *Bull. crist.*, 1868, vi, p. 84) conjectured that the inscription on the front of a stone at Portus (*CIL*, xiv, 300): Arpagius Lupus v(ir clarissimus) petentibus civibus locum ca. ad splendorem nynfi sua om(ni pecunia)a solo constructum popu(lo . . .) largitus est; qua celerit(ate) publica est vota (exequutus) referred to the erection of a new building in place of a gladiatorial school. The inscription on the back (*CIL*, xiv, 157), in which a certain (Ac)holius Abydus v. c. probably (praef. annonae urbis) Romae is named, he restores as follows: (hic)miseri in dirum saevanecessitate certamen (ad oblectandos sua morte populos) armabantur ---- (aedificio autem con)dito sed sine usu ab initio der(el)icto ----. The gladiatorial school, which is said to be meant here, according to De Rossi's conjecture must have been built shortly before the abolition of the gladiatorial games in 404 (or rather of the gladiatorial schools in 399; see note on vol. ii, p. 81), and therefore have remained unused from the very beginning. The second line of the inscription on the front he restores as follows: locum ca(stri) or ca(mpi) (gladiatorii sordentem) ad splendorem, etc. He places the inscriptions somewhere about the time of Cassiodorus. But the uncertainty of all this is increased, since there is no proof either (1) that the stone was formerly in the place where it was set up by Acholius Lupus or (2) that the two inscriptions refer to the same building (cp. Dessau's remarks).

As to gladiatorial shows in the Middle Ages and in more recent times, I can only give the following references. Petrarch, *Epist. fam.*, v, 6: (in Naples) luce media inspectantibus regibus ac populis infamis ille gladiatorius ludus—celebratur plus quam barbarica feritate. Sons fall before their parents' eyes, juguloque gladium cunctantius accepisse infamia summa est. He describes a gladiatorial combat that took place near the city in the presence of the court, before a large and brilliant public: formosissimus juvenis rigido mucrone transfossus ante pedes meos corruit, whereat a tremendous shout of applause was raised. Brantôme, *Mém. de Henry II*: The Cardinal of Ferrara gave a festival in honour of the king at Lyons. Cette entrée donc fut accompagnée de plusieurs très belles singularitez, l'une d'un combat à l'outrance et à l'antique, de douze gladiateurs vestus de satin blanc les six, et les autres de satin

cramoisi fait à l'antique romaine . . . la troisième belle chose aussi fut cette belle naumachie, ou combat de galères tout à l'antique (between these two combats a tragedy was played by Italian actors). Macaulay, *Hist. of England*, ch. 3 : multitudes assembled (c. 1685) to see gladiators hack each other to pieces with deadly weapons, and shouted with delight when one of the combatants lost a finger or an eye.

XXXVI. LIST OF ROMAN AND PROVINCIAL AMPHITHEATRES.

(Vol. II, p. 85, line 12 from bottom.)

A LIST, as far as possible complete, of all the amphitheatres whose existence can be demonstrated with tolerable certainty throughout the empire, would afford the most vivid idea of the widespread popularity of gladiatorial shows and *venationes*. But of course it must not be forgotten that stone amphitheatres, the only kind of which fragments have been preserved to modern times, were only built where such shows were given regularly and with comprehensive equipments. Express testimony that people in many cases had to be content with wooden buildings is found in the inscription (time of Antoninus Pius) *CIL*, v, 2, 7637 (Ad Saluzzam inter Sturam et Padum) : (pecuniam)—reliquam—in munus gladiatorium et saepa lignea : and this *munus* was to be an annual affair. Consequently, we have no more right to assume for certain the existence of amphitheatres in all places where there is evidence for *munera* and *munerarii* (cp. e.g. Wilmanns, *Exempla*, v, ii, p. 624 and 654), than to conclude from the absence of amphitheatres that there were no amphitheatrical games (see vol. ii, p. 84).

But the attempt to give a survey of the amphitheatres that can be shown to have existed, can only lead to imperfect results. The evidence is founded either on tradition or still existing remains ; in both cases the danger of error is obvious. The written authorities are sometimes ambiguous and untrustworthy ; this is especially the case with the (partly apocryphal) *Acta Martyrum* and *Acta Sanctorum* (Maffei, *Degli anfiteatri*, second ed., p. 90). The existence of a supposed amphitheatre at Perugia, for example, spoken of by native writers, appears to be supported by no other evidence than apocryphal *Acta* of St. Herculanus (Vermiglioli, *Iscr. Perugine*, pp. 254-259). Some other information from the *Acta Sanctorum*, for which I am indebted to my colleague H. Jordan (died 1886) is given below. The statement of Anonymus Valesianus (Ammianus Marcellinus, ed. Wagner-Erfurdt, p. 623, 71), that Theodoric built an amphitheatre at Pavia, is rejected by Maffei (*l.c.*) on the ground that such a building is inconceivable, so long after the abolition of the gladiatorial shows ; certainly, the statement appears remarkable. But we certainly cannot deny that it is possible, considering that the *venationes*, for which the amphitheatres were specially used at that time, still took place ; and, further, that Theodoric is known to have taken great interest in the shows in Rome (*ib.*, 260, 60). Again, it is hazardous to conclude that amphitheatres existed *only* from the occurrence of names by which they were designated in the Middle Ages. The most frequent of these

R.L.M.

is *Arena*. Du Cange *s.v.* cites from mediaeval documents *Arenae* Petracoricenses, Remenses, Parisienses, and Arènes de Bourges. On the other hand, Maffei (p. 76) observes that during these times ' nè si sapea che fosse anfiteatro nè si usavano si fatti nomi nel suo vero e antico significato '. Certainly amphitheatres can be proved to have existed in all those places, but they cannot with certainty be assumed when supported only by this name (or as in Valesius, *Notitia Galliarum*, p. 332, by the name *Cavea*) ; when, for instance, the existence of an amphitheatre at Aquileia is inferred by Bartoli (*Antich. d'Aquileja*, p. 254) only from the frequent mention of a *torre d'Arena* in old civic documents. At Naples even, according to Giovanni Garrucci (*Sull' origine e sulla costruzione dell' anf. di Catania*), a *vico dell' anfiteatro*, a *platea amphitheatri* in the *regio Thermensis* are mentioned, although it cannot be proved that there was really an amphitheatre there.

The name *Colosseum*, also, was given to amphitheatres at least here and there in Italy, not only in Rome. The best known is the Capuan, called *Colossus* by the Benedictine monk Erchempert, who wrote his history of Lombardy at Capua in the ninth century. Mazzocchi and Maffei (p. 31) have concluded from this that the Flavian amphitheatre also received its name, not from the colossus of Nero hard by (as *e.g.* Scribe on Martial, *Sp.*, 2, assumes), but from its size. On the other hand, Jordan (*Topographie*, ii, 510) is of opinion that the name *colossus*, by which the Flavian amphitheatre was known in the tenth century, was transferred, after the destruction of the colossus, to the building that stood near, and from this to the Capuan amphitheatre. Benvenuto Cellini says of the amphitheatre at Florence (*Vita*, cap. 1 ; Goethe, *bd.* 28, p. 6) : *trovasi scritto nelle chronache da' nostri Fiorentini molto antichi ed uomini di fede, che la città di Firenze fu fatta ad imitazione della città di Roma, e ciò si vede di alcune vestigie del Colosseo e delle Terme*. Travels of S. Kiechel (1585-1589 ; *Bibliothek des litt. Vereins zu Stuttgart*, 1866), p. 236 : Verona has a *colosseo*. Promis (*Memorie della città di Luni*, p. 225) says that the amphitheatre there was called *colosseo* by the country people, ' nome propagatosi da quello celebre di Roma, e frequente sopra tutto nella Italia inferiore '.

Yet a third name, common in some places in Italy, deserves mention. Erchempert calls the amphitheatre of Capua also *Berolais*, *Berelasis*, *Berolassi*, names which according to Italian savants are of Arabic origin and date from the time when this district was occupied by the Saracens (Rucca, *Capua Vetere*). My former colleague J. Zacher (died 1887), however, is of opinion that the word *berolais* (properly *bero-laz*) is Lombard and derived from *ber* and *lāzan*, which, on the analogy of *stole-saz*, *scult-heiz*, *mare-paiz*, though properly used of a person, might also denote a place, properly a ' bear's house '. This explanation is remarkably confirmed by the local names *Berlich* in Cologne and *Perlach* in Augsburg. The latter, in the *Vita Oudalrici* (end of the tenth century), is spoken of as ' *collis qui dicitur Perleihc* ', and in the appended treatise *De signis Oudalrici*, *Perleihc* ; later forms are *Perleich* and *Perlatch*, in chronicles of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, *Pernlaich*,

Bernlaich, Perleig, Perlach, Berlaich (J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, Eng. tr., i, pp. 293, 295, cites the etymology : eo quod legio ibi perierit). Düntzer (*Jahrb. f. Alterthumsfr. der Rheinl.*, xx, 21) had already conjectured, that a place was meant, where bears are kept (from *leih*, Gothic *laiks* : ludus, munus). It is obvious that these local names are identical with that of the Capuan amphitheatre, and also, on the other hand, 'that a designation, originating in the mouth of German peoples, for a Roman work that became known to them in the north of the empire, might have been transplanted by them during their wanderings also to Italy, used there in a similar manner to denote the same kind of Roman buildings, and held its ground, although its meaning was unknown to later generations' (J. Becker, *Der Berlich zu Köln und der Perlach zu Augsburg*, *ib.*, xlii, p. 64). The amphitheatre of Vindonissa is called by the people *Bärlisgrub* (bear-pit). Consequently, there is no need to suppose an Arabic derivation.

In Italy the name is found in the now usual form *Verlasci*, not only at Capua (now *li Virilasci*, Beloch, *Campanien*, p. 352), but also at Minturnae (*ai Virilasci*, *CIL*, x, 6054 a) and at Venafrum; the remains of an amphitheatre exist in the latter place 'nel così detto Vorlascio' (Cotugno, *Memorie storiche di Venafrò*, p. 264); in Arezzo and Florence the name has become *Parlagio* in the course of time. It is not uninteresting to trace these changes, and some information from Dom Maria Manni's *Notizie istoriche intorno al Parlagio ovvero anfiteatro di Firenze* (Bologna, 1746, 4), found by me in Otto Jahn's library, will perhaps be the more acceptable, as this work is very rare in Germany. The remains of the amphitheatre, called *Colosseum* by Benvenuto Cellini, in documents of the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, are called *Perilasium*, *Perlasium*, *Perlagium*, *Perlascio*, *Pierlascio*, *Piarlagio*, *Piarlascio*; these forms seem to me absolutely to exclude Jordan's explanation (*Topogr.*, ii, 402) of the name as a corruption of *palatium*. In a document of 1701, *Peribasium* also occurs, perhaps a slip of the pen, perhaps a learned attempt at explanation; Manni (p. 18) considers it the original, correct form. The variant *Pratolascio* in two documents of 1085 and 1086 is striking. The unintelligible word naturally changed into the apparently intelligible *Parlagio*; as soon as the change had taken place, the derivation from *parlare* appeared certain, and from that time the building was regarded as one intended for councils of the people. Villani (*Storie*, i, cap. 33) already tells of its building by Julius Caesar: 'Comandò a' suoi, che dovessero andare nella villa di Camarti presso il fiume d'Arno; ed ivi edificassero Parlatorio per poter in quello fare suo parlamento e per una sua memoria lasciarlo. Questo edificio in nostre volgare avemo chiamato Parlagio. Fu fatto tondo e in volte molto maravigliose e con piazza in mezzo; e poi si cominciavano gradi da sedere tutto al torno, e poi di grado in grado sopra volte andavano allargandosi infino alla fine dell' altezza, ch' era alto più di 60 braccia, e avea due porte, ed in questo si ragunava il popolo a far parlamento. E di grado in grado sedeano le genti, al di sopra i più nobili, e poi digradando secondo la dignità delle genti; ed era per modo che tutti quelli del parlamento si vedean l'un l'altro in

viso; ed udivasi chiaramente per tutti ciò che uno parlava, e capeavi ad agio infinita moltitudine di gente e'l diritto nome era Parlatorio'. This was believed till the sixteenth century: Crusca's dictionary has: Parlagio, dove si tenea Parlamento. Du Cange, who quotes Villani, says: Parlatorium appellant in Italia et Lombardia praesertim locum seu cameram, ubi de rebus seriis civitatis cujuspiam disceptatur. The first Florentine writer who recognized the purpose of the building was Borghini (1578). In an Aretine chronicle (fourteenth century) the amphitheatre of Arezzo is also called i *Parlagi*, and Guazzesi (*Supplemento alla dissertazione intorno agli anfiteatri degli antichi Toscani*, p. lxxv) still connects the name with assemblies. But the name also occurs in Pisa. Guazzesi, p. lxxxv: ed in Pisa la Porta a Lucca si chiamava la Porta del Parlascio per esservi stato ne' tempi antichi l'Anfiteatro, che serviva nel 800 di Xpto al popolo di Pisa per adunarvisi. In a cronaca manoscritta si legge che nel 1534 nel far le mura della città fu trovata non procul ab amphitheatro moles peregrina diruti balnei marmorei et ibi reperti tubi plumbei ad aquae ductum. But the entire absence of information as to the form of this ruin should make us hesitate to assume the existence of an amphitheatre, especially as according to Manni (p. 12) by this name 's'intendeva la gran Fabbrica delle Terme, secondo che scrive il canonico Giuseppe Martini' (*Theat. Basil. Pis.*, p. 5). Perhaps the word had become a popular term for all ancient ruins, just as according to P. S. Bartoli the people at Rome 'soleva chiamar Terme tutti i grandi edifizii, dalla grandezza delle Terme di Antonino e di Diocleziano' (Fea, *Miscellanea*, i, p. ccxlix).

Even the statements based upon remains of buildings are frequently erroneous. A supposed amphitheatre at Doué in Poitou, copied and described by Lipsius (*De amph.*, vi), was, according to Montfaucon (*Antiq. expliq.*, iii, p. 258), the remains of an old French royal palace. Moreover, in the case of undoubtedly ancient ruins, the most superficial similarity has often been held to justify the assumption of an amphitheatre: ogni apparenza di rotondità o di oval figura all' immaginazione d' alcuni ricorda anfiteatro (Maffei, p. 93). Consequently all such statements, if not further supported, should be received with caution, especially if they date from the Middle Ages or the early centuries of modern times. In the case of many ruins it is impossible to determine whether they are those of an amphitheatre.

If then, on the one hand, the statements concerning amphitheatres must be considerably discounted, on the other it is evident that our knowledge of those which existed in ancient times can only be partial. Very many of them must have disappeared during the Middle Ages without leaving a trace behind or have been destroyed beyond recognition. It is only exceptionally and as the result of a concurrence of special circumstances that more or less important ruins of a considerable number have remained standing, or information concerning them has reached us from the period that preceded their total destruction. A certain, perhaps even a considerable amount of similar information might no doubt be gathered from the writings of earlier centuries, especially city records, topographi-

cal descriptions and books of travel, and students of the literature of those times would render a service to the knowledge of Roman antiquity by making it known. Even in more remote countries many amphitheatres may be awaiting discovery.

The first attempt at a list was made by Lipsius in his treatise *De amphitheatris quae extra Romam*. He enumerates 15, two of which, however, the ruin at Doué already mentioned, and one supposed to have existed at Athens, are apocryphal. Montfaucon (*Antiq. expliquée*, iii, p. 258) mentions 18 outside Rome, all in France and Italy, with the exception of the ruin of Italica. Maffei's work *Degli Anfiteatri* (*Verona illustrata*, second ed., Milano, 1826, vol. 5) caused a healthy reaction against slovenly and uncritical statements about amphitheatres; certainly Maffei in his hypercriticism went too far in admitting the existence of only three amphitheatres (Rome, Capua, and Verona); that of Pola he declared to be a theatre and at least doubted that of Nîmes. Clérissieu (*Antiquités de la France*, 1804, pp. 90-96) gives a list of 62 amphitheatres, Promis (as above, p. 225, 1) reckons 62 in Italy alone, 55 of which he assumes as beyond all doubt (?). In his *Storia dell' antica Torino* (1869), p. 190, he increases the number by 23: 'nè ho dubbio di asserire che una diligente perlustrazione della parte men percorsa d'Italia, come la Puglia e l'ultima Calabria ne porterebbe il numero almeno a cento, non contando quelle delle isole'. I have accepted all those given by Promis, but I am the less able to regard his statements as beyond all doubt, since as a rule he does not state whether they are based upon remains or written information; thus, for example, I do not know whether the latter does not include simple mention of gladiatorial shows. The most recent list with which I am acquainted of all the known amphitheatres, that of Emil Hübner (*Iscrizioni esistenti sui sedili di teatri ed anfiteatri antichi*, p. 23; *Annali dell' Inst.*, 1856, p. 67) contains 83 to 85.

A complete list can only be obtained by the continuous investigations of a number of people; what follows here will have fulfilled its purpose, if it should serve as a basis for such complementary efforts; certainly it will suffice to give an approximate idea of the number of the amphitheatres whose existence can be proved. For a considerable part of the notices, especially of Italian ruins, I am indebted to the library of Otto Jahn (died 1869), which is especially rich in monographs on the subject. Further, for the list of the amphitheatres in Italy, I have been able to make use of information from Rudolf Bergau, Otto Hirschfeld, and Nissen; to Hirschfeld I am further indebted for bringing to my notice a number of French local treatises on amphitheatres in Gaul. The statements on Spanish amphitheatres are from Emil Hübner, on those of Switzerland from Konrad Bursian (died 1883). The statements of measurements of the chief dimensions, so far as they are accessible to me, are collected at the end of this list. Other notices are only given incidentally, when they appear to be of special interest; but more frequently, when they verify the existence and degree of preservation of these ruins in earlier times. The fact that so much has disappeared only during the last few centuries makes it very probable that far more amphitheatres existed in the Roman empire

than can be ascertained at the present time; so that many even ill-accredited items of information appear not altogether unworthy of notice.

The first stone amphitheatre in Rome, built by Statilius Taurus in 30 B.C. was not the oldest in Italy. It is now generally recognized (Garrucci, *Bull. Nap.*, n.s., i, p. 145) that the amphitheatres in Etruria were not, as was formerly believed, built by the Etruscans, but by the Romans. On the other hand, Henzen has already referred the amphitheatre at Pompeii to the earliest period of the Sullan colonization, arguing from the antiquated letters and forms of words in the following inscription, which occurs twice in the amphitheatre (*CIL*, i, 1246 = *CIL*, x, 852): C. Quinctius C. f. Valgus M. Porcius M. f. duovir quinq. coloniai honoris caussa spectacula de sua pec. fac. coer. et coloneis locum in perpetuom deder. (Henzen, *AdI*, 1859, p. 211). The same C. Quinctius Valgus, when duumvir, with his colleague M. Porcius built the Odeum at Pompeii (*CIL*, x, 844) and restored the walls of Aeclanum that had been destroyed by Sulla (*CIL*, i, 1230 = ix, 1140). All the inscriptions (as well as that from Casinum, *CIL*, x, 5282) belong to the Ciceronian age; but the date of the building of the amphitheatre at Pompeii (according to Nissen, *Pompej. Studien*, p. 118, 70 B.C.) is still uncertain (Mommson on *CIL*, x, 844). Valgus (perhaps the father-in-law of Rullus mentioned in Cicero, *Leg. Agrar.*, ii, 26, 69; iii, 1, 3: a Valgi genero, corr. C. F. W. Müller, earlier reading, Valgii, MSS. Vulgi) was certainly an old adherent of Sulla, who had raked his property together at the time of the proscriptions (Dessau, *C. Quinctius Valgus, der Erbauer des A. von Pompeii*, in *Hermes*, xviii, 1883, pp. 620-622). Promis (*Storia dell' antica Torino*, p. 188) also considers the amphitheatres of Pompeii and Aosta to be the oldest of those preserved. It is probable that, even in republican times, others were in existence besides the Pompeian (Henzen, *Atti della pontif. accad. di arch.*, xii, p. 74, cp. p. 88, note 16), but such high antiquity cannot be proved for any of those known to us. The inscription on the amphitheatre at Puteoli (*IRN*, 2541 = *CIL*, x, 1789) is restored by Garrucci (*Sull' epoca e sui frammenti dell' iscriz. dell' anf. Puteol.*, Naples, 1851) as follows: colonia Flavia Augusta Puteolana fecit pecunia sua, which is approved by Henzen (*BdI*, 1851, pp. 93-95). According to this, it was not built before the time of the Flavian dynasty. The inscription *IRN*, 3593 = *CIL*, x, 3792 restored by Mazzocchi proves nothing as to the date of the Capuan amphitheatre: col. Julia Felix Augusta Capua fecit divus Hadrianus Augustus restituit imagines et columnas addi curavit imp. Caes. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Aug. Pius dedicavit.

After the building of the first stone amphitheatre in Rome (30 B.C.), others were probably soon erected in Italy, not only in Campania. Vitruvius (i, 7) recommends that temples of Hercules should be built near the circus in towns, which have neither gymnasia nor amphitheatres; however, gladiatorial games frequently took place in the forum. Vitruvius, v, 1: in Italiae urbibus (forum) non est eadem ratione faciendum ideo quod a maioribus consuetudo tradita est gladiatoria munera in foro dari. Yet Propertius (v, 8, 76) has: tu neque Pompeia spatiabere cultus in umbra, nec cum

lascivum sternet harena forum ; certainly this might be an earlier poem, subsequently admitted into the fifth book by its editors. Lachmann's assumption (*Rhein. Mus.*, vi, 107), that Vitruvius wrote before the middle of January, 27 B.C., since otherwise he would not only have said 'imperator Caesar' at the beginning of the address and elsewhere 'imperator' and 'Caesar' alternately, but would also have made use of the name Augustus as well, is untenable ; apart from the fact that Vitruvius himself mentions an *aedes Augusti* at Fanum, it should be remembered that 'Auguste' as a form of address was very uncommon, *Caesar* and *imperator* being the forms generally in use. In the Augustan age (besides Suetonius, *Augustus*, 58 : [Messalla] quod bonum, inquit, faustumque sit tibi domuique tuae, Caesar Auguste) perhaps the only instance is Horace, *Odes*, iv, 14, 3 : quae cura patrum quaeve Quiritium plenis honorem muneribus tuas, Auguste, virtutes in aevum per titulos memoresque fastos aeternet. Throughout the entire literature of the first century it perhaps only occurs in Martial (iv, 27, 1 ; v, 15, 1 ; 65, 15 ; viii, 11, 36, 11 ; 80, 7 ; 82, 1 ; ix, 3, 13 ; 18, 7 ; 80, 3 ; xi, 20, 9). If the temple of Quirinus mentioned by Vitruvius (iii, 2, 7) is the one dedicated by Augustus in 19 B.C. (Becker, *Topogr.*, p. 569), Vitruvius wrote about 14 B.C. Cp. Teuffel, *Hist. of Roman Lit.*, Eng. tr., § 264, 1).

In the provinces also the number of amphitheatres increased very rapidly. At Alexandria there was one as early as 24 B.C., since it is mentioned by Strabo (xvii, p. 795), who was in Egypt during that year. He also mentions one at Nysa in Caria (xiv, p. 643). That at Cyrene was already in existence in 13 B.C. (Böckh, *CIG*, 5361 ; cp. below).

The name *amphitheatrum* (for which Ovid, *Metam.*, xi, 25, has 'structum utrimque theatrum') first occurs in Vitruvius (i, 7, 1) : Herculi, in quibus civitatibus non sunt gymnasia neque amphitheatra, ad circum ; then in *RGDA*², p. 94 : (venationes) in circo aut in foro aut in amphitheatris. Mommsen observes : equidem . . . crediderim vocabulum, quod Augusto principe demum videtur usurpari coeptum esse nec vere Graecum est, initio plurali numero solo usurpatum esse, cum essent amphitheatra tamquam theatra duo. Rather ἀμφιθέατρος is an adjective (ἀμφιθέατρος πηρόδρομος, Dion. Halic., iii, 68, iv, 44), which strictly follows the analogy of adjectives formed from ἀμφι and a substantive, such as ἀμφάκανθος, ἀμφιάλος, ἀμφιθάλαμος, ἀμφιθάλασσος, ἀμφίθυρος, ἀμφιπρόσωπος ; consequently ἀμφιθέατρον, i.e. οἰκοδόμημα, the neuter being used substantially. Dio, xliii, 22 : θέατρον τι κυνηγετικὸν ἐκρίνωσας, ὃ καὶ ἀμφιθέατρον ἐκ τοῦ περὶ πανταχόθεν ἔδρας ἀνευ σκηνῆς ἔχειν προσεεργήθη. Augustus no doubt found support for the plural *amphitheatra* in the native *spectacula* as observed by Nissen (*Geschichte des Amphitheatres von Pompeii*, in *Pomp. Studien*, p. 108, which may be generally consulted). The form of the amphitheatre is derived by Nissen from that of the circus.

A. THE WEST.

ITALIA.

Campania. *Capua.* *CIL*, x, 3792, 7 (A.D. 387) iii Idus Mai. rosaria ampieatetri (sic). De Laurentiis, *Descrizione dello stato antico e moderno dell' anf. Campano* (1835). Rucca, *Capua vetere* (1828), pp. 136-291; *ib.*, *Anf. Capuano* in *Mus. Borb.*, xv (1856), tav. 37-39 and 41. Minervini (*Bull. Nap.*, n. s., vi, p. 184) says nothing worth mentioning about the most recent excavations. Beloch, *Campanien*, p. 351. Rucca thinks that the accommodation for the spectators was as large as in the Colosseum; that the amphitheatre equalled, if it did not surpass, the latter in size, since according to his definite statement it had four stories, all of the Doric order, the lowest, still preserved, being a Neapolitan *palma* higher than the lowest story of the Colosseum (35½-36½). It also contained 80 arched entrances, marked by images of the gods; only two arches adorned with the busts of Jupiter and Diana, still remain. (According to Bergau, six others have been let into the façade of the town-hall of new Capua; one into the campanile of the cathedral. Both buildings, according to Rucca, are built of stones from the amphitheatre.) Here also were found the statues of Adonis, Venus Victrix, Psyche, etc., now in the *Mus. Borb.* (*Capua Vet.*, p. 138). On the very large subterranean vaults see Rucca, pp. 272-280 and his treatise: *Su l' ipogeo dell' anf. Puteolano*, p. 11. Parker, *Archæology of Rome*, p. vii (1875), pl. 27, 35. According to this, besides machines and beast-cages, there would have been room for 1000 people, who could have gone in and out unseen through four subterranean entrances under the main gates. The underground passages of the arena correspond to those in the Pozzuoli amphitheatre, except that, in conformity with the larger dimensions, we have here three open corridors along the great axis of the arena, while a fourth runs round along the periphery. There are in addition six arched corridors, lighted by square openings. Two arched passages, running for a considerable distance underground, run into the middle of the two. The material of the arcades of the arena is travertine, elsewhere brick; there is an entire absence of reticulated work. It was destroyed in 840, when the Saracens devastated Capua. It next served the Lombard leaders as a fortress, and in later times it was also used as a quarry for obtaining building material.

Atella. Suetonius, *Tiber.*, 75: corpus ut moveri a Miseno coepit, conclamantibus plerisque Atellam potius deferendum et in amphitheatro semiustulandum (see p. 190).

[**Neapolis.** The assertion of Promis (*St. d. a., Torino*, p. 190) that there was an amphitheatre here, is probably only based upon the names of the streets given by Garrucci: 'vico dell' anf.' and 'platea amphitheatri'. It is clear from the account of its chief buildings in Statius (*Silvae*, iii, 5, 81-104) that none existed at the end of the first century. Inscription on a certain C. Herbacius Romanus demarchisanti iivir, etc., qui ob promiss. venat. phetris divisit quina mil. num. (*IRN*, 2454 = *CIL*, x, 1491). Beloch also (p. 72) assumes that no amphitheatre existed.]

[*Pausilypum*. Schulz, *Scavi di Nocera e del Posilippo*, in *BdI*, 1842, p. 145, p. 59: un piccolo anf. da nessuno sinora descritto—trovasi positivamente a mano manca dell' entrata della grotta (del Posilippo). But this supposed amphitheatre is evidently the theatre or *odeum* described by Beloch, p. 86.]

Cumae. The statement of Jorio (*Guida di Pozzuoli e contorni*, third ed., p. 85) that an amphitheatre, certainly entirely destroyed and in ruins, can easily be recognized there (in a vineyard) is confirmed by Bergau, who adds that, according to C. M. Riccio (*Cenni storici della città di Cuma*, Naples, 1846, p. 25), frammenti de' gradini, de' vomitori e corridori should be visible, but that he saw nothing of them. Beloch (p. 163) says: 'in the entire circumference only a number of arches are preserved in the outer wall'.

Puteoli. According to Rucca (*Su l' ipogeo dell' anf. P.*, 1851, p. 9) it had 72 arched entrances, of which d' Ancora (*Guida di Pozzuoli*, p. 59) gives a representation; cp. Schulz, *BdI*, 1841, pp. 183-185, p. 184: secondo pretende Mazella (*Sito ed antich. della città di Pozzuoli*, Naples, 1806, p. 37) l' anf. poco tempo prima di lui era pressochè intiero. Tanto questo edificio quanto una porzione del teatro Puteolano, che ancora nel secolo xvi sussisteva (Capacio, *Puteolana historia*, Naples, 1604, p. 31) avranno ricevuto sì notevole danno nella famosa eruzione della Solfatara nel 1538. Cp. also Romanelli, *Viaggio a Pompei e Pesto* (Naples, 1817), pp. 118-123; Jorio, *Guida di Pozzuoli* (Naples, 1830), p. 49. On the subterranean passages see Rucca (*l.c.*); they were laid open by careful excavations in the years 1838-1848. The results of recent excavations (*Not. d. Scavi*, 1880, pp. 64 and 96; 1882, p. 375) are unimportant. 'The façade rose in three storeys; under the *cavea* was a corridor. Before the two main entrances there was an entrance-hall with a triple row of columns. The *cavea* ascends in three rows, separated by two *præcinctiones*. The substructures beneath the arena are almost completely preserved. Along the longitudinal axis runs an open corridor, which divides the arena into two parts: two overarched passages follow the ellipse of the arena, communicating with each other, lighted and accessible by means of sixty square openings. The construction of the subterranean passage differs from the rest of the building in being entirely of brick, which Promis rightly regards as a later addition of the age of the Antonines'.

Since, according to the inscription quoted above, the amphitheatre cannot have been built before the time of Vespasian, Beloch (p. 137) assumes that there was an earlier amphitheatre as well. In the representation of the coast on the glass vessel from Odemira (H. Jordan, *Die Küste von P. auf einem röm. Glasgefäß in Archæol. Ztg.*, 1868, p. 91) Beloch, p. 125) two amphitheatres are given one above the other.

Pompeii. Cp. Overbeck-Mau, *Pompeii*⁴, 1884, pp. 176-186; also the works quoted by O. Müller, *Hdb. d. Arch.*, § 260, 2 and Nissen (*Pompej. Studien*, p. 97), together with the analysis (by R. Schöne), and history of the amphitheatre (*l.c.*, pp. 97-128). For the inscriptions there, *CIL*, x, 852-859. According to Goro von Agyagfalva (*Wanderungen*, p. 171) there was room for 20,000 spectators; Nissen (p. 116) regards this estimate as correct. 'It is certain for many

reasons that the *cavea* was in process of restoration, when it was overwhelmed' (p. 106). R. Schöne (*Wandinschriften vom Amphitheater zu P.*, in *Hermes*, iv, 138) rightly attributes the inscriptions painted outside (such as *Permissu aedilium Cn. Aninius Fortunatus occup[avit]* and the like: *CIL*, iv, 1096, 1096 a, 1097 b, 1115) to hawkers, who 'set up their movable stalls in the niches of the outer wall' (Kiessling, *Neue Jahrb. für Philologie*, 1872, p. 10); they were consequently only good for the time a show lasted; cp. Zange-meister in the *Addenda*. In 1869, on the wall of the peristyle of a house opening upon the street from the temple of Isis to the amphitheatre a picture was discovered placed upon an older painting already destroyed; it represents the amphitheatre with the surrounding localities, and the bloody fray between the Pompeians and Nucernians in 59 (Tacitus, *Ann.*, xv, 17). See G. de Petra, *L'anf. Pompejano rappresentato in un antico dipinto*; *Giornale degli Scavi di Pompei*, n. s., i, 186 foll. and tav. viii.

[*Sorrentum*. Promis (*St. dell' a Torino*, p. 190); Beloch, p. 266. It is doubtful whether Sorrentum had an amphitheatre.]

Nola. Nissen remarks: 'Corcia (*Storia delle due Sicilie*, ii, 416) states, according to the municipal inscriptions [rather, according to Ambrogio Leone, *De Nola*, Venice, 1514 F, in Burmann, *The-saurus*, ix, 4; Beloch, p. 389] that Nola had two amphitheatres, one of marble and one of brick, the latter before the gate towards Naples. The first, judging from the intimations as to situation, style of architecture, etc., is certainly a theatre. The second has vanished from the earth's surface, but in the locality stated peasants have shown me in a cornfield the pillars just above or below the earth, forming a large oval at regular intervals. In many places the ground was hollow; in short, I have no doubt in my own mind that the tradition, which removes the amphitheatre to this spot, is correct'. 'In Leone's time the walls could still be seen above the arches of the lower storey and the additions of the second' (Beloch, p. 404).

Abella. Of its amphitheatre 'the oval, some 300 *palmi* long and 200 *palmi* wide, can be seen; the *cavea* is marked off as a hollow in the ground. On the west side can be seen five arched chambers; the place is now called from these 'Le grotte d' Antonello' (Beloch, p. 415). Below the inscription of a certain L. Egnatius Juventius (qui obliterato muneris spectac. impetrata editioe ab indulgentia max. principis diem gladiatorum et omne(m) apparatus pecunia sua edidit in the year A.D. 170, *CIL*, x, 1211) an amphitheatre is shown, the rows of seats, windows, and gates of which are visible; within fighting gladiators are represented.

[*Cajatia*. Promis, *St. d. a. T.*, p. 190.]

Cales. Nissen: 'The extensive ruins of Calvi contain, in addition to a theatre, an amphitheatre. Corcia, i, 507: l'arena qual si vede oggidì, comprende unoggio e mezzo di terreno; la sua lunghezza è di palmi 334, la larghezza di p. 226, e tutto il circuito di p. 990: così che era alquanto più piccolo di quello di Casino'.

[*Teanum*. Nissen considers it more likely that the supposed amphitheatre (e.g. Corcia, i, 519) is a theatre.]

[The supposed amphitheatre at *Capreae* (Anacapri; see, e.g.

Donaldson, *Architect. Numism.*, p. 303) appears to be apocryphal. 'In the *Richerche topogr. ed archeol. sull' isola di C.* by Rosario Mangoni (Napoli, 1834), where the ancient remains of the high plateau of Anacapri (pp. 231-262) are described at length, there is no hint of ruins of any such building'. Bursian, *Litt. Centralbl.*, 1869, no. 17.]

Latium. [*Sinuessa.* Promis, *St. d. a. T.*, p. 190.]

Suessa Auruncorum. The inscription (De Masi, *Storia degli Aurunci: alla torre di S. Imato*), according to which a certain Sex. Caecilius Sex. f. Quir. Birronianus Scriba librar. quaest. iii decuriarum quinquen. p. c. Sinues. gratissimis podium amphitheatri a solo fecit (= *CIL*, x, 4737 is probably interpolated, but genuine).

Minturnae. Lipsius (*De amph. quae extra Romam*, 2) : exstat hodieque ad Lirim Campaniae fluvium (Garigliano nunc dicunt) juxta Minturnas (hodie Trajecto) pars amphitheatri latericii bene conspicua. This building, mentioned also by Montfaucon (*Antiq. expl.*, iii, p. 258), De Brosses (letter dated 2nd of November, 1739), and Guattani (*Mon. in.*, 1784, Oct. p. 82), and to which the name i *Virilasci* (*CIL*, x, 6054 1; p. 195 above) refers, is no doubt the one meant by Kephallides (*Reise*, ii, 204) and Westphal (*Die römische Campagna*, p. 67), according to whom only some unimportant remains of a theatre are preserved at Minturnae.

Casinum. *CIL*, x, 5183 = *IRN*, 4236 : Ummidia C. f. Quadratilla amphitheatrum et templum Casinatibus sua pecunia fecit. The building consequently belongs to the second half of the first century (see Pliny, *Epp.*, vii, 24). Volkmann (*Hist. Krit. Nachr. über Italien*, 1771, iii, p. 346) : 'The arena is 200 feet long, the seats, which are an utter ruin, not included. The walls are 57 feet high. The five large entrances are 26 feet high and 13 feet wide. The places where the animals were kept and the canals, which perhaps brought in the water for the *naumachiae* are still visible. The walls are of brick outside and lozenge-shaped (*opus reticulatum*)'. J. Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone*, p. 45 : At St. Germano there is a circular amphitheatre, the only one of its kind (in Italy).

Aquinum. The remains of an amphitheatre of simple and beautiful construction are mentioned amongst other ruins by Westphal (p. 92). It is called by the people 'Grotte de' Pagani' (Pellegrino, *Capua*, i, 282).

[*Atina* ? 'In the *acta* of St. Prudentius, which, however, are only known from a chronicle of the fourteenth century in Ughelli (vol. i; *Acta Sanctorum*, Aprilis, vol. x, 1st of April, p. 12), forum Antonini non longe ab amphitheatro is mentioned'. Jordan.]

[*Arpinum.* Promis (*Città di Luni*, p. 225, note 1) credits this town with an amphitheatre, which Westphal (p. 90) does not seem to know.]

Frusino. Westphal (p. 85) asserts that not even a trace of old buildings remains; on the other hand, Deminici (*Giorn. Arcad.*, iv, p. 160) mentions this town as one of those in which there was an amphitheatre. Mommsen (*Epigr. Analekten in Ber. d. sächs. Ges.* 1849, p. 286) : *Tessera* from the amphitheatre at Frusino (*BdI*, 1830, p. 265). On the one side : Cvnv. i (Cvn. vi ?) in (feriori ?) x (gradu decimo); on the other : viii (loco octavo). 'If, as we may assume, the amphitheatre at Frusino had only two storeys, *cuneo*

sexto inferiori might perfectly well be substituted for *maeniano priori*, *cuneo sexto*; or, if we prefer to assume three storeys, *infimo* (Momm-
sen).

[*Valeria* (Vara). *Deminicis, loc. cit.*]

Tibur. According to Promis (*Città di Luni*, p. 225) an amphitheatre was in existence till the time of Pius II.

Praeneste. Ceconi (*Storia di Palestrina*, p. 70) quotes the following inscription of the time of Claudius (now *CIL*, xiv, 3010): *M. Jarenus clari l. tyrannus amphitheatri partem dimidiam in solo.* An inscription of *M. Varenus Clarus* from A.D. 21 in *CIL*, x, 1333. *Cn. Voesius Aper, flamen divi Augusti*, built a *ludus* and a *spoliarium* for the Praenestines (Or., 2532 = *CIL*, xiv, 3014).

Roma. On the amphitheatres of Rome cp. Becker, *Hdb. d. röm. Ant.*, i, 680 foll.; *Beschr. der Stadt Rom*, iii, i, 319 foll., Becker, p. 549 foll.; on the other hand, Preller, *Regionen Roms*, p. 132; also C. Thierry in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, s.v. 'amphitheatrum'. For the history of the excavation and restorations in the Colosseum since 1814, see Parker, *Archaeology of Rome* (part vii, 1876, pp. 31-39).

Lanciani (*Bull. comun.*, 1876, p. 189), arguing from the inscription Orelli, 22 (= *CIL*, vi, 130) of the year A.D. 241, rightly regards the *amphitheatrum castrense* as one belonging to the *cohortes praetoriae* and *urbanae*. Water-pipes for the same were laid down by Severus and Caracalla (202/3; see Lanciani, *Acque*, pp. 217, 307).

Lanuvium. *Vit. Commod.*, 8: 'appellatus est etiam Romanus Hercules, quod feras Lanuvii in amphitheatro occidisset. An inscription (*CIL*, xiv, 2127) found there: *ex s. c. de sua pec. theatrum refec.*, is perfect on both sides. According to O. Benndorf (*BdI*, 1865, p. 226) 'alcuni scrittori antichi citati dal Volpi' (*Vet. Lat.*, v, p. 87 ?) attest the existence of an amphitheatre at Lanuvium.

Tusculum. According to Canina (*Descr. dell' antico Tuscolo*, p. 130, tav. 22 and 23) the building, generally called 'Scuola di Cicerone', was an amphitheatre, capable of holding about 3000 spectators. The arena had substructures; there still remained traces of the *podium* (in questo anf. rimane visibile soltanto l'ambulacro di mezzo). Tav. 23 shows an elliptic arena, on one part of which a slight eminence, on the other rooms here and there are visible. According to Hirschfeld, the amphitheatre is now pretty well exposed; something of the rows of seats is preserved, also a large entrance gate, a staircase leading to the first *praecinctio*, the passage running underground through the middle of the arena.

Albanum. According to Westphal (p. 24) the great ruins of the amphitheatre (in the upper part of the modern town) are shown by the style of architecture to belong, not to the time of Domitian (to which they are ascribed by Nibby, *Analisi della carta de' contorni di Roma*, i, p. 99), but to a later period; perhaps to the time when the 'legio ii Parthica' formed by Severus had its permanent quarters here (De Rossi, *Bull. di archeol. crist.*, vii, 1869, p. 67).

Vulturnum. According to an inscription (Orelli, 2538 = *CIL*, x, 6565; cp. Henzen, iii, p. 225), which is only partially intelligible, the amphitheatre was restored under Valentinian and Valens.

Setia. According to Westphal (p. 53) there are some scanty remains of an amphitheatre, consisting of a few arches on the left of the road to Sermoneta.

Circeii. Suetonius, *Tiber.*, 72: *Circeios pertendit. Ac . . . castrensibus ludis non tantum interfuit, sed etiam missum in harenam aprum jaculis desuper petit.* With this is connected the inscription in Murat. (612, 7), found at 'Paola in Maritima' = *CIL*, x, 6429:—

S. Montanus iiii vir i. d. m. o.

nivm amphitheatrv m sva

emque mvnere gladiatorio

et venatione dedicavit. l. d. d. o. (?)

[*Fundi. Promis, St. d. ant. Torino*, p. 190.]

Sannium. *Venafrum.* *IRN*, 4625 = *CIL*, x, 4892:

vibi s. c. f. m.

Q. Flamen

amphitheatrum pec. sua fac. curavit

pro parte dimidia

According to Cotugno, *Memorie storiche di Venafrò* (Naples, 1824), p. 260 foll., the amphitheatre, the ruins of which are to be found 'nel così detto Vorlascio' (see p. 195), had room for 8000 spectators.

Allifae. Henzen, *Exempl. Mus. Borgh.*, p. 82: 'according to Corcia (i, 318) there are no remains of an amphitheatre, although its existence is to be assumed from the inscription *IRN*, 4768 = *CIL*, ix, 2350 (where only the shows are spoken of); on the other hand he mentions the ruins of a theatre' (Nissen). Trutta (*Antichità Allifane*, p. 29) also assumes that an amphitheatre existed here, on the authority of the same inscription.

Saeplinum. This is probably the place, to which a patron presented the buildings mentioned in the following inscription: *ac adfectionis erga rem publicam sicut ludum gladiatorium omni impensa sua ita spoliarium a fundamentis instructum ornatumque pro nitore civitatis rei publicae dono dedit.* As Lanciani observes (*Bull. comun.*, ii, 1874, p. 87), the builder of the *ludus* and the *spoliarium* is probably one Neratius, whose family came from Saeplinum and still exercised the *patronatus* of that town in the fourth century. The inscription found in the neighbourhood of the baths built in Rome by Neratius Cerialis (consul in 358) is no doubt from the family palace.

Telesia. The ruins of the amphitheatre (according to Corcia, i, 345) are to the west of the old town' (Nissen). Cp. *CIL*, ix, 2197 (ad portam amphitheatri), 2235.

[**Beneventum.** The 'bei ruderi' (beautiful remains) of an amphitheatre, mentioned by Promis (*C.d.L.*, p. 225), according to Nissen certainly belong to a theatre; he found no trace of an amphitheatre. Tacitus (*Ann.*, xv, 34) mentions a *munus* of Vatinius there.]

[**Aeclanum.** 'According to Corcia (ii, 508), the amphitheatre there was called *Jócolo* from the games which took place in it (?)' (Nissen).]

Lucania. Paestum. Winckelmann (*Anmerk. über die Baukunst der Alten, Vorbericht*, § 12) says that 'the lower arches' and 10 rows of seats of an amphitheatre still exist. Paoli (*Ruine dell' antica*

città di Pesto, 1784) gives the dimensions. Romanelli (*Viaggio di Pompei a Pesto*, ii, p. 42): 'Oggidì restano gli avanzi di 10 gradini e le indicazioni delle cavee dove le fiere erano ristrette'. G. Bamente di Capaccio, *Le antichità Pestane*, Naples, 1819, p. 62: 'Il luogo che si vuole anfiteatro Pestano, è posto nel centro della città ed è coverto di rottami e di terra; è un concavo circolare adesso alla semina'.

Grumentum (alla Saponara, Promis *loc. cit.*). Roselli, *Storia Grumentina*, p. 50. *Memorie dell' inst. archeol.*, p. 237: Sono tuttavia in piedi diversi pezzi di mura reticolata dell' altezza di 20 piedi ed alcuni corridoi a volta, alti palmi 9 e larghi altrettanto, non che l'arena a forma ovale'.

Calabria. *Lupiae*. Promis (*Storia dell' ant. Torino*, p. 190, 3): Tralascio l'a. di Lictia o Lupia ora Lecce in Calabria, di cui fa motto Guido Geografo (ed. Pinder and Parthey, p. 468). Egli veramente lo dice teatro, ma per contenere il nuovo piccolo caseggiato sostituito all' antica, chiaro è che doveva esser un' a. *CIL*, ix, 21 (Lecce nuper rep.): Otacilia M. f. Secundilla amphitheatrum.

Apulia. *Venusia*. St. Aloe (*BdI*, 1842, p. 126 and *Bull. Nap.*, i, 1843, p. 62): 'Fu costruito con tutta magnificenza.—Il suo portico e tutto il lato esterno era composto di grossi pezzi di travertino duro—le colonne che ornavano la decorazione esterna erano tutte di marmi colorati bigi e cipollini con capitelli di marmo bianco d'ordine dorico e composito.—Le fabbriche—si mantennero in parte salde sino al secolo xi, quando i monaci Benedettini—distrussero quasi al suolo que' preziosi avanzi per rizzarvi con essi il magnifico tempio della ss. Trinità'. 'At the present day only some depressions in the ground are visible, probably the ancient entrances; I have been assured on credible authority that in the course of subsequent excavations several years ago (which however were only carried on for a few days) important *sotterranei* were found, which were again filled up with earth' (Hirschfeld). On the inscription forged by Lupoli see Mommsen (*BdI*, 1847, p. 118).

[*Tarentum*. 'The so-called amphitheatre (e.g. in Förster) may well have been a circus. Its circumference can still be clearly recognized, but only few remains of the wall-work, chiefly *opus reticulatum*, are preserved' (Hirschfeld). Nissen (*Pomp. Stud.*, 110) regards this view as unfounded, and holds that there are no proofs of the existence of circuses in Italy except in Rome. Beloch, however (*Campanien*, p. 142) expressly mentions a circus at Puteoli.]

Frontani. *Larinum*. Marangoni (*Delle mem. sacre e profani dell' anf. Flavio*, p. 30): 'Di pietra ancora si è l'anfiteatro di Larino nel regno di Napoli, il di cui accuratissimo disegno e descrizione delle sue parti è uscito alla luce l'anno 1744 nel erudito libro delle memorie istoriche di quella città di Mons. Andrea Tria già vescovo della medesima, ed ora arcivescovo di Tiro'.

Sabini. [*Marrubium*. Promis, *Città di Luni*, p. 225.]

[*Superaequum*. Promis, *St. dell' ant. Torino*, p. 190.]

Alba Fucentina. According to Westphal (p. 116) very dilapidated. Promis (*Le antichità di Alba Fucense negli Equi*, p. 243): 'una vasta cavità nel terreno che dalla sua forma e soprattutto dagli avanzi dei muri cuneati si palesa per un anfiteatro; p. 248: le dimensioni

molto prossime a quelli dell' anf. di Amiterno danno una capacità di circa 20,000 spettatori. La cavità dell' anf. porta ora il nome di fossa di giudizio'.

Amiternum. The amphitheatre is represented in Guattani (*Mon. Sab.*, iii, 14). Cp. *CIL*, ix, 4208 = *IRN*, 5789 (on a *biga*, to be set up in the amphitheatre).

Reate. According to Promis (*C.d.L.*, p. 225), the amphitheatre was not destroyed till the year 1283.

Trebula Mutuesca 'near Montelione della Sabina has ruins of an amphitheatre' (Nissen).

Picenum. *Ancona.* Rinaldini (*BdI*, 1865, p. 11) considers the existence of an amphitheatre (già contrastato dal Peruzzi) confirmed by the inscription: D. M. Ti. Clau. Dio Celeri preconi ex la(?) C(?) ini(?) A. Cl. Saturnini Beryllus secunda rudis et officiales cunti (cum tironibus?) b. m. Nissen (p. 14) adds: 'Riguardando gli avanzi tuttora superstiti in una casa private benchè di piccola estensione, ed insieme considerando che vi fu una scuola gladiatoria, nessuno potrà più dubitare, ch'era veramente tal edificio grandioso in Ancona situato in mezzo della città sotto quel colle, che secondo la giusta opinione dei dotti Anconitani formava l'antico Capitolio ed ora è celebrato dal famoso tempio di S. Ciriaco. Un altro argomento vedi Colucci, *Ant. Pic.*, xv, p. 100.' Promis (*loc. cit.*) also mentions an amphitheatre at Ancona.

[*Auximum.* Henzen (*Expl. Mus. Borgh.*, p. 82?). 'I heard nothing of an amphitheatre at Osimo: nor does Colucci (tom. v) know anything of one' (Nissen).]

Ricina. 'Hard by the left bank of the Potenza, between Macerata and Recanati, is a well-preserved amphitheatre of about the time of Septimius Severus. Cp. Orelli, 915: L. Septimio Severo—p. C. 205—colonia Helvia Ricina conditori suo' (Nissen).

Urbs Salvia. Guattani (*Mon. Ined.*, i, 83). 'Considerable ruins; the dimensions were variously given to me (axis 60 × 59 or 80 × 60 m.)' (Nissen).

[*Firmum.* According to Adami (Chronicle of Fermo, sixteenth century), the amphitheatre was a large and magnificent one. Colucci, however (*Ant. Pic.*, ii), in describing Fermo, where he himself lived, only mentions a theatre, to which also Nissen considers the ruins (ascribed to an amphitheatre in *AdI*, 1846, p. 54) to belong.

Faleria (near the modern Fallerone). According to Deminiciis, *Giorn. Arcad.*, lv, p. 160 *sqq.*, p. 168, the amphitheatre is in the form of an ellipse, and has 12 entrances, 4 leading to the arena, 8 to the rows of seats, which are divided into 3 sections by 2 *praecinctions*. The arena is choked up with earth as far as the edge of the *podium*, and the outside wall, still preserved, is only 45 Roman *palmae* high.

Asculum Picenum. 'In the Orto delle comitrici (?) the circuit of an amphitheatre (I myself certainly did not take it for a circus) can still be traced with accuracy; at an earlier date arcades are said to have been standing, but were destroyed some 20 years ago' (Hirschfeld).

Interamnia Praetutiorum. Delfico (*Dell' Interamnia Petrusia*, p. 80): 'Miserabili avanzi d'un grand' anfiteatro di cui si veggono varj archi e varie altre reliquie se ne scorgono in alcuni sotterranei'.

Cp. *Bull. Nap.*, ii, p. 64: 'Cita Corcia (*Storia delle due Sicilie*, i, 20) gli avanzi di un anf.—e dice che esser doveva magnifico e di grandi proporzioni, esistendone una muraglia, cui vedesi poggiata una serie di volte sostenuta da grandi pilastri, che sorreggevano il più basso corridojo per gli spettatori a due ordini di archi . . . nel circondario di Nereto in Garufo si veggono avanzi di un bell' anfiteatro'.

Interpromium. *CIL*, ix, 3044 = *IRN*, 5330 = Henzen, 6939 (inscription on one Sextus Pedius Hirrutus, prim. pil. leg. xxi. ivvir i. d. praef. Germanici Caesaris quinquennalici juris ex s. c. quinquenn. iterum, who built an amphitheatre at his own expense); cp. Mommsen's remarks.

Umbria. Oriculum. P. S. Bartoli in Fea, *Miscell.*, i, p. 272: 'vi si scorgono i vestigi di un piccolo ma bello anfiteatro'. According to Guattani (*Monumenti inediti*, i, p. 83) it was three-storeyed.

Interamnium (Terni). Promis (*C.d.L.*, p. 225). According to Giuseppe Ricardi, *Sulla caduta delle marmore* (ed. 5, Rome, 1825), p. 84, there is an amphitheatre 'al giardino dell' episcopio', also given in the plan annexed. According to Hirschfeld, the remains are still considerable.

Spolegium. Procopius (*Bell. Goth.*, iii, 23): ἐτόγγανον δὲ Γότθοι ἡλίκᾳ Ἡρωδιανοῦ ἐνδιδόντος Σπολιτίων εἶλον, τῆς μὲν πόλεως τὸν περίβολον ἐς τὸ ἑδαφος καθελόντες, τοῦ δὲ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως κυνηγεσίου, ὅπερ καλεῖν ἀμφιθέατρον νενομίκασι, τὰς τε εἰσόδους ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἀποφράζαντες κ.τ.λ.

Carsulae. Promis (*C.d.L.*, p. 225) states that there is an amphitheatre 'all' antica Carsulum presso Acqua Sparta'; according to Nissen none exists, and Promis means the ruin mentioned by P. S. Bartoli (Fea, *Miscell.*, i, p. 272) in 'Carsoli sotto Porcheria vicino Acqua Sparta': il bel portico di un bellissimo tempio corintio di grosse colonne ed intiero, un circo ovvero ippodromo con un arco di travertino.

Mevania. Promis (*Antichità di Aosta*, p. 170, 2). 'The considerable remains of the amphitheatre are all built over' (Nissen).

Fulgineum. 'An amphitheatre, the existence of which is testified by local writers (e.g. Mengozzi in Colucci, *Ant. Pic.*, xi, p. 75, is still spoken of in the town. I have certainly not been able to examine the ancient site properly, but in this case I am content to trust the tradition' (Nissen).

Hispellum. An amphitheatre is mentioned by Guattani, Deminici, Promis; cp. Henzen 5580. 'The ruin on the high road leading from Assisi past Spello to Foligno' (Nissen).

Asisium. 'Di Costanze (*Disamina*, etc., p. 170 not.) endeavours to prove the existence of an amphitheatre, but all his evidence goes to show that there was none' (Nissen). Nevertheless, the statement of Promis (as above) and O. Müller (*Handb. der Arch.*, § 260, 3, according to Schorn, *Reisen*, p. 462) that there was an amphitheatre at Asisium, finds confirmation in the report of Johannes Dondi, a philosopher and mathematician of Padua, who visited Rome in 1375 and declares that he found the ruins 'duarum arenarum parvarum in modum Colixei' between Spello and Assisi. Henzen, *CIL*, vi, p. xxvii. Consequently the amphitheatre, like that of Spello, was outside the town.

[*Suasa*. Promis, *St. dell' a. Torino*, p. 190.]
Ariminum. Tonino (*Rimini*, p. 218). The arena is surrounded by four walls, the outside one of which had 60 arch-shaped entrances. The whole building was of brick, the rows of seats of marble. It could not be used for *naumachiae*. Hardly any remains are preserved except the foundations. Tonini thinks it was destroyed between the third and sixth centuries.

Etruria. [*Baccanae* ?? 'In the *Acta S. Alexandri episcopi* 21 Sept. (*Acta Sanctorum* Septemb. t. vi) the emperor Antoninus betakes himself to a villa on the Via Claudia, 17 miles from Rome. It is said on p. 232: *Confusus autem Antoninus jussit amphitheatrum sibi parari et sedens ibi pro tribunali Alexandrum episcopum ad feras subrigi praecepit*. Mention is then made of a vicus *Baccatensis* (v.l. *Baccanensis*) in the neighbourhood (according to the *Itin. Antonini*, p. 286, *Baccanae* is 21 miles west of Rome)'] (Jordan.)

Lucus Feroniae. Orelli, 4099 = *CIL*, xi, 1, 3938: M. Silio Epa-phroditō patrono sevirum aug. magistro iuvenum iterum iuvenes lucoferonenses patrono ob merita quod amphitheatrum col. iul. felici lucofer. s. p. f. dedicavitque l. d. d. d. h. c. i. r. De Rossi (*AdI*, 1883, pp. 266, 269): 'Del anfiteatro in Civitucola, per quanto io vidi, ora non appare vestigio'.

Sutrium. Dennis (*Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, i, 1878, p. 71) believes this building to be Etruscan. It is in the form of an ellipse; several *praecinctiones* still remain. Cp. also Westphal, p. 151. Urlichs (*BdI*, 1839, p. 75): 'come ci si raccontò sul luogo, prima che si formasse dell' anfiteatro un bel giardino, si vedevano canali grandi di mattoni che non saranno stati altro che i sotterranei servienti alle machine ed a ricettacolo delle bestie'. Plan, section, and view in Canina (*Etruria marittima*, i, tav. 21 and 22); cp. also Micali (*Antichi popoli Italiani*, i, 145).

Falerii (S. Maria di Falleri near Città Castellana). Ad. Michaelis in Gerhard's *Archäologische Zeitung* (1862, pp. 343* seqq.) says: Outside the well-preserved north wall of that great square, which indicates the site of the Roman town, a beginning has recently been made in excavating the tolerably large amphitheatre lying East and West. An inscription on two stones found there (apparently belonging to the early empire) runs as follows (*CIL*, xi, 1, 3112):

C. f. Voltinia (?) p. p. leg. viiii H(isp.)

Hor. Priscus patroni municipi
 confere(?)ntibus Faliscis amphitheatrum
 pro parte dimidia(?) peq. sua fecerunt.¹

The emendations are due to Garrucci (*Dissert. archaeol.*, Rome, 1864, p. 42). On p. 44 not. he gives the axes as about 210 and 60 palms; Hirschfeld those of the arena as 54.3 and 32.7 metres. According to the latter it appears to be very old; its chief material is large travertine blocks, although tufa and coffer-work of *opus incertum* are found.

¹ See *CIL*, xi, 1, 3139 for another fragment of an inscription from the same place, in which occurs the words: amphitheatr. pecunia.

Vulci. On the amphitheatre found there cp. *BdI*, 1835, p. 77.

Arretium. According to Guazzesi (*Suppl. alla dissertazione intorno agli anfiteatri degli antichi Toscani*, p. 69) it was large, but only of bricks, without any ornamental columns or statues. In Charlemagne's time it was called *gymnasium*; its arches were the abode of prostitutes, which caused him to present it to the Arretine church, 'per togliere da quel luogo questa pestifera infamità'. In the Arretine chronicle of Girolamo Eusebi (Muratori, tom. 24) we read: Mense Maji 1333 inceptus est locus S. Bernardi ordinis montis oliveti, et celebrata est ibi missa ubi prius vocabantur i Parlagi (see p. 195), et ibi stabant publicae meretrices civitatis. Owing to the erection of this building the amphitheatre, which was used as a quarry, was completely destroyed. Noris (*Nell' ipocausto Pisano*): ita summa imis dies miscuit, ut amph. Aret. nostra aetate in meritum rudentium animalium stabulum versum sit. Dennis is uncertain whether the ruins really belong to an amphitheatre, since they are more like baths, and no seat remains in the *cavea*; Nissen, however, regards this doubt as unfounded.

Volaterrae. Dennis (ii, p. 150) mentions the ruins of the amphitheatre, which appears to be a Roman building. Only a semicircle of seats remains, apparently cut in the slope of the mountain. Dennis doubts whether it was ever more than a theatre, since the other half of the structure has totally disappeared. Guazzesi (as above, p. 44) says: 'Volterra ancora può vantarsi d'aver avuto l'anfiteatro, parlando delle sue vestigie l'Inghirami nella risposta alle opposizioni, ove dice che ivi fu trovata la statua riportata dal dottissimo Sgr. Gori al num. 4 del suo museo Etrusco; così il Bcrghini nell' origine di Firenze e il Sgr. Gori nel 2 tomo delle Iscr. di Toscana'.

[*Vetulonia.* According to Dennis (ii, p. 206) Leandro Alberti in 1550 first gave a detailed account of some ruins, which he concluded to be the remains of Itulonium (Vetulonia), amongst which he mentions the remains of a splendid amphitheatre. Later investigations, however, led to no result, which made Inghirami (*Ricerche di Vetulonia*, p. 40) declare that it was a pure invention of Alberti. Dennis also considers that there is not the least evidence that it was the site of the ancient Vetulonia.]

[*Rusellae.* Dennis (ii, p. 229) mentions some Roman arches, regarded by some (though in his opinion erroneously) as the remains of an amphitheatre.]

Florentia. Dom M. Manni (see p. 195), p. 2, says: 'collocato era il Parlagio dietro alla fianca sinistra della chiesa di S. Simone fino alla piazza de' Peruzzi per la sua lunghezza, è par larghezza dalla via dell' Anguillaja alla piazza di S. Croce; e quindi è che la chiesa stessa di S. Simone si disse del Parlagio'. On p. 4 he quotes Borghini: 'dalla parte di fuori non v'ha dubbio alcuno veggendosi tuttavia con gli occhi. Molto più malagevoli son le parti interiori a rinvenire, essendo mutate oggi quasi tutte in abitazioni private e all' uso moderno accomodate'. P. 8: 'la sua vastità ascende per la larghezza braccia 173 e girava braccia 573'. P. 28: 'le burelle, i. e. spezie di prigionie e forse segrete—altre esser non potevano che cavee poste sotto le scalinate dell' anfit. e del teatro'.

Dennis (ii, p. 75, note) also mentions the ruins of the amphitheatre near the Piazza di Santa Croce; according to Nissen the enclosing wall can be clearly recognized in the course of the Via Torta. According to Hartwig (*Quell. u. Forsch. zur. ältest. Gesch. von Florenz*, p. 79), the amphitheatre, the remains of which are still visible near the Perruzzi palace, appears to have been situated outside the ring wall of ancient Florence.

Volsinii. Dennis (ii, p. 25) mentions the ruins of a small amphitheatre, rather more than a mile from Bolsena: 'It is in ruins, hardly anything of the rows of seats can be recognized, some arcades (of *opus incertum*) are preserved, the foundation is covered with earth; the arena is said to lie about 15 palms deeper. The two large entrances are still clearly recognizable; twenty years ago there is said to have been a gate still in a complete state of preservation' (Hirschfeld). Cp. Henzen 5580 and vol. ii, p. 80 (on the shows to be given at Florence and Hispellum alternately).

Pisa. See above, p. 196.

Luca. *CIL*, xi, 1, 1527. O. Vibio I . . . ex quinqu[e] dec. praef. alae] Hispanorum al[ae] . . . hic HS Ć in opus amphithea[tri] dedit] is annos decem et cum [perfici res] publica decrevisset pec[unia] publica, ex testament[o] opere] a quinquennialibus [probato s]ua impensa fecit t . . . ique rett . . . sima. . . The emendations (Mommsen's) are unsatisfactory. Pr sident de Brosses, October 14, 1739: 'On trouve au centre de la ville les restes informes d'un a. des Romains, dans lequel on a b ti de m chantes cabanes qui ach vent de la d figurer'. 'A large amphitheatre converted into dwelling-houses, the arena into a vegetable market. The entrances and some pieces of the enclosing wall of a good period are still visible' (Nissen). Burckhardt (*Cicerone*, p. 45) also speaks of the remains of the amphitheatre as important.

Luna. Promis (*Citt  di Luni*, p. 222) calls the amphitheatre 'la pi  celebrata e meglio conservata fabbrica di Luni. La pi  antica memoria che se n'abbia   quella che trovasi in un diploma di Federico I a Pietro Vescovo di Luni nel 1185 nel quale   detto: aedificium quod circulum vocatur aut arena'. The inscription L. Svetius L. L. amph. f. v. s. l. m. is a clumsy forgery. According to Cyriac of Ancona it was a ruin in 1442, the marble columns broken, only fragments of the statues remaining (p. 228): 'quest' anf. non poteva avere che 2 cavee non essendovi che una sola precinzione;   pure improbabile che la cavea superiore fosse coperta da soffitto come era nel Flavio di Roma, ma piuttosto doveva il muro esterno al di sopra delle arcuazioni inferiori essere tutto solido e decorato di pilastri anche nel interno, come vedesi all' anf. di Sutri'. Promis (p. 228) concludes from the style of architecture that it belongs to the age of the Antonines; cp. Dennis, ii, p. 65.

Gallia Cispadana. [*Ravenna.* Promis, *St. dell' ant. Torino*, p. 190.]

Bononia. Tacitus (*Hist.*, ii, 67; in the year 70): tertiadecimani struere amphitheatra jussi. nam Caecina Cremonae, Valens Bononiae spectaculum gladiatorum edere parabant. Perhaps, however, these were of wood (Maffei, as above, p. 86).

Parma. Lopez, *Lettera al Braun intorno alle rovine d'un antico*

teatro scoperto in Parma, 1844, p. 25: l'anf.—sarebbe stato eretto come usavasi da' Romani presso le mura. P. 26: il nostro anf. (which in his opinion was built in the time of Trajan, certainly not before the burning of the amphitheatre at Placentia; see Tac., *Hist.*, ii, 21) poté resistere per molti secoli ad onte delle vicende guerresche a cui andò soggetto,¹ alla voracità del tempo ed alle barbarie degli uomini, dappoichè si trova bella memoria non solo ne' nostri statuti del 1255 (Pezz., *Stor. di P.T.S.*, App., f. 36, no. 30), ma eziandio nel codice terzo delle nostre leggi municipali di 1317, which forbid the pollution of the amphitheatre: quod cum multi forenses quando sunt in civitate Parma vadant ad videndum Palatium domini Imperatoris, quod est in Arena, et in ipsa arena deferantur multa turpia et inepta, videlicet animalia mortua, lutum de andronis, et alia quam plurima turpia, quae redundant in dedecus maximum Communis Parmae et vicinorum morantium circa et penes ipsam Arenam et Palatium supra dictum. Inscription on a *retiaris*, *CIL*, xi, 1, 1070.

Placentia. Tacitus, *Hist.*, ii, 21; (in A.D. 70): in eo certamine pulcherrimum amphitheatri opus, situm extra muros conflagravit —municipale volgus, pronum ad suspiciones, fraude illata ignis alimenta credidit a quibusdam e vicinis coloniis, invidia et aemulatione, quod nulla in Italia moles tam capax foret.

Velleia. Hübner (as above) and Promis (*Ant. di Aosta*, p. 170. Smaller than the amphitheatre at Aosta).

Liguria. *Libarna*. Promis (*C. di Luni* and *Ant. di Aosta*, p. 170. Smaller than the amphitheatre at Aosta).

Alba Intemelium. A very small amphitheatre (according to the *Illustr. Zeitung*, 1877, p. 370, 31 to 35 m. in diameter) was discovered here in 1877.

Venetia et Histria. *Hadria*. Promis (as above). Deminicus (as above).

[*Ateste*? *CIL*, v, 1, 2529: De (pec.) pub. C. Rubenius C. f. ludum gladiator. fecit; cp. *ib.*, 2541 M. Etti Boebiani liberti et famil. venatoria.]

Palavium. Pignorius (1571–1631) assumed the existence of an amphitheatre in an elliptical *recinto*, called *arena* since the Middle Ages (so in a document of date 1090; cp. a bill of sale of 1300: *arenam muris circumdatam ab omnibus lateribus excepto a latere fratrum heremitanorum de Padua*), on which the little church *St^a Mariae de Caritate de Arena* (dell' Annunziata) was built in 1306, and gave a plan and illustrations of the same.² Maffei (*Degli anfist.*, p. 80) regarded the remains of walls as only about 400 or 500 years old. But the excavations carried on since 1880 have completely confirmed Pignorius' assumption: cp. the detailed account by Ghirardini (*Notizie degli Scavi*, 1881, pp. 225–242 with tav. iv). They have

¹ Agathias (*Hist.*, i, 15): Βουτιλίνος ὁ τῶν Θράγγων ἡγεμὼν ἐς αὐφιθέατρον τι οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως ἰδρυμένον (ἀνεῖτό δὲ τοῦτο ἀνδρασιν οἷς ὁ βίος θεωμένον τοῦ δήμου πρὸς θηρία διαγωνίζεσθαι), ἐνταῦθα δὴ—μεγίστην ἐνέδραν καταστήσαντος κ.τ.λ. (in A.D. 552).

² Burckhardt, *Cicerone*, p. 45: In Padua there is merely the outline of an amphitheatre near S. Maria dell' Arena.

brought to light remains of three elliptic walls surrounding the arena, the outside one of which (2 m. wide, 2.62 m. high) had 26 entrance arches. This, however, was not the outside wall of the building, but was surrounded by yet another wall, which served to support the *summa cavea* (pp. 230 and 235). The area of the arena (2410.32 sq. metres) is not much smaller than that of the arena of Verona (2638.50; p. 225). The extremely careful style of construction (pp. 229 and 236) indicates a good period.

[*Aquileia*. Cp. p. 194. Kenner and Hauser (*Mittheil. der Central-commission*, 1875) in a report of the excavations: 'that vast semi-circular depression, which is called the arena, in which Baubella found a stone slab bearing the name Julius, perhaps belonging to one of the spectators' seats'. It is clear that this is not sufficient to justify the assumption (Jung, *Die roman. Landsch. d. röm. Reichs*, p. 504, 1) that the existence of an amphitheatre at Aquileia is proved.]

Tergeste. Stancovich [Anfit. d. Pola, 1882, p. 78) mentions an amphitheatre at Tergeste: fuori di porta di Riborgo, di cui F. Ireneo dalla Croce (*Hist. di Trieste*, p. 245) ci dà l'asse maggiore di piedi geometrici 157 ed il minore di 136.

Pola. According to Stancovich (p. 36) 43 marble rows of seats were still in existence. P. 64: the amphitheatre had room for 22,000 spectators. P. 135: the entire building was of stone (with the exception of the top storey, which was of wood), ornamented above with a row of columns. P. 137: nel registro dei diritti del Patriarca di Aquileia nell'Istria (anno 1303) it is stated: in civitate Polae habet duo antiqua Palatia Iadrum et Arenam—et quicumque accipit aliquem lapidem de dictis Palatiis Iadri et Arenae, pro quolibet lapide quam accipit, solvit domino patriarchae bizantina centum. But the amphitheatre was continually used as a quarry, until it was dedicated to him in 1584. Loca certis hominibus attributa, nominibus indicata (*CIL*, v, 1, 86).

Gallia Transpadana. *Verona*. Maffei (*Degli anfiteatri*, ed. 2, p. 120), gives the following fragment of an inscription, which probably refers to the dedication: S. CON. The letters are very large and evidently of a good period. P. 159: its height was 110-120 Veronese feet, as it certainly had 4 storeys. According to Maffei it had 22,000 seats and (p. 261) in the highest parts (built of wood) room for almost the same number of standing-places; there were 72 entrances (p. 170), all numbered. The wall of the *podium* (p. 213) was decorated with valuable kinds of marble, of which fragments still remain. Subterranean channels were intended to receive the rubbish that was carried down, and to prevent flooding the arena. For the gladiatorial inscriptions see *CIL*, v, 1, 3466 sqq. (3471: familia gladiatoria). The treatises of Conte Antonio Pompei (*Sugli scavi eseguiti intorno all'anfiteatro*, 1874, and *Studj intorno all'anf. d. V.*, 1877), who puts the erection of the amphitheatre in the time of the Etruscan domination, are only known to me from a notice by Engelmann in *Jen. Litt.-Ztg.*, 1879, p. 94.

Cremona. Tac., *Hist.*, ii, 67; cp. Bononia. *CIL*, v, 1, 4399 (Brixia): N N VI vir Flaviali Cremon. et munerar.

Ticinum. Anonym. Valesii (Ammianus Marcellinus, ed. Wag-

ner-Erfurdt, i, p. 623, 71): Theodericus Ticenum (*sic*) Palatium, Thermas, Amphitheatrum, et alios muros civitatis fecit; cp. above, p. 193. Mommsen, *CIL*, v, 2 p. 707^b: habemusque inde etiam titulum regis Atalarici no. 6418 (= Orelli, 1161) pertinentem ad sedes spectaculi, i. e. ni fallor ad amphitheatrum: Dn. Atalaricus rex gloriosissimus has sedes spectaculi anno regni sui tertio (A.D. 528) fieri feliciter praecepit.

Brixia. *CIL*, v, 1, 4392 = Wilmanns, *Ex.*, i, 2170: P. Atilio Philippo ornamentis decurion. Brixiae Veron. Cremon. honorato et iure quattuor liberor. usq. anulor. a divo ex postulatione populi ob liberalitatem ejus quod in opus amphitheatri dedit. . . .

[*Bergomum*. Promis (*C. di Luni*, p. 225).]

Augusta Praetoria Salassorum. Promis (*Antichità di Aosta*, 1862, tav. ix, p. 168): ruderi non oltre l'ordine terreno, e questi spettanti alla bassa cuneazione della somma cavea con nove cunei ed otto pilastri. P. 169: 60 erano gli archi esterni, no *souterrains*. P. 171: tutto spira l'epoca Augustea. For this reason (p. 172) it is supposed to have been built in 24 B.C. (the year of the foundation of the colony) or soon afterwards. In a document of the year 1235 it is called 'Palatium rotundum'. The ruins at Aosta formerly supposed to belong to an amphitheatre cannot be such (Kephallides, *Reise*, ii, 334; Deycks, *Antiquar. Alpenwanderungen: Bonner Jahrb.*, Bd. xi, Jahrgang vi, 1, 1847, p. 27).

Augusta Taurinorum. Promis, *Storia dell' antico Torino*, 1869, p. 188. The amphitheatre, which lay outside the Porta marmorea, somewhat towards the west (see tav. i) is called by Maccaneo (in 1508) pulcherrimum illud a. extra portam marmoream evanescens et obsoletum. Panciroli (professor at Turin 1570-1582) says: Fuor di T. nella strada verso Pinarolo si vedono i vestigi di un a. se bene non di quella perfettione dell' a. di Verona. Pingone, mentioning the four suburbs destroyed in 1536 by the French speaks of 'amphitheatrum cum orchestra et area in orbem, qua comoedi et tragoedi olim dabant spectacula et edebantur ludi. lacus colliculis cinctus, fragmenta Romanarum inscriptionum innumera'. 'La Guida di Torino del 1753 nota per tradizione che in quel sobborgo disfecero i Francesi l'an., opera d'Augusto, con rimasugli d'antiche fabbriche che ancora erano in piedi'. 'Gli anfiteatri di pressochè tutte le città d'Italia son posti vicino alle mura, ma fuori di esse; per quasi tutti l'età n'è quella degli Antonini, quando più fiorirono i municipi, cosicchè la frequenza de' cittadini e de' pubblici edifici più non lasciava spazio entro l'area urbana a siffatte moli. Tengo dunque che il nostro a. sia stato eretto nel ii secolo, come pure che laterizia ne fosse la costruzione'.

[I have not been able to ascertain any details of *Cimitino*, which, according to Promis (p. 225) was one of the places in Italy which had amphitheatres.]

SICILIA.

Syracuse. Serradifalco (*Antich. di Sicilia*, iv, tav. 13-15, pp. 108, 128-131). (Valerius Maximus, i, 7, 8: Tac., *Ann.*, xiii, 49 mentions gladiators and gladiatorial shows at Syracuse, but no

amphitheatre.) P. 154 : it is elliptic, the wall round the *podium* 10-6 *palmi* high (oltre il poggiuolo di marmo). Besides the two main gates at the ends of the longitudinal axis there are 8 other entrances into the arena. It has no *souterrains*. Inscriptions of the seat-steps, *CIL*, x, 7130.

Catana. Serradifalco (v, tav. 7-9, pp. 19-21). Giovanni Garuccio, *Sulla origine e sulla costruzione dell' anf. di Catania* (Napoli, 1854), p. 20 : the amphitheatre is 'alla porta Stesicorea, ora detta di Aci', for the most part buried under alluvial matter and covered by houses. Theodoric (in 498) allowed the people of Catania to use 'saxa de amphitheatro longa vetustate collapsa', to repair the town walls (Cassiodorus, *Var. epp.*, iii, 49). P. 29 : fino 1505 troviamo concesso al patrizio Giov. Gioenio, che avesse investito i preziosi avanzi dell' a. a comodo di private abitazioni e la sua arena ad uso di domestico erbajo. P. 30 : during the eruption of Etna in 1669 a stream of lava overwhelmed it. After the earthquake of 1693 Prince Biscari excavated one side.

Thermae Himcrenses. Serradifalco (v, tav. 44) gives a sketch of an amphitheatre at Termini. The remains (of *opus incertum*), although scanty and used in building houses, are according to Hirschfeld beyond doubt, and the curve of the amphitheatre is clearly recognizable.

SARDINIA.

Caralis. De la Marmora (*Voyage en Sardaigne*, i, p. 529, pl. 38) only casually mentions the amphitheatre. E. Luigi Tocco (*A. di Cagliari*, *BdI*, 1867, p. 121-123) gives more details; Spano's *Anfiteatro di Cagliari* (1868) I have been unable to consult. I give the description of H. von Maltzan (*Reise nach Sardinien*, 1869, p. 72) who visited it in 1868 after Spano's excavations. 'This amphitheatre can hardly be properly called a building—it is the rock itself, merely hollowed out into a wide, funnel-shaped oval, over the arena of which rise stairs, galleries and seats, 100 feet high, all hewn in the rock, like the arena itself and the roomy *souterrains* beneath it'. 'The two lowest storeys are still visible, by far the larger half in a perfect state of preservation; of the third, the top storey, a considerable part is destroyed, as this part of the rock was used as a quarry in the previous century'. In each storey there are about 20 steps, that is, 60 in all, very well preserved and lofty; the stairs cut in the rock have been decomposed by the action of the atmosphere. The *ballei* are almost as high as a man; the *podium*, inaccessible from the arena, is preserved in its full height. The labyrinthine underground passages and the rooms below the seat-steps, some very large and deep and not yet all uncovered, are all hewn out of the rock. Some have certainly been used as cages; in one of them rings (for holding the chains of wild animals) are very cleverly cut out of the lime-stone, which forms the walls. One of the seat-steps contains the letters C. N. P. V. E. The amphitheatre had room for 20,000 spectators.

DALMATIA.

Salonae. Lanza (*Della topografia dell' antica Salona in Ann. dell' Inst.*, 1849, p. 282, tav. d'agg. K and *Scavi di Salona in ib.* 1850,

p. 140). It is almost entirely destroyed: pochi avanzi di piloni e di arcuate . . . ancor ne rimangono. Style and situation point to the period after Marcus Aurelius. Carrara (*Topografia e scavi di Salona* (Trieste, 1850) gives on a 'mappa topografica dell' antica S.' the remains of the building enclosed by the line of the fortifications and information concerning them (p. 92). As no trace of stone steps has been found, he believes that they were of wood. A subterranean passage ran in the direction of the smaller axis. Hirschfeld (*Bericht über eine Reise in Dalmatien in Österreich. Mitth.*, ix, 1885, p. 16) gives a sepulchral inscription of a gladiator (Sil[v]ianus an. x . . . pug. vii. de suo sibi cui dolet posuit) and a stamp (presumably of a purveyor, perhaps of bread, for the gladiators), which contains between two gladiators the words (in inverted letters): Miscenius Ampliatius facit Salonas (= Salonitanus).

Aequum. *Archaeologia Britannica*, iii, 344: Mr. Fortis observes that he saw some vestiges of an ancient Roman amphitheatre on the hill of Aequum.

Epidaurum. The position of the town on the site of Ragusa vecchia is shown, amongst other things, by 'amphitheatri ex ipsa rupe excisi reliquiae' (Mommsen, *CIL*, iii, p. 287).

GALLIAE.¹

(a) Narbonensis.

Cemenelum (Fr. Cimiez, Ital. Cimella). Millin, *Voyage dans le midi de la France* (ii, 544; cp. *Voyage en Savoie*, ii, 122). The elliptic arena, although planted with corn and olives, was in a good state of preservation; there was room for about 8000 spectators; the sea could be seen from the upper rows of seats. Those who lived near called the ruins 'la Tino de Fati' (Cave de fées). Il en existe plusieurs massifs et une arcade, sous laquelle passe le chemin; le mastic, qui la recouvrait, subsiste encore. On y voit plusieurs autres arcades ou des restes d'arcades. The description given by Deycks (*Alterth. von Nizza und Cimiez in Jahrb. d. Alterth. Fr. im Rheinl.*, xxxii, p. 33) entirely agrees with this. Mommsen, *CIL*, v, 2, p. 916^b: Cemenelum—rueribus vetustis, maxime amphitheatro adhuc conspicuo antiquum oppidum refert. 'St Pontius (under Valerian and Gallienus) is said to have been thrown to wild beasts in the amphitheatre at Cimella. De S. Pontio Romano martyre Cimellensi in Alpius maritimis: *Acta Sanctorum Maii*, t. iii. (14th of May), p. 277' (Jordan).

(*Antipolis* (?). See *CIG*, 6776 on p. 179.)

Forum Julii. The amphitheatre is mentioned by Valesius (*Notitia Galliarum*, 1676, p. 200), Montfaucon (*Antiq. expl.*, iii, p. 258), De Brosses (28th of June, 1739: les restes d'un a. des Romains, dont l'enceinte est encore entière et un des côtés passablement conservé), and Millin (as above, ii, p. 483: restes d'un ancien cirque; son plan est elliptique. L'enceinte est encore assez bien conservée, mais les sièges sont détruits). After the excavations in 1828 it was

¹ Information marked H. is due to Hirschfeld.

described in detail by Texier (*Mém. sur la ville et le port de Fréjus* in the *Mém. prés. p. div. savants à l'Acad. des inscr.*, 2 série, t. ii, 1849, p. 192, pp. 212-239, with plate iii). It is half built on the slope of a hill (p. 212), had in the interior three storeys, divided by *præcinctiones*, of 6, 6 and 5 rows of steps respectively (p. 238), and was probably crowned by a *porticus*, on the outer wall of which projected the pierced corbels intended to support the masts used for the awning (p. 238 and Millin). Its circumference was broken by 52 arcades, 3 of which led to the arena, 22 into the circuit of the ground floor, and the rest to the first storey: 24 gates led from the ground floor to the seat-steps of the lowest division (p. 238). The *podium*, 8 feet high, was separated from the arena by a deep trench. Beneath the rows of steps of the lowest division of the southern half of the amphitheatre there are underground receptacles for the wild animals; a small room by the side of a gate in the small axis was for the dead bodies (p. 237). The amphitheatre could hold 9095, including the *porticus* 12,000 spectators at most (p. 239).

Apta Julia. Martin (*Antiquités et inscr. des villes de Die, d'Orange, de Vaison, d'Apt et de Carpentras*, Orange, 1818, p. 85: l'amph. d'Apt, dont il ne reste peut-être que les fondemens sous une couche épaisse de terre et de décombres. From the traces discovered he assumes that it was about 60 toises in diameter. Boze (*Hist. d'Apt*, 1813, p. 61): on l'a découvert en différentes occasions, dans le vestibule de la maison curiale, le cimetière de la paroisse, dans les caves de quelques maisons. (H.)

[*Aquæ Sextiæ.* *CIL*, xii, 522: aedili m(u)nerario.]

Arelate. According to a tessera (Ritschl, *Die tess. glad.*, p. 20) a gladiatorial show took place here as early as 63 B.C. Estrangin (*Études sur Arles*, 1838) without any reasons dates the amphitheatre soon after the foundation of the colony in the time of Julius Caesar; Stark (*Städteleben in Frankreich*, p. 76) assigns it to the second half of the second or the beginning of the third century. Like the amphitheatre of Nîmes, it has 2 storeys and an attic; each storey has 60 arches. The number of spectators it could accommodate is estimated by Estrangin (p. 13) at 25,000. The arena could not be flooded, since it is in the highest part of the town (p. 31); nor have any traces of a *euripus* been discovered. In the animals' cages only stags' horns and boars' teeth have been discovered. There is no doubt (p. 40) that arrangements were made for covering the amphitheatre with canvas. On the fortunes of the amphitheatre in the middle ages see Estrangin and Millin (p. 616; cp. pl. xlviii, fig. 9). I am not acquainted with the monographs by Jacquemin and Henry referred to by Caumont (*Cours d'antiquités monum.*, iii, 466-474), nor with the treatises by Vêran (*Mém. des antiquaires de France*, ix, 1832, p. 231) and Henry (xiii, 1837, p. 1). Inscriptions on the steps *CIL*, xii, 714, 715. Inscription on a 'negotiator familiae gladiatoriae' *CIL* xii, 727.

Nemausus. Pelet (*Description de l'amph. de Nîmes*, 1853) conjectures that it was built in the reign of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius, but on very insufficient grounds (p. 138). He asserts that it was never finished (p. 139): les aqueducs, qui devaient amener les eaux dans l'arène, ne sont même revêtus de ciment; ce qui n'aurait pas

eu lieu, si le monument avait déjà servi aux jeux nautiques, auxquels il était destiné. Grangent Durent and Durand (*Monum. du midi de la France*, p. 68 ; cp. Pelet, pp. 118-127) also believe that the building was originally intended for *naumachiae*. Pelet (p. 87) estimates the number of spectators at 24,000, Millin (iv, p. 220) at only 17,000. *Ibid.* : La façade est composée d'un rez-de-chaussée, d'un étage au-dessus et d'un attique. It had 60 arches, not numbered (some of them bearing *phalli*) and 4 chief gates. Pelet, p. 73 : les gradins étaient au nombre de 34, divisés en 4 précinctions par un pareil nombre de baltei, hauteur totale de la façade 21.52 mètres (p. 183). From the uppermost edge of the wall projected 120 pierced corbels, some of which are preserved, for the reception of masts (p. 127). Pelet and Millin give the history of the amphitheatre (cp. also Reveil, *Mémoires lus à la Sorbonne, Archéologie*, 1867, p. 163. H.). The inscription T. Crispus Reburus fecit (*CIL*, xii, 3315) probably does not refer to the architect. Inscriptions on the steps (3316-3322) ; gladiatorial inscriptions found in the neighbourhood (3323-3332).

Baeterrae. Caumont (as above, p. 495) : (L'amph.) de Beziers offrait encore de belles ruines au xvii^e siècle ; il ne reste plus aujourd'hui qu'une partie des constructions qui supportaient le podium et les premiers sièges de l'ima cavea. L'Arène avait 234 pieds sur 180. Une partie de la cavea était taillée dans le roc, l'on avait ainsi épargné les travaux en maçonnerie, d'un côté de l'édifice. [The street is called *rue des arènes*. Cp. S. . . in *Bull. d. l. Soc. archéol. de Beziers*, i série, t. 4 (1845), pp. 142-145 and pl. ii, no. 4. H.] Stark as above, p. 139 : 'Reste eines amphitheaters'.

Narbo. Millin (iv, p. 392) states that in certain underground rooms ('dans le quartier Saint-Just', Caumont, p. 497) of the modern town there are vaults, 'qu'on croit avoir appartenu à un ancien amphithéâtre'. [Tournaï, *Catalogue du musée de Narbonne*, 1864, to no. 177, p. 36 : 'les ruines de l'ancien a. de N. furent exécutées sur ce point . . . mais . . . on ne mit à jour que la partie inférieure de ce monument, tout le reste avait été détruit. Le diamètre extérieur de l'a. de N. était moins grand que celui de Nîmes, mais l'arena était plus vaste. H.] It certainly no longer existed in the time of Apollinaris Sidonius, since he does not mention it in his careful enumeration of the buildings of Narbo (*Carm.*, 23). Cp. Stark, pp. 146 and 602 (reliefs referring to the amphitheatre).

Tolosa. Millin (p. 455) says that two of the 24 arches of the amphitheatre still exist ; the arena was about 180 feet long, 50 feet wide. Caumont, p. 406 : Some antiquaries conjecture that Tolosa had another larger amphitheatre (Raynal, *Hist. du Toulouse* ; Du Barry, *Recherches sur les a. du midi de la France*. Valesius (*N.G.*, 620) says, however : Erat ibi Capitolium, Amphitheatrum, et Palatium, quorum trium operum Romanorum nullae supersunt reliquiae.

Arausio. Lapse (*Histoire d'Orange*, 1640, p. 29) describes the amphitheatre, which lay outside both the old and the new town, as follows : J'ai vu les arènes autrefois ayant les murailles presque tout autour, de la hauteur de douze pieds en aucuns endroits, en d'autres moins, avec les formes ou naissances des portes au nombre de vingt-

quatre. Elles ont été depuis peu abattues et quasi rasées à fleur de terre. Les fondements paraissent tout autour avec les ouvertures des portes, et la forme de l'ovale relevée en dehors par la terre, laquelle vraisemblablement a été tirée du dedans. At the beginning of the nineteenth century traces of the foundations were still to be seen, but according to Gasparin (*Hist. de la ville d'Orange*, p. 105) they had disappeared in 1815.

Vasio Vocontiorum. According to Millin (iv, p. 140) two arches still in existence were considered to be remains of an amphitheatre. Cp. *Voyage de deux Bénédictins* (1717), i, p. 293 and Martin as above, p. 71: Sur une éminence . . . on voit les débris d'un a., où l'on montait par un chemin creusé dans le roc. Les Jacobins voisins de ces ruines trouvèrent en bâtissant de longues caves, ayant des voûtes très-hautes, et des deux côtés, de distance en distance, il y avait des conduits.

[*Dea Vocontiorum*? Martin, p. 17: On remarquait, non loin des ruines de l'ancienne église de St. Pierre, hors de la ville, au cimetière des calvinistes trois voûtes, débris d'un . . . théâtre, propre aux exercices des gladiateurs. Son quartier se nomme encore Palais. H. Herzog (*Gallia Narbonensis*, App. 453 = *CIL*, xii, 1585 (flamen divi Aug.—curator muneris gladiatori Villiani); 468 = *CIL*, xii, 1590 (collegium venatorum Deensium); 489 = *CIL*, xii, 1529 (muner[is] publ. curat[or] ad Deam Aug.); inscription on a *secutor*, 1596. Cp. Hirschfeld, *ib.*, p. 161^b, and *Gallische Studien*, p. 30.]

Vienna. Valesius (*N.G.*, 605) assumes the existence of an amphitheatre here, although apparently he does not know of any remains of one. The passage from Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.*, v, 1), to be quoted under *Lugdunum*, does not justify the assumption. According to Chorier (*Antiquités de Vienne*, p. 416) some vaults (diverses voûtes) of one were still in existence; the rest was razed by the inhabitants, who used the ruin as a quarry. Almer and Terrebasse, *Inscr. antiques de Vienne*, ii, 413: Un a. était adossé à la colline de Pipet. Schneider (appointed director of the drawing school at Vienne in 1775: Stark, *Städte.*, p. 576) qui en a vu des restes très-apparents et même des gradins encore en place et qui a pu les mesurer dans la longueur, estime qu'il était plus grand que ceux de Nîmes et d'Arles. Cp. also Stark, p. 21. Inscription on a T(h)r(aex) *CIL*, xii, 1915.

(b) *Aquitania*.

[*Lugdunum Convenarum*. M. Dumége indique un a. à Saint-Bertrand. Caumont, p. 496.]

[*Aginnum*. Il ne reste que de faibles vestiges de l'a. d'Agen. *Id.*, *ib.*]

Burdigala. Valesius (*N.G.*, 502). A. extra muros, quod Palatium Gallieni vocant. Lipsius as above. Montfaucon as above: autant que je puis me souvenir, le champ où les arènes de cet amphithéâtre étaient des plus grandes et ne le cédaient peut-être pas à celle du Colisée. When Millin (iv, p. 623) saw the ruin, the arena was covered with buildings, and the scanty remains had almost disappeared. According to representations of earlier date the arena was 225 feet

long, 165 wide. L'élévation extérieure était de 60 pieds. Le rez-de-chaussée était décoré de l'ordre Toscan, 4 galeries placées l'une sur l'autre regnaient autour, 15 portiques conduisaient à l'arène ainsi que deux portes principales, plus grandes et plus ornées que sont aujourd'hui les parties de l'édifice mieux conservées. It is assigned to the reign of Gallienus, since bricks are employed in the construction—a material which is said not to have been in common use before that period in the Roman buildings in Gaul. (?) Caumont as above, p. 477. Cp. also Stark, *Städteleben*, p. 228.

Mediolanum Santonum. Valesius (*N.G.*, 502): Supersunt hodieque amphitheatri rudera ac reliquiae nobiles extra muros. Montfaucon as above. Millin, iv, p. 679. Chaudruc de Crazannes (*Antiquités de Saintes*, p. 72) on most insufficient grounds assigns the amphitheatre to the period between Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius. According to him it had room for 5000 sitting places (60 arcades—il en existe 2 principales—un seul étage de voûtes inclinées vers l'arène et une seule précinctio). No traces have been found of arrangements for an awning; the lowness of the parapet of the arena makes it improbable that *venationes* took place in it. Caumont (pp. 486–490) doubts (and certainly with justice) whether it could have been flooded for *naumachiae* (Chaudruc, p. 81).

Limonum (Pictavi). Bourgnon de Layre (*L'amphithéâtre ou les arènes de Poitiers*, in *Mém. de la soc. des antiquaires de l'Ouest*, 1843, pp. 137–273 and pl. 1–6), who on insufficient grounds (p. 157) assigns the erection of the amphitheatre to the time of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius, gives a survey of the older literature (cp. also Valesius, *N.G.*, p. 502). Bouchet (born 1475) says in his *Annales d'Aquitaine*: les arènes joignaient le palais Gallien (he thinks it was built by Gallienus)—les arènes—c'était le lieu pour faire joustes et tournois (p. 173). According to the description by the Benedictine Dom Fontenau, who visited Poitiers in 1740, the only remains were those of some surrounding arched passages, some entrances to vaults, and some arcades of the upper storeys—all much built over. Volckmann (*Neueste Reisen durch Frankreich*, 1787, ii, p. 48: 'Nothing can be seen but the shape of the old amphitheatre, which is covered inside with gardens and small houses'). According to Millin (iv, 712) some vaults still remained (engagées dans des constructions modernes). De Layre, as the result of very minute investigations, gives the dimensions (which show the amphitheatre to have been one of the largest known) and a detailed reconstruction. According to this, the building was three-storeyed, had no *praecinctions* (said to be generally unknown in Gallic buildings) in the interior, seats for 40,000 spectators, and standing room for at least 12,000 more. Cp. also Caumont, *Cours d'Antiq.*, pp. 483–486. Stark, *Städteleben*, p. 251: The amphitheatre (now 'les Arènes', also called 'palais de Galliène') directly adjoins the old city walls on the outside; its masonry and the little stone rhombi with which it is covered point to late-Roman workmanship; a triple-arched gate still serves as a street-gateway.

Fines, according to A. Tardieu (*La ville Gallo-romaine de Beauclair*, 1882) was situated on the road from Augustoritum to Augustonemetum on the site of Beauclair. P. 9.: on reconnaît à Beauclair les

traces d'un a., placé—sur le bord de la voie romaine. Il est probable qu'il était agencé en bois—les gradins seuls étant en terre.

Augustoritum (*Limovices*). Valesius (*N.G.*, 268), from the mention of an arena in mediaeval documents (e.g. 1314 ecclesia Sct. Mariae de Arenis), had already assumed the existence of an amphitheatre outside the town : hodieque inter vii portas una est Lemo-
vici porta Arenarum ; there was also 'un cimetière des Arènes' there. Mérimée (*Notes d'un voyage en Auvergne*, p. 97) : il ne reste des arènes que leur nom conservé à un quartier de la ville. Caumont (1838) states that the foundations had recently been laid bare on an eminence on the west of the town. It is said to have remained intact till the time of Louis the Pious, who gave the monks of St. Martial permission to use the material for building a church. Considerable ruins existed up to 1581 ; the last visible remains were removed in 1713 when a promenade was laid out (*Cours d'antiq.*, pp. 477-479).

Vesunna (*Petricorri*). Du Cange s.v. Arena : Meminit Chronicon Episcoporum Petracoricensium Arenarum Petracoricensium sub anno 1517 : sub hoc Boso comes Petracoricensis super locum Arenarum Petracoricensium excelsam turrem exaedificavit. According to Lipsius (as above) there was at Petricorii 'amphitheatrum pulchrum et satis integrum extra moenia—e lapide quadrato—et arenae ejus longitudo xxx perticarum, latitudo xx. Valesius (*N.G.*, 446). Gruter, 1159, 7 : in ruinis amphitheatri quod vocant Cacarottas. Cp. *Mém. de l'Acad.*, xix, 710. Caylus, *Recueil d'antiquités* (vii, 1767, p. 305, pl. lxxvii) : le contour que formait autrefois cet amphithéâtre, est très bien marqué par les ruines—il subsiste encore 6 masses informes ou plutôt 6 mesures de ce bâtiment ; elles sont considérables, isolées et fort éloignées l'une de l'autre—des portions de voûtes et de piliers formant les souterrains. Cet édifice paraît avoir eu 1200 pieds de circonférence.—Il subsiste encore dans l'arène à 15 pieds de profondeur un aqueduc ou plutôt un égout de 5 pieds de largeur et de 6 de hauteur. Il était coupé et traversé par un autre dont les proportions étaient les mêmes ; l'un et l'autre servaient apparemment à écouler les eaux de l'arène. [Caumont, *Abécdaire d'archéologie*, ed. 2, p. 344 : 'à Tours et à Périgueux les Gallo-Romains utilisèrent leurs amph. pour leur défense et les avaient transformés en énormes bastions'. H.] According to Caumont (*Cours d'antiq. monum.*, iii, pp. 480-483) little was left of the amphitheatre (in 1838) ; but on the basis of the results of excavation (De Taillefert, *Antiquités de Vesone*) he gives a detailed description of it.

Divona (*Cadurci*). Valesius (*N.G.*, iii) : in ea urbe vestigia aqueductuum, rudera amphitheatri et rupes perfossas hodieque cerni aiunt. Volckmann (as above, ii, p. 482) : 'Remains of an amphitheatre built of small squared stones are still to be met with'.

Segodunum Rutenorum. 'L'a. de Rhodéz n'offre plus comme celui d'Avenches qu'une grande concavité elliptique, autour de laquelle se voient quelques débris de murailles ; leur solidité a lassé les efforts des destructeurs. Caumont, *Cours d'antiq.*, p. 496.

(Near Tulle.) Caylus (*Rec.*, vi, p. 356) quotes the following from Baluze, *Histor. Tulliens.* (1717), p. 8 : in extrema parte hujus capitis adnotabo olim iv m. p. a Tutela (Tulle) nobile oppidum in parochia Navensi et agro Tintinniacensi, cujus multa adhuc vestigia super-

sunt; imprimis vero amphitheatrum, habens cc p. in longitudine, cl in latitudine, cujus caveas et rudera, quae etiamnunc supersunt, ego vidi in juventute mea.—Etiam hodie locus, ubi rudera amphitheatri, vocatur Arenae Tintinniacenses, vulgo les Arènes de Tintinniac. He erroneously considers the town to be the *Rastiatum* of Ptolemy. Caylus, understanding that the remains had greatly diminished since the time of Baluze, contented himself with reproducing the representation given by the latter in pl. cxiii. Montfaucon, who mentions the amphitheatre and gives the same dimensions, no doubt drew upon the same authority.

Aquae Neri (Néris). Caylus (iv, pl. cx) gives the plan of a theatre, not an amphitheatre; cp. *ib.*, p. 368. [Mérimée, *Notes d'un Voyage en Auvergne*, p. 73, who gives a description of it, takes it for a circus; I myself am inclined to agree with him. H.] The remains are described in detail by L. Esmonnot in *Néris, vicus Neriomagus* (1885; only known to me from Chambalu's notice in the *Berliner philol. Wochenschrift*, May 14, 1887), according to which it remains uncertain, whether the building was a theatre or an amphitheatre.¹

Bituriges. Du Cange, s.v. Arena: In consuetud. Bituric. tit. ii art. 20 fit mentio de la fosse des Arènes de Bourges. Unde conficitur amphitheatrum olim ibi exstitisse. According to Valesius (N.G., 86) this 'fosse des Arènes' was filled up in 1619, and its place taken by a market, la place Bourbon. Cp. Volckmann, ii, 458.

[*Ernodurum*? Caumont, *Cours d'ant.*, p. 497, mentions an amphitheatre 'de Levroux, près d'Issoudun.]

(c) Lugdunensis.

Lugdunum. In 69 Vitellius was present here at some gladiatorial shows. Dio, lxxv, 1. The Boian Mariccus was thrown to the wild beasts in 70 (Tac., *Hist.*, ii, 61). The execution of the martyrs of Vienne and Lyons in 177, described at length in the letters of these communities in Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.*, v, 1), probably took place at Lugdunum, although this is not explicitly stated. The passage is as follows (ed. Schwegler, p. 162, 37): ὁ μὲν οὖν Ματούρος καὶ ὁ Σάγκτος καὶ ἡ Βλανδῖνα καὶ ὁ Ἀτταλὸς ἤγοντο ἐπὶ τὰ θηρία εἰς τὸ δημόσιον καὶ εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἐθνῶν τῆς ἀπανθρωπίας θέαμα, ἐπὶ τῆς δὲ τῆς τῶν θηριομαχιῶν ἡμέρας διὰ τοὺς ἡμετέρους διδομένης. ὁ μὲν Ματούρος καὶ ὁ Σάγκτος αὐτοῖς διήσαν ἐν τῷ ἀμφιθεάτρῳ διὰ πάσης κολάσεως. . . καὶ . . . ὑπέφερον πάλιν τὰς διεξόδους τῶν μαστίγων καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν θηρίων ἐλκυσμοὺς καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα μαινόμενος ὁ δῆμος ἄλλοι ἀλλαχόθεν ἐπεβόων καὶ ἐπεκελεύοντο, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὴν σιδηρὰν καθέδραν, ἐφ' ἧς τηγανίζοντο τὰ σώματα κλίσης αὐτοῖς ἐνεφόρει. In 1561 remains of what was probably the amphitheatre still existed in the district of the *jardin des plantes* laid out under the first empire in the *quartier des Terreaux*; and before 1793 Artaud saw some arcades belonging to it, built of small stones, which were then destroyed, 'comme étant un signe de féodalité'. During the course of his excavations (about 1820) some steps with inscriptions came to light, indicating the seats of honour of the deputies of the 60 *civitates*. Martin-Daussigny, conservator of the museum, as the result of fresh investigations undertaken by him after 1857, arrived at the conclusion that the amphitheatre (the arena of which could be

¹ [Alleged remains of both exist.—Tr.]

flooded for *naumachiae*) was situated in the neighbourhood of the *ara Romae et Augusti*, and not, as formerly assumed (as by Valesius, N.G., p. 295 and Boissieu), on the site of Ainay (Atanacum), but in the *quartier des Terreaux*; here in ancient times the Rhone and Saône joined, although they have since altered their course. See Martin-Daussigny, *Notice sur l'amph. et l'autel d'Auguste à Lugdunum in Congrès archéol. de France*, 29th session, 1862, Paris, 1863, pp. 418-454; and cp. his letter to Henzen (*AdI*, 1860, p. 215); also O. Hirschfeld, *Lyon in der Römerzeit* (Vienna, 1878, p. 16). Other antiquaries (e.g. Allmer in 1864) thought the amphitheatre was to be looked for on the right bank of the Seine at Fourvière, either ascribing the remains in the *quartier des Terreaux*, to another building, or assuming the existence of two amphitheatres—the one by the *ara Romae et Augusti* for the imperial festival at the meetings of the deputies at the Gallic diet, the other for the city shows (cp. J[ules] V[ermorel] in the notice of Hirschfeld's treatise in *Rev. crit.*, July 12, 1879, p. 29, and Renan, *Marc-Aurèle*, p. 331, 1). The latter is now believed to have been discovered by the excavations of M. Lafon in Fourvière—a building in the erection of which the declivity of the hill has been utilized, three concentric walls being still standing. According to another view (shared also by Duruy and Renan) it is supposed to have been situated at the foot of the declivity, its chief axis being parallel to the Saône. Deseilligny as below, pp. 23-26. Cp. Bazin, *Rev. archéol.*, July-August, 1887, p. 35, and J. Pierrot Deseilligny, *Notice sur l'amph. de Lyon*, Caen, 1888.

Aquae Segeste (Segeste). The amphitheatre at Châtillon-sur-Loing already known from Caylus (iii, pl. 412, p. cxiij) is described in detail and illustrated by Jollois (*Mém. sur les antiquités du dép. du Loiret*, 1836, pp. 1-10, *Description de l'amph. de Chenevière*, with plates i-vii); like d'Anville before him, he regards it as belonging to Aquae Segeste (Ukert as above, p. 465). The elliptical arena (fosse aux lions) has accommodation for spectators on only one side, occupying less than the half of an ellipse and according to Jollois capable of holding 3000-4000. Caylus assumed that it could be transformed into a complete ellipse with the aid of wooden buildings. Nothing now remains of the rows of steps that were still visible before 1758.

Augustodunum. On a 'Vue générale d'Autun vers 1600' in Edme Thomas (died 1660), *Hist. de l'antique cité d'Autun—illustrée et annotée* (Paris-Autun, 1846), p. 32, the amphitheatre appears as an important ruin; the illustration (p. 61) shows it as a building, of the circuit of which $\frac{3}{4}$ to $\frac{2}{3}$ is preserved, at least three storeys high, with complete rows of seats. With this agrees the illustration (rightly declared to be imaginary by Millin, i, 307) in Montfaucon (iii, ii, p. cli, after Aubéri), in which (as in Thomas) the third storey exhibits large figures in relief on the outer side between the arcades, and part of a fourth storey also is given. Thomas says: je découvre les vestiges d'un a. caché par les ronces, les épines et la terre, mais dont on voit sans grands peine les sièges. Il . . . est bâti . . . de briquetage en grès, lié d'un ciment ferme. *Voyage de deux Bénédictins* (1717), i, p. 164: L'a. est hors de la ville, fait en demi-cercle

fort élevé, autour duquel on remarque plusieurs cavernes affreuses, où l'on enfermait les bêtes, . . . qu'on lâchoit pour dévorer les chrétiens dans une grande plaine, qui fait comme une demi-lune environné de murailles. This description, like that of Volckmann (ii, p. 206): 'the amphitheatre outside the town has the form of a semicircle,' appears to refer to the theatre (*Hist. d'Autun*, p. 63 and p. 217). According to Millin, the amphitheatre was used as a quarry in the eighteenth century and completely destroyed. Excavations since 1832 and 1842 have rendered possible an approximate estimate of the two axes (157 × 131 m.; *Hist. d'Autun*, p. 215). [Cp. *Comptes rendus de la soc. fr. de numismatique et d'archéologie*, i, 1869, p. 14. H.]

Autisiodurum. Leblanc-Davau, *Recherches sur Auxerre* (2nd ed., 1871), p. 51. In documents of the fifteenth century mention is made of a 'champ des Arènes'. In the centre of the same, before 1830, a considerable elliptic depression could be seen. The digging of a well revealed 'une galerie conduisant dans l'intérieur du cirque, garnie de petites loges et fermée à son entrée par une porte en pierres de taille' (p. 52). The site is now entirely altered. The author assumes that the amphitheatre was built of wood.

Agendicum (*Senones*). Valesius (*N.G.*, p. 332): *Senonici amphitheatri meminit Passio beatae Columbae virginis et martyris* (alleged to have occurred under Aurelian). The *Bulletin de la soc. archéol. de Sens* (ii, 1851, p. 70) containing a treatise on the amphitheatre (with plan) was not available.

Lutetia (*Parisii*). An article in the *Grenzboten* (1870, ii, p. 189), *Der antike Circus zu Paris* (after the *Bulletin de la soc. impériale des antiquaires de France*, 1858, p. 152) gives an account of the earlier notices of the amphitheatre. The statement of Gregory of Tours in his *Hist. Franc.*, v, 17: (*Chilpericus rex*) apud *Suessionas* atque *Parisios* *circos aedificare praecepit eos populis spectaculum praebens*, is referred to a restoration of the amphitheatre. Alexander Neckam, who taught about 1180 in Paris, in his *Laus sapientiae divinae* calls the amphitheatre 'theatrum Cypridis,' 'vasta ruina'. A hundred years later it was laid out as a vineyard; according to a document of 1284 the Sorbonne owned 'tria quarteria vineae in loco qui dicitur les Areinnes ante St. Victorem'. The whole district was called Faubourg Saint-Victor from an abbey now destroyed. The same vineyard 'ad Arainas', 'Clos des Arennes', is mentioned in maps as late as 1307 and 1399. In May, 1870 (*Rev. archéol.*, xi, 1870, p. 349), in the rue Monge west of the Pantheon, some investigators came upon the curve of the walls surrounding the arena and some seat-steps. The smaller half of the amphitheatre is laid bare; a cloister occupies the site of the larger. The declivity of the Montagne Ste. Geneviève (mons Lucotitius) has been utilized in the construction. The masonry consists of irregular stones, laid in cement; the side turned towards the arena is covered with squared stones. Two quadrangular chambers at the bottom of the ascending rows of steps may have been used as cages. The amphitheatre was used as a quarry in the middle ages and its material removed to a considerable distance, especially to the Île de la Cité; cp. Longpérier, *Les pierres écrites des arènes de Lutèce* in *Journ. des*

sav., 1873, pp. 641-656. The inscriptions on three blocks: (1) Cas(siani) Latini, (2) Postumi, and (3) Pii Esuvi Thtrici, according to Longpérier, were cut soon after the construction of the amphitheatre, which consequently should be assigned to the third century. I have been unable to procure Du Seigneur's *Les arènes de Lutèce* (1886).

[*Jatinum* (Meldi). Valesius (*N.G.*, p. 332), arguing from the name Cavea (Cagia) at Meaux, which comprises an extensive district and contains a church Scta Maria in Cavea, assumes the existence of a large amphitheatre outside the town.]

Cenabum (*Civitas Aurelianorum*). According to the *Histoire d'Orléans* (p. 178) by Vergniaud-Romagnoli (quoted by Hübner but unknown to me), there was an amphitheatre here. According to Jollois (*Sur les antiquités rom. et gallo-rom. de Paris*, 1840, in Longpérier, p. 641) it is half hidden in the ground.

Caesarodunum (*Turoni*). Cp. *Vesunna* above. *Revue archéol.*, x, p. 376. The 'Arenae Turonenses' are mentioned in a diploma of King Charles the Simple (D. Bouquet, *Script. rev. gall.*, ix, p. 534). M. André Salmon first indicated the site of the amphitheatre, on which the *Soc. archéol.* carried out successful excavations. 'On a reconnu d'abord 4 couloirs, servant de communication du podium à l'extérieur de l'amph. De plus on a trouvé des loges accolées et un fragment de mur extérieur curviligne. L'amph. de Tours est un peu plus grand que ceux de Saintes et de Nîmes. After exhaustive investigation, a commission arrived at the result that the dimensions of the axes of the building were 124 × 144 m., the area of the whole amphitheatre 6200, that of the arena 2250 square metres. *Rapport de la commission chargée d'examiner des substructions présumées appartenir à l'ancien a. de Tours* in *Mém. de la soc. archéol. de Touraine*, v, 1855, pp. 237-255 (with plan).

Vindinum (*Cenomani*). According to Caumont, *Cours d'antiq.*, p. 495, there was said to have been an amphitheatre at Le Mans. [Daudin, *Exposé des objets d'antiquité trouvés au Mans* en 1809, p. 3, cp. p. 18: on a vu en 1791 un a. de 338 pieds de diamètre, des arènes de 252 pieds, 4 estrades circulaires, de 17 pieds de largeur chacune, coupées par de murs de refend de 16 pieds d'épaisseur, qui soutenaient les galeries voûtées qui regnaient autour de ses cirques. . . Il ne reste plus aucun vestige de ce monument (which is said to have had room for 7000 spectators). H.]

[*Juliomagus* (*Andecavi*). According to Godard-Faultrier, *Monuments antiques de l'Anjou*, 1864, p. 50, there are traces of an amphitheatre at Angers (rue Hanneloup¹), which was called Grohan and was supposed to have had room for 10,000 spectators. H.]

Crocitonum (*Portus Unellorum*). Caylus, vii, p. 314 (pl. xc, xci), *Sur les ruines situées près de Valogne en Normandie*: En 1691 Mr. Foucault . . . y fit fouiller, on y trouva divers monuments, . . . un château de bains, un amphit. élatre et tous les ornements d'une grande ville. . . Quant à l'amph., on en a déjà beaucoup démolí pour bâtir aux environs, mais son plan circulaire aide à en retrouver l'enceinte. Il paraît qu'il y en avait une double, l'une extérieure de 20 toises de rayon, l'autre intérieure de 18 toises . . . on ne pourra guère sup-

¹ [? Rue Hanneloup, close to which is a Rue des Arènes.—Tr.]

poser de places pour plus de 6000 spectateurs. Il ne reste que peu de partie de l'enceinte extérieure et presque rien de l'enceinte intérieure.

(d) **Belgica.**

(Helvetii.) The following information as to the amphitheatres of Switzerland is due to C. Bursian.

Oclodurum (Martigny). The ruins of the amphitheatre, called by the people 'le Vivier' (*vivarium*) consist of an enclosing wall, tolerably circular, still almost in a complete state of preservation; constructed of boulders, rubble and tufa stones, it is still more than three feet thick and in many places its height is more than a man's. The larger axis, from N. to S., is 214 feet long; the smaller, from E. to W., 201. No trace is preserved of the arcades on which the seats rested, nor of the seat-steps themselves; hence we may conjecture, that the interior arrangement was only of woodwork.

Aventicum (Avenches). On the amphitheatre cp. Bursian, *Aventicum Helvetiorum* in *Mittheilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich*, bd. xvi, i, heft 1, p. 20. It is situated in the N.W. part of the old town, directly east of the little modern town of Avenches, and, although transformed into an orchard, can be recognized at the first glance from the elliptic depression in the interior. On the east side of this depression rises a lofty tower, the foundation of which is formed by an ancient double vault; it was built in the seventeenth century as a granary, and is now used as a museum; outside, the arch-shaped springs of several such vaults together with the party walls that support them can still be seen on the N.E. and on the S., while on the S.W., W., and N.W. nothing of the old building remains. The length of the larger axis of the ellipse of the building from S.E. to N.W. is 314 (including the masonry of the arcades 326) feet, of the smaller 282 (or 294); the upper circumference of the whole is about 880 feet, the height of the upper surface of the modern terrace constructed near the tower over the deepest part of the soil that covers the arena $29\frac{1}{2}$ feet; the seat-steps of sandstone, some of which are still preserved in the terrace wall, are $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. The number of spectators which the amphitheatre could hold has been estimated by A. Caspari, the conservator of the Museum at Avenches, on the assumption of 20 rows of seats, at 8780; but according to Bursian's view the present height of the building (the upper surface of the terrace with the tower) affords no sufficient grounds for calculating the original height and the number of the rows of seats; the latter was probably considerably larger than 20, and there is in addition an upper circuit with standing places for the lower classes, such as are preserved in amphitheatres in Italy and the south of France, so that the number of the spectators can be estimated at twice the number given above.

Vindonissa (Windisch in Aargau). The amphitheatre of Vindonissa, on the W. of the village of Königsfelden, now appears as an oval depression, resembling a sandpit, but covered with grass and corn, without any traces of walls; by the people it is called the 'Bärlisgrub' (bear-pit). The greater axis of the ellipse (from N.E. to S.W.) was about 230 feet long; the entrances were opposite one

another on the narrow side of the building. There is no trace of the seat-steps, nor of the vaults on which they rested. Cp. F. Keller, *Statistik der römischen Ansiedlungen in der Ostschweiz*, in *Mittheilungen der antiquar. Gesellsch. zu Zürich*, bd. xv, heft 3, p. 142), in whose opinion the statements of Haller (*Histor. und topogr. Darstellung von Helvetien unter römischer Herrschaft*, ii, 390) are to be considered purely fictitious. Haller speaks of remains of this 'theatre' (as he calls it), which were still visible above ground in the second half of the eighteenth century, especially the ruins of the east gate, and of a 'large, rectangular block of granite, right in the centre of the former arena, to which the wild animals intended for the *venationes* and also persons condemned to death were fastened with chains, the double holes of which were still visible'.

[*Augusta Rauricorum*. No trace of an amphitheatre has been found at Baselaugst; what has been taken for such (e.g. by Müller, *Hdb. der Archäol.*, § 265, 1) is rather a theatre; see Bruckner, *Versuch einer Beschreibung historischer und natürlicher Merkwürdigkeiten der Landschaft Basel*, xxiii. Stück (1763), p. 2772. Schoepflin (*Alsatia illustrata*, i, 160) gives an illustration of this theatre (e saec. xvi, e schedis Amerbachii). Mommsen (*Die römische Schweiz*, p. 16) also speaks of the ruins of the amphitheatre of Augst. According to the paper by Th. Burckhardt-Biedermann (*Das römische Theater zu Augusta Raurica*, in *Mitth. d. histor. u. antiquar. Gesellschaft zu Basel*, n.f., ii, 1882), only known to me from a notice by Blümner (*D.L.Z.*, 1882, no. 44), the theatre (of about the first century) was later purposely altered, and the orchestra made into an arena.

[*Aquae Vicus* (Baden in Aargau). According to F. Keller (*Die röm. Ansiedlungen in der Ostschweiz*, Abtheilung i, in *Mittheilungen der antiquar. Gesellsch. in Zürich*, bd. xii, heft 7, p. 297) there was still to be seen there, 'at the beginning of this (nineteenth) century, a circular depression, which was not without reason regarded as the *cavea* of a theatre' (? the interior of an amphitheatre); but no traces of it are now visible.]

Maxima Sequanorum, Vesontio. Valesius (*N.G.*, p. 600: *Amphitheatrum olim Vesontio extra muros habuit, latum passus circiter cxx, cuius fundamenta et porticus maiore ex parte dirutas spectari ait Chifetius ubi nunc est extra murum sacellum Scti Jacobi. Superest in urbe hodieque vicus Arenarum, qui ad portam amphitheatri ducebat, et porta ipsa amphitheatrici, una ex v Vesontionis portis, porta Arenarum olim cum aliis tum Callisto pp. ii in litteris anno MCXX datis nuncupata, quae nunc intra muros urbis integra conspicitur. Quin et una de vii civitatis tribubus tribus Arenarum dicitur*. Volckmann, iii, 162: 'Outside the town may still be seen remains of an amphitheatre, about 120 feet in diameter.' Castan (*Le capitole de Vesontio*, in *Mém. lus à la Sorbonne. Archéol.*, 1869, p. 53) says: 'Les ruines (de l'a.) ont été noyées, il est vrai, dans l'un des bastions construits par Vauban; mais nous en avons des images (Prost, *Hist. de Besançon*, ms. 2 plans of the *Arènes*); et le nom de notre rue d'Arènes en conserve la mémoire.

(Town of the *Leuci*.) Caylus, vii, p. 349: Le village de Grand (Gran) en Champagne entre Joinville et Neufchâteau (ad Fines ?—Novioma-

gus, Ukert, as above, p. 505) était une de ces anciennes villes, dont il ne reste qu'une faible tradition, elle était de la cité du peuple des Leuci . . . Son amph. était adossé à une colline. Son élévation du côté du midi est encore de 18 pieds 6 pouces; l'arène a encore 30 toises de longueur et 10 de largeur. Il y avait 3 portes de chaque côté de l'arène, qui conduisaient aux souterrains de l'amph. et aux gradins destinés pour les spectateurs. Les habitants appellent l'amph. le château de Julien, on croit que Ste Libaire, vierge, y souffrait le martyre. Yet it seems, from the outline on pl. cxi rather to have been a theatre. [Jollois, *Antiquités de Gran* (extract in Dufresne, *Mém. de l'Acad. de Metz*, 1842, p. 247) believes (in accordance with excavations in 1822), that it was capable of accommodating 2000 spectators; like the building at Nérès (see above) it was used both as a theatre and as an amphitheatre. Dufresne (p. 250) gives as the dimensions—large axis of the whole building 137·60, small 61 metres, and says (p. 251): ces belles ruines sont maintenant converties en carrière publique et disparaissent chaque jour. P. 249: au dessous du sol de l'orchestre à 2½ m. de profondeur on a trouvé un aqueduc parfaitement conservé. H.]

Divodurum Mediomatricum. Valesius (N.G., p. 174) quotes the following from a MS. life of St. Clement: 'cum pervenisset B. Clemens Mediomatricam civitatem, in cavernis ut ferunt amphitheatri quod extra eandem urbem situm est, hospitium habuit'. *Ibidem* 'fluvius Saliae juxta decurrere' dicitur, nimirum juxta amphitheatrum. Ch. Abel (*Notice sur la Naumachie de Metz* in *Mém. de la soc. d'archéol. et d'hist. de la Moselle*, 1860, p. 49) says: 'L'existence de l'arène en ce lieu (between the porte St. Thiébaut and Mazelle) est confirmée par le nom d'une église que saint Clément y éleva près de la Seille en l'honneur de saint André et que le peuple appela toujours St. André-aux-Arènes. A en croire les Bénédictins, auteurs de l'histoire de Metz, les ruines de l'a. subsistèrent jusqu'en 1562, époque à laquelle les pierres et les colonnes en furent dépécées pour construire les murs de la citadelle de Metz. C'est une erreur, puisque Sébastien Leclerc, vers 1650, en a pris un croquis qu'il grava à l'eau forte et qui fait partie de ses œuvres sous le no. 205. C'est après cette estampe rarissime de Sébastien Leclerc (elle se trouve à la Bibliothèque impériale de Paris—Collection des gravures et estampes) que M. Migette a donné une vue des arènes de Metz dans l'*Histoire de Metz* par Bégin, t. i. Elle représente encore l'enceinte avec une partie de ses contreforts et une portion des galeries du premier étage et du rez-de-chaussée éclairées par deux rangées de colonnes superposées comme à Nîmes et à Arles. On y voyait aussi l'escalier d'un des vomitoires par lesquels s'écoulait la foule au travers d'une porte centrée formée par deux colonnes d'ordre ionique. Un plan de Metz de 1574 nous montre le débris d'une de ces arcades avec une colonne. En 1719 Montfaucon faisait dessiner, pour son bel ouvrage des *Antiquités expliquées*, ce qui restait de l'a. de Metz, et le publiait, t. iii, planche 103. Les Bénédictins reproduisaient dans leur histoire de Metz t. i, planche ii ce dessin, qui nous apprend que les galeries dessinées par S. Leclerc avaient été démolies et qu'en 1719 il ne restait plus debout que le vomitoire et

son escalier, sa porte et l'enceinte circulaire de l'arène. Au 17. siècle P. Ferry qui a encore vu ces ruines debout, supposait que l'a. de Metz avait dû être construit sous Auguste (?). See Hübner, *Römische Alterthümer in Lothringen* (*Bonner Jahrb.*, liii-liv, 1873, p. 159), p. 161 : supposed seat-steps of the amphitheatre with the inscription ho[li]tores ; p. 163, gladiatorial relief ; p. 171, visor.

Augusta Treverorum. Wytttenbach (*Neue Forschungen*, p. 70) and Steininger (*Gesch. d. Trevirer*, i, p. 285) assign the construction of this amphitheatre to the time of Trajan ; the second of the spurious inscriptions of Nennig (Mommson, *Grenzboten*, 1866, p. 407) is based on this assumption. As F. Hettner (*Das römische Trier*, in *Verhandl. d. Philologenvers. zu Trier*, 1879, p. 16) observes, the extremely careful architecture of the amphitheatre shows it to have been certainly older than the other Roman buildings of the city. 'It is in the extreme S.E. of the town ; the eastern semicircle leans against a natural hill, the western on the other hand (as is shown by the excavations of Herr von Wilmowsky in the 'sixties) is artificially constructed'. Nothing now remains but 'the arena, together with a wall leading to the beginning of the rows of seats, part of the animals' cages, and further at the end of each side of the arena an entrance with three gates. The entrances are flanked by strong towers, which relieve the pressure of the masses of earth. The central gate led into the arena, the two others to the spectators' seats. The latter could also be reached by two tunnel-like entrances on the city side' (Hettner). According to Quednow (*Beschr. des A. zu Trier*, p. 24) the arena is elliptical, its floor of rock ; in the latter is cut a *euripus* 3 feet wide and 4 feet deep, used for flooding at the *naumachiae*, water for the purpose being conducted into the amphitheatre by an aqueduct (?). The *podium*, now 7 feet high, appears formerly to have been 10 feet high ; it had 10 doors, leading to the animals' cages. The number of places for the spectators, estimated by Steininger at 8000, cannot be settled, in Hettner's opinion. On the 'collegium arenariorum consistentium Col. Aug. Trev.' see Orelli, 2773 = Brambach, *CIRh.*, 770. Perhaps it was here that the Bructeri were destroyed by wild beasts (before the year 306) ; see Steininger, i, 231, 1. According to the *Gesta Trevir.* the Vandal prince Crock besieged the Treviri 'in arena civitatis' (i.e. in this amphitheatre, fortified by them) in the year 406, but without success (Wytttenbach, *Neue Forsch.*, p. 53). Perhaps it was at that time that the semicircular towers were built, remains of which are still to be seen (*ib.*, p. 60).

Durocortorum (Remi). Du Cange s.v. Arena : Arenas Remenses commemorat Marlotus in metropoli Remensi lib. i cap. 5. Valesius (*N.G.*, p. 181) : Extra portam Martis sunt Arenae seu mons Arenarum, amphitheatri seu duplicis hemicycli figura. Volckmann, iii, p. 172 : 'Two hundred paces from the town are the remains of an amphitheatre'.

Augusta Suessionum. Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.*, v, 17 : see above under Lutetia. Valesius (*N.G.*, pp. 58 and 332) infers the existence of an amphitheatre from the name Cavea (monasterium Scti Crispini in Cavea, St. Crépin en Chaye). Yet according to Leroux, *Hist. de Soissons* (1839), i, p. 108, the amphitheatre was

not there, but in the west part of the town, where a semicircular depression in the ground in his opinion affords undoubted evidence of its site; this view is said to have been confirmed by occasional excavations in the 'twenties and 'thirties. But their results are so small that it remains doubtful whether the building was elliptic or semicircular; Leroux considers the latter to be more probable. He assumes that its remains were choked up with earth in the time of Chilperic (576).

Augustomagus (Silvanectes). [Mayne, *Mémoires lus à la Sorbonne*, 1867, p. 155: *Note sur la découverte des arènes de Senlis*. Some years before, in a field not far from the modern town but at a considerable distance from the circuit of the Gallo-Roman town, a circular depression and remains of buildings were still to be seen; a Fontaine de Raines in the vicinity is called in mediaeval documents 'fontaine d'Airaines' and 'fons Arenarum'. Then follows a description of the very trifling remains recently discovered. H.] Caix de Saint-Aymour (*Congrès archéol. de France*, 44^e session, Paris, Tours, 1878, pp. 69-78) gives the dimensions of the building (75 × 68 m.) and ascribes its construction to the third century. Detlefsen in Burasian's *Jahresber.*, viii (1880), p. 104.

[*Caesaromagus (Bellovaci)*. According to Caumont, *Cours d'ant.*, p. 495, there was an amphitheatre at Beauvais.]

[*Rotomagus*. Here also Valesius assumes the existence of an amphitheatre for the same reason as at Soissons.]

[*Julibona*. Caylus (vi, 394) thinks that the theatre (pl. cxxvi) was also used as an amphitheatre; cp. Merivale, *Hist. of the Romans under the Empire*: iv, 418, 1: 'Lillebonne . . . had . . . a miniature Colosseum in architecture and masonry'. Theatres, shown by the unusual size and form of their orchestra to have been intended to serve a double purpose (amphithéâtres facultatifs, as Letronne calls them), are also said to have existed at Valognes (cp. Volckmann, iii, 354) and the village of *Vieux* near Caen. See A. de la Mare (*Excursions aux ruines de Khremissa* in *Rev. archéol.*, xii, 644), who refers to the treatise by Charma on the excavations at Vieux (*Mém. de la Soc. des antiquaires de la Normandie*, vol. xxii).]

(e) *Germaniae*.

(G. inferior.) *Colonia Agrippinensis*. 'Earlier investigations have established beyond doubt the existence of an amphitheatre near the Berlich' (see above, p. 194; and *Beiblatt zur Kölnischen Zeitung*, 1829, no. 17). Düntzer, *Das Berlich zu Köln, in Jahrb. der Alterthumsfreunde im Rheinlande*, xx, p. 26). 'Between the Berlich and the Appellhof the traces of a Roman amphitheatre have been found. Like the simple buildings near Vetera, Bonn and those described by Caumont (*C. Archéologie, a. de Chenevières* [Loiret], Caen, 1860), which exhibit a uniform type, it possessed an arena with round terraces for the spectators, 100 m. long and 60 m. wide, open towards the East'. C. von Beith, *Das römische Köln* (Bonn, 1885, Winckelmannsprogramm), p. 16. Cp. the subjoined plan of the town. 'Immediately before the Berlich was undoubtedly the Roman camp. Here probably also was the *vivarium*, enclosed by a centurion of the sixth legion, according to a votive tablet (in

Lersch, *Centralmuseum*, nr. 9 = Brambach, *CIRhen.*, 336), found in the foundation of a monastery built on the castle wall into the Roman wall. There is a remarkable similarity with Rome, where on the Viminal, near the *castra praetoria* (later enclosed by the wall but projecting considerably), there are an *amphitheatrum castrense* and a *vivarium*, both before the old city', Düntzer as above, p. 31. Inscription on an *ursarius* (Lersch, *Centralmuseum*, iii, 196 = Brambach, 211).

Castra Vetera.¹ Ph. Houben and Fr. Fiedler, *Denkmäler von Castra Vetera and Colonia Trajana* in Ph. Houben's *Antiquarium zu Xanten* (Xanten, 1839), p. 6: 'According to the oldest information the remains of an amphitheatre or an *arena campestris* near the village of Birten, also belonged to the old camp. On the field rises an oval earth rampart overgrown with copsewood and some fir-trees, with 4 entrances, exactly facing the four cardinal points. The outer circuit is about 350 paces. In the interior the rampart runs to a depth of about 30 feet obliquely downwards, so that a space, the arena, 120 paces in circumference, is formed below. The distance from the last to the west entrance is about 120 paces'. Pighi had already taken this circumvallation for the remains of a Roman amphitheatre of the garrison at Vetera. At the end of the seventeenth century aged people could still remember having seen in the arena a column consisting of millstones laid one upon another, which the author perversely takes for a *meta*. He assumes that the amphitheatre was built of wood. On a field not far distant a large number of simple urns with human bones have been found. The country people usually call the arena 'Victors Lager' or 'Victorsgelag'; according to the legend St. Victor, a captain of the Theban legion, suffered martyrdom with his Christian soldiers near the marshes of Colonia Trajana by the orders of the emperor Maximian.

BRITANNIA.

There is no doubt that in Britain also the legions kept gladiators in their permanent quarters (Hübner, *CIL*, iii, 1335, 3; *Monatsber. d. Berl. Acad.*, 1868, 89), and some monuments relating to them have been preserved (Greek inscription on a *reliarius* in London, *CIL*, vii, p. 20; probably also *ib.* 830: *venatores Bannies[es]*); but no ruins of amphitheatres have been found. On the other hand, English archaeologists believe that they have discovered, in the vicinity of different Roman towns and permanent quarters, traces of so-called *amphitheatra castrensia*, that is to say, circular depressions corresponding to the arena, enclosed on all sides by the declivities of hills and thus presenting more or less the form of natural amphitheatres. John Strange, *An Account of some Roman and other Antiquities in Monmouthshire* (read May 11, 1755) in the *Archaeologia Britannica*, v, 1779, p. 67: 'the hollow circular spot known at Caerleon (*Isca Silurum*) by the name of Arthur's Round Table, which is generally supposed to be a Roman work, and to have served by way of amphitheatre. In this case it must be considered as one of the Caestresian kind, like that at Richborough Castle, not far

¹ I am indebted to Prof. Friedrich Leo for the above.

from Sandwich in Kent, and many others (cp. Wright, *Wanderings*, p. 88 : Rutupiae). Stukeley (*Iter Curiosum*, i, p. 156) mentions one at Silchester and another 3 miles from Redruth in Cornwall. Probably the round entrenchment between Penrith and Shap in Westmorland, described by Salmon (*Survey*, p. 637) and compared by him to a cock-pit or wrestling-ring is of the same kind. It also goes by the name of Arthur's Round Table, as does that on the castle wall at Winchester. Such temporary amphitheatres were probably the only ones used by the Romans in those distant provinces'. P. 68 : 'It is observable that the castrensian amphitheatres in general preserve no signs of *subsellia* or seats, so that the people must have stood on the grassy declivity. I saw no signs in that of Caerleon, nor in the more perfect one near Dorchester (Wright, *ib.*, p. 95), that Stukeley (*ib.*, p. 166) has also observed. Nor do I recollect that any such have been discovered in any other castrensian amphitheatre, at least in our island, where they seem to have been rather numerous. For it may reasonably be supposed that there were many more of them in Britain than are known to us at present, though the number of the latter is by no means inconsiderable'. That at Caerleon (on which see also *Archaeol. Brit.*, ii, 6) is more accurately described by Lee (*Isca Silurum*, 1862, p. 128), as E. Hübner informs me. According to the same scholar, traces of amphitheatres are believed to have been found at Bath (*Aquae Sulis*), Silchester, and Cirencester. Cp. also *Archaeol.*, xvii, p. 171 (near Llandrinolt, Wales) and Gough's *Camden*, i, p. 158 (Chasebury, Wiltshire). Collingwood Bruce (*The Roman Wall*, 3rd ed., 1867, p. 158) believes he can recognize in a very rude relief at Chesters (Cilurnum) a scene from the amphitheatre, and hence conjectures that one existed there : decided traces of one still exist at the station of Borcovicus (a fort in the wall of Hadrian, now Housesteads). An illustration of this is given on p. 190—a circular depression, about 100 ft. in diameter, 10 ft. deep. It is obvious that all these observations are very uncertain.

Th. Wright, *A History of Domestic Manners and Sentiments in England during the Middle Ages* (London, 1862), p. 64 (*Homes of Other Days*), p. 77 : 'In the glossaries *plegere* (a player) and *plegaman* (a playman) are used to represent the Roman gladiator, and *plega-hus* (a playhouse) and *plega-stow* (a play-place) express a theatre or more probably an amphitheatre'. Wright assumes that the Saxons denoted the walled-round amphitheatres of the Roman towns still existing in their times by the first name, and those which were only formed by depressions in the ground by the second name. Among the illustrations of an Anglo-Saxon MS. of the Psalms (Ms. Harl. 603, perhaps of the ninth century) there is one, which according to Wright evidently represents an amphitheatre (reproduced on p. 65) : a bear-leader with a bear, which pretends to be asleep, a dancer, a player on a double flute—all on an arena at the foot of a depression in the ground, with many spectators in the background.

THE REST OF THE NORTHERN PROVINCES.

Rætia et Vindelicia. *Augusta Vindelicorum.* J. Becker (*Der Berlich zu Köln und der Perlach zu Augsburg*, in *Jahrb. d. Aller-*

thumsfr. im Rheinlande, xlii, p. 71; cp. above, p. 194) writes: 'The keen-sighted Welser has claimed to recognize an amphitheatre in the circular, amphitheatral form of some streets near the church of St. Stephen and in the general form of the gardens there, but his conjecture has not as yet received more definite confirmation. Further, the great distance between the churches of St. Stephen and St. Peter (where the Perlach is situated) makes a combination of the two localities inconceivable; thus it only remains to conjecture that the amphitheatre of the Roman Augsburg was in the vicinity of the modern Perlach'. For the mosaic excavated in gardens near the church of St. Stephen (circus-scenes and gladiatorial combats) see Gruter, 336; cp. *CIL*, iii, 2, 5835a.

Pannonia Superior. Carnuntum. In the *Bericht des Vereins Carnuntum für die Jahre 1887 und 1888* (Wien, 1889, pp. 22-33 with pll. viii and ix), Alois Hauser has given a provisional description of the amphitheatre partly excavated by him in 1888 at Deutsch-Altenburg. The great axis of the arena measures 72·2, the small one 44·25 m.; its surrounding wall, 1·5 m. thick, still rises to a height of 2½ m.; its squared stones facing the arena have been furnished with a coloured coating (chiefly red). At a distance of ½ m. parallel with this wall runs a second wall ½ m. thick, to which the spoke-like walls of the *cavea* were attached. The outer surrounding wall, also elliptical, by reason of its considerable height is provided with strengthening pillars on the long side towards the Danube, where the terrain sinks decidedly. The spoke-like walls connecting the outer and inner wall and intended to bear the rows of seats, are neither equidistant from each other nor of equal strength. Nothing remains of the rows of seats. Of the entrances of the amphitheatre, the eastern, completely laid open, is divided into three parts (the centre part 3·4, the outer parts 1 and 1·11 m. wide. Close by was a narrow passage (a supplementary construction), perhaps with cross divisions, which were used as animals' cages, the animals being gradually pushed into the arena by pulling and inserting the cross-bars. At the point most favourably situated for spectators seems to have been an enclosed box. The arena appears to have been unpaved. It is not clear what purpose was served by a channel constructed of stone slabs carried in the direction of its lower axis below its level through the surrounding wall. To judge from its dimensions, the amphitheatre was a very imposing building. Its area is between those of the amphitheatres of Pola and Verona; on the other hand the whole building, considering the relative narrowness of the *cavea*, is not nearly so extensive as those two amphitheatres; its two axes measure 97·66 and 75·25 m. (against 137·8, 112·6 in Pola and 153·18, 122·89 in Verona). According to Hauser's estimate it contained above 8000 spectators. If, as he assumes, the last row of seats was about 13 m. above the arena, the outlook over the amphitheatre from the camp that lay about 14 m. higher was unobstructed, especially from its walls and towers. The camp appears to have been considerably enlarged by degrees, the enlargement being surrounded by a new fortified wall, inside which was the amphitheatre. 36 silver *denarii* (from a bag of

money lost under L. Verus) and 97 coins (from Augustus to Valens and Valentinian, pp. 33-37) were found there. Among the inscriptions, VM on a stone-block with letters 25 cm. high may belong to the architectural inscription; IIII VIR on another in all probability served to indicate the seats of the *quattuorviri* of the *municipium* of Carnuntum; a *cippus* bears the inscription: Junoni Nemesi Eppius Martinus et Mem(mius) Esper (t)ub(icen ?) leg. xiii g. et Iul(ia) Rodo et . . ; an *ara* : (I)ovi (S)erap(i) Iulius. (Borrmann, pp. 36-41).

Pannonia Inferior. *Aquincum.* The amphitheatre excavated there in 1880 was described by Karl Torma in 1881 in a publication in the Hungarian language, from which a plan of the building appeared in *Oesterreich. Mitth.*, viii (1884), plate iv, and an exact explanation in ix (1885), pp. 233-7. Several parts of the building showed traces of repeated painting. A small sanctuary of Nemesis had been built against the outer wall of the amphitheatre, and the dedications of two votive altars found there date from 162 and 259. For these and the other inscriptions see *op. cit.* vii (1883), pp. 92-7 (nos. 23-34); and for the inscriptions on the benches p. 97 f., 1-11, among them 4. Val(erii) Juliani et Ae(lii ?) Quinti, and 6. G. Valeria Nonia.

[*Cibalis.* The statement of Muchar (*Das römische Noricum*, i, 365) that there was once a large amphitheatre there, seems to be erroneous; at all events there is no mention of it in the text cited, Zosim., ii, 18.]

Dacia. *Porolissum* (Mojgrad). In 1858 the following inscription, now in the Klausenburg museum, was found there (*CIL*, iii, 836); Imp. Caes. T. Ael. Hadri|anus. Antoninus. Aug. Pi|us p. m. trib. pot. xx. imp. ii. cos. iii. p. p. amphitheatrum vetus; tate dilapsum denuo fe|cit curante Tib. Cl. Quinti|liano proc. suo (A.D. 157).

Sarmizegetusa. Neigebaur, *Dacien* (1851), p. 17: Without the *castrum* on the east side of the village of Várhely which covers part of the old city the amphitheatre can still be very easily recognized, and fifteen years ago still retained several stone benches. Pfarrer Aukner and Dr. Fodor, two antiquaries well known here, saw five such at that time. The arena measures 80 paces E. and W., and 50 N. to S. The surrounding wall is still 15 feet high and is everywhere covered with débris: only a few years ago large hewn stones lay about everywhere, and the form of the rubbish heaps still shows the position of the former vaults beneath the seats. The four entrances in the wall surrounding the oval arena are indicated by depressions. Cf. p. 37, no. 105 = *CIL*, iii, 1522 (in scamno amphitheatri). Champagny, *Les Antonins*, i, 292: un amphithéâtre dont le sable rouge garde selon les paysans hongrois qui le montrent aujourd'hui la trace ineffaçable du sang qui y fut versé. O. Bendorff and O. Hirschfeld, who saw the amphitheatre in 1873, found the arena covered by a maize plantation, which only permitted an approximate estimate of its size. They estimated its longer axis at 60-65 paces, its shorter at 32-35. The ends of the axes corresponded with the main entrances of the building, which are clearly indicated by four deep gaps in the buried wall, which forms the

cavea. A double row of small isolated depressions, equidistant from one another, undoubtedly marking the gangways to the first and second tiers, runs round the arena at the top of the wall and at its lower edge. Nothing is now to be seen of substructures beneath the arena or of benches.' Benndorf and Hirschfeld, *Vorläufiger Bericht über eine archäologisch-epigraphische Reise in Dacien*, reprint from *Mittheilungen der Centralcommission vom J. 1873*, p. 14. Carl Gross (*Archiv. d. Vereins f. Siebenbürg. Landeskunde*, n.f., 13 [1876], p. 319) describes the remains of the amphitheatre as "an oblong rubbish-heap 450 paces long in which at the beginning of this century benches of hewn limestone were still preserved."

HISPANIAE.

The following notices by E. Hübner are based partly on his own observations (cf. his *Antiquarische Reiseberichte*, i, 1860-2) partly on better sources in MSS. and print (cf. the reports on epigraphic explorations in the *Monatsberichte der Berliner Academie*, 1860-1). The Spanish works on the antiquities of the country are entirely uncritical and untrustworthy, especially on account of the tendency to exaggerate the importance of all national treasures. The best known is D. Juan Augustin Cean-Bermudez, *Sumario de las antigüedades romanas en España, en especial las pertenientes a las bellas artes*, Madrid, 1832 fol. (cf. thereon Hübner, *Die antiken Bildwerke in Madrid*, p. 277). See also Florez, *España sagrada*, Madrid, 1752-1850, xlvii, 4 vols.; D. Antonio Ponz, *Viage de España*, 1772-94, xviii, 8 vols.; Laborde, *Voyage pittoresque de l'Espagne*, Paris, 1806-20, 2 vols. fol. For the Roman remains of Lusitania see Bellermann, *Erinnerungen an Süd-Europa*, p. 249 ff. (Berlin, 1851).

(a) *Tarraconensis*.

Tarraco. Since Luis Pons de Ycart (*Grandezas de Taragona*, 1572, 8, f.p. 215) affirmed that the ruins near Na. Sa. del Milagro (now a prison) belong to the theatre, all subsequent Spanish writers have followed him, e.g. Cean, p. 6; Florez, xxiv, p. 229; Albiñana, *Tarragonae monumenta*, p. 128. Where, however, these writers speak of the amphitheatre of this city (Cean, p. 7; Florez, xxiv, p. 228; Albiñana, p. 124) they refer to the same ruins, which did undoubtedly belong to an amphitheatre. (Of the theatre, which probably lay on a hill in the upper city near the so-called *torre del Patriarca*, there still exist several benches; for the inscriptions on them cf. Hübner in *Monatsber. d. Berl. Acad.*, 1860, p. 239). For a view of the amphitheatre, of which now only a small part of the *cavea* remains, see Laborde, i, plates 53, 54, 56.

Ercavica (Cabeza del Griego). Very indistinct remains according to Cornide (*Memorias de l'academia de Madrid*, iii, 1796, p. 172), described by Cean, p. 59.

The amphitheatres mentioned by Cean at *Barcino* (p. 15), *Carthage* (p. 34) and *Toletum* (p. 118) are quite uncertain. Also Hübner has shown by an investigation of the site that Kiepert was in error in alleging (*Lehrb. d. alt. Geogr.*, p. 497) the existence of the 'ruins, now almost destroyed' of an amphitheatre at *Saguntum*.

(b) **Baetica.**

[*Corduba*. The very doubtful ruins, found in 1730, which Ruanes (*Historia general de Cordoba*, i [1761], p. 289) described, are said by Cean, p. 340, to have belonged to an amphitheatre. Hübner saw nothing of the kind. An inscription by a flamen provin(ciae) Baet(icae), who erected statues there edito ob honorem flaminatus munere gladiatorio et duabus lussionib(us), is recorded in Huebner, *Ephem. epigr.*, iii, p. 37, 16. (See note on ii, 77, 30.)]

Carmona (Carmona). The MS. report on the excavation in 1885-6 of an amphitheatre here, is to be found, with a plan, in the library of the Academy of History in Madrid; cf. the *Boletín* of the academy, x, 1887, p. 174.

Italica (Santiponce near Seville). According to Montfaucon, *Ant. expl.*, iii, p. 262, the amphitheatre was in great part destroyed by order of the municipality of Seville to provide material for embankments. Cf. Cean, p. 283. It is most accurately described from the latest excavations by Demetrio de los Rios, *Memoria arqueológico-descriptiva del a. de Italica*, Madrid, 1861, with a large plan. Cean has also asserted the existence of amphitheatres at Belonia (Baelo, p. 232) and Malaca (p. 317), but these are quite uncertain.

(c) **Lusitania.**

Emerita. Cf. Huebner, *BdI*, 1862, p. 173, L'a. riconoscibile dal profondo avvallamento del terreno e da pezzi difforni di muri ed archi (Laborde, t. 156). L'arena è un campo seminato, il muro esteriore in gran parte venne suppleto dalle circostanti colline. Laborde erroneously considers it a *naumachia*.

[*Bracara Augusta* (Braga). Very uncertain; the remains are described, after Portuguese authors, in Bellermann, p. 252.]

MAURETANIAE.

Ad Mercuri (Djar Djedid). Tissot, *Itinéraire de Tanger à Rbat* (*Bullet. d. l. société d. géogr.*, vi, 12 [1876]), L'amphithéâtre ou plus exactement, je crois, le théâtre qu'avait signalé Davidson et que Mr. Drummond Hay, consul général de l'Angleterre à Tanger, a encore vu en 1842, n'existe plus aujourd'hui, à moins que l'enceinte sémicirculaire qu'on remarque non loin d'Aïn Kheil n'en représente les derniers vestiges.

Portus magnus. Near Arseu remains of an amphitheatre. Maltzan, *Drei Jahre in NW. von Africa*, ii, 6 (who erroneously identifies Arseu with the ancient Arsenaria).

Julia Caesarea (Jol). De Blinière, *Antiquités de la ville de Cherchel (Algérie)*, in *Rev. arch.*, v, p. 344: L'enceinte extérieure de l'a. est mieux conservée, j'ai gravi 17 gradins encore en bon état. Cf. *Explor. scientif. de l'Alg.*: *Beaux-Arts*, iii, plate 21, where the amphitheatre is given in the plan of the town, and plates 29, 30 where it is figured as *Hippodrome romain*.

Sitifis. Renier, *Inscr. de l'Alg.*, 3287 = *CIL*, viii, 8482: four very mutilated fragments of an inscription, among them ANFIT HEATRI.

The theatre (not amphitheatre) at Cuicul (Djemila), *Expl.*

Beaux-Arts, i, plate 47, is thought by Ravoisié, p. 60, to have been used also for gymnastic games and fights with beasts. See below (Khremissa).

NUMIDIA.

Cirta. Renier, 1825 = *CIL*, viii, 6995 : Divo, Pertinaci Aug. patri L. Scantius L. fil. Quir. Julianus eq. pub. exornatus statuum quam promisit, ex redivis locorum amphitheatri diei muneris quem de liberalitate sua ob honorem iuviratus edidit dedit.

Rusicade (Philippeville). *Expl. scientif. de l'Alg., Beaux-Arts*, ii, plates 56-9. Cf. *Rev. arch.*, i, 814 (only one tier of galleries). This amphitheatre is mentioned in the local inscription, Renier, 2175 = *CIL*, viii, 7983.

Tipasa? Dureau de la Malle, *Recueil des renseignements sur la province de Constantine*, p. 204 : Entre Tiffereh et Guelma Hebenstreit (*Nouv. Ann. de Voy. A.*, 46, p. 58) a vu les débris d'une grande ville ancienne, de superbes portiques bien alignés, des colonnes de marbre, des palais encore debout, un amphithéâtre de 150 pas de diamètre, dont 10 rangs sont intacts, le tout en grosses pierres de taille. Les Maures appellent ce lieu Hamisa, probablement parce qu'il est situé sur l'Hamise; c'est je crois la colonie romaine de Tipasa.

[In the Arab village of Khremissa (S. of Bona, E. of Constantine, about 40 miles from both places) are the ruins of a Roman town, including a theatre, in which, just as at Cuicul, an arena for beasts and athletic contests might have been provided by removing the *proscenium*, which was presumably built of wood. (Cf. Juliobona.) So A. De la Mare, *Excursion aux ruines de Khremissa*, in *Rev. archéol.*, xii, p. 644.]

Lambaesis. *Mémoire de la société nationale des antiquaires de la France*. Troisième série, t. i (1852). De La Mare, *Recherches sur la ville de Lambèse*, p. 34 : À 800 mètres du pretorium se trouve l'amphithéâtre. Ce monument assez bien conservé, n'a pu être étudié; il a 104 mètres de diamètre; ses gradins, de forme elliptique et au nombre de 15-20, sont un peu dérangés et inclinés vers le centre, comme s'ils avaient été légèrement secoués par un tremblement de terre. On y compte 14 portes cintrées de 2 à 3 mètres de large, plusieurs ont conservé leurs arceaux en bon état. On y voit aussi deux passages en voûtes inclinées, qui conduisent de l'extérieur au sol intérieures de l'édifice, lequel se trouve en contre-bas du terrain environnant. Cet amphithéâtre a été vu par Peyssonel, qui estime assez bien sa circonférence à 300 pas. On the benches are inscriptions of curule names (Antoniniana Augusta Saturnia Trajana) Renier, *Inscr. de l'Alg.*, 185 = *CIL*, viii, 3293.

Thamugadi. *CIL*, viii, p. 951 ad 2392. Bruce, 1765, 'between the arch and amphitheatre are the remains of a temple'.

'Dans les ruines près du caravanseraï d'El-Outaïa entre Batna et Biskara' (*Masarfella*?) : Imp. Caesares M. Aurelius Antoninus et L. Aurelius Commodus (*nomen abrasum*) Augg. Germanici Sarmatici fortissimi amphitheatrum vetustate corruptum a solo restituerunt per coh. VI Commag. A. Julio Pompilio Pisone Laevilio leg. Aug. pr. pr. curante Aelio Sereno praef. Henzen, 6597 = *CIL*, viii, 2488.

Theveste. Annuaire de la société archéologique de la province de Constantine, 1858-9 (in a paper by Moll, *capitains du génie*, Tébessa = Theveste), p. 40 ff.: le cirque est situé du côté seul de l'ancienne ville . . . une arène circulaire de 45-50 mètres de diamètre était environnée d'un massif de maçonnerie, qui se terminait intérieurement par 15 ou 16 rangées de gradins en pierres de taille . . . deux entrées conduisaient dans l'intérieur de l'arène, elles étaient placées vis-à-vis l'une de l'autre, aux extrémités d'un même diamètre . . . au général le cirque de Th. est dans un mauvais état de conservation . . . sans avancer une date précise, nous pouvons affirmer, que l'amphithéâtre de Th. a été construit entre les années 75 et 80 après J.-C.

AFRICA.

As the work of V. Guérin, *Voyage archéologique dans la régence de Tunis*, 1862, contains by far the most numerous and important statements regarding the amphitheatres of this province, I follow his order.

Carthago. Guérin, i, p. 37, Dans le petit village de Malga on passe auprès des ruines d'un a., ruines fort peu importantes actuellement, mais qui par la configuration même du terrain, laquelle offre une excavation évidemment artificielle, ne laissent aucun doute sur la nature du monument dont il s'agit. G. considers the estimate of Falbe, *Sur l'emplacement de Carthage* (1833), p. 39 (longer axis of the inner ellipse 240 ft.) more exact than that of Sir Grenville Temple, *Excursions in the Mediterranean*, i, p. 106 (300 x 230 ft., arena 180 x 100). According to Davis, *Carthage and her Remains*, p. 497, it could easily have been filled with water for *naumachias*. At the time of Abu-Obaid-el-Bekri (*Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, trad. par Mr. de Slane, p. 105), i.e. in 1082 it was still well preserved: G., p. 39. Guérin and Davis (*op. cit.*, p. 490) give a description by Edrisi in the twelfth century, according to which it was still a magnificent ruin; even Ibn-Alouardi in the fourteenth century and Ibn-Ayas at the beginning of the sixteenth testify to its good preservation (cf. Dureau de la Malle, *Recherche sur la topographie de Carthage*, p. 190). *Expos. tot. mundi*, 62 (*Geogr. l. min.*, ed. Riese, p. 123): In delectabilibus unum solum spectaculum exspectant habitantes (Carthagine), munus. The epigram of Luxorius de eo qui podium amphitheatrici saliebat (Meyer, *Anthol. lat.*, ii, p. 149, 380) probably refers to the amphitheatre here. For the spectacles of the *sacerdotes provinciae Africae*, which were given here, see the end of this section.

Thysdrus (El Djemm). Guérin, i, p. 91 gives a detailed description of the amphitheatre; cf. Pellissier, *Lettre à Mr. Hase*, in *Rev. archéol.*, i, 816. Aimé Rochas, *ib.*, ix, 90 (plate 185). P. Coste and Canina in *Ann. d. Inst. arch.*, 1852, 241 ff. (*Mon. dell'Inst.*, vol. v, tav. xlii-xliv and tav. d'agg. U.). Davis, *Carthage and her Remains*, p. 492 ff. Canina thinks that this amphitheatre was begun by Gordian I., and finished by Gordian III.; Pellissier considers that it was never completed. Guérin gives on p. 93 El-Bekri's description: Il est construit de pierres, dont plusieurs ont à-peu-près 25 emfans de long. Sa hauteur est de 24 toises, tout l'intérieur est disposé en gradins depuis la bas jusqu'au haut. According to the

Arabian tradition, the destruction began about 1695 (according to Coste, p. 245, in 1710). Under Mohammed Bey the Arabs had entrenched themselves here during a revolt, and almost entirely destroyed the upper part of the amphitheatre, in order to hurl down the stones upon the besiegers. After the defeat of the rebels, the bey ordered several arcades of the main entrance on the south to be blown up to the level of the ground, so as to prevent a repetition of such acts. Since then the Arabs have continued the demolition, using the stones to build the houses, tombs and marabouts of the adjacent village of El Djemm; and Rochas says they believe that these stones possess the power of expelling scorpions. There are 68 arches in the elliptical wall of the amphitheatre, and three storeys adorned with Corinthian half-columns, and above was formerly an attic with rectangular openings, corresponding to the axes of the arches beneath them. The style is simple and noble. The interior is so choked with rubbish that it is impossible to determine whether it was used for *naumachiae*. There is indeed an opening in the centre, connected with a subterranean channel, which was probably destined to carry off rain-water. The Arabs allege that this channel extends 8 leagues and communicates with the sea. According to Barth, *Wanderungen durch die Küstenländer des Mittelmeeres*, i, 170 f. a Berber prophetess, who entrenched herself here in the year 73 of the Hejira, and from whom the amphitheatre is called *K'as'r el Kânsa* 'the fortress of the prophetess', is said to have constructed this channel ('along which a great number of horsemen could ride abreast') that she might be able to provision herself from the sea during the siege. Guérin asserts that beneath the arena there is a large vaulted subterranean passage, along which he succeeded in creeping with difficulty about 30 paces, beyond which it was choked up. He thinks it may have led to the cages of the beasts, and he regards (rightly, no doubt) its alleged extension to the sea as fabulous.

Hadrumetum (Sousa). Guérin, i, p. 108, quotes the following passage from El-Bekri (*trad. citée*): Deux autres portes de la ville sont du côté de l'occident et regardent le Melâb. Ce vaste édifice de construction antique est posé sur des voûtes très-larges et très-hautes. . . . Autour du Melâb se trouvent un grand nombre de voûtes, communiquant les unes avec les autres. . . . Ce monument tel que El-Bekri le décrit, était très-certainement (?) un amphithéâtre (Barth, *op. cit.*, p. 154, on the other hand inclines to regard it as a theatre.) Il n'en reste plus aujourd'hui le moindre vestige.

Leptis parva (Lemta). Guérin, p. 127: Les ruines d'un édifice très-considérable . . . sont désignées par les Arabes sous le nom de Henfra-m'ta-sedjen (le fossé de la prison). En réalité c'était jadis un amphithéâtre. Il avait 340 pas de tour, l'arène mesurait 50 pas de long sur 32 de large. Les galeries sont complètement détruites.

On the east coast of Zeugitana between Leptis minor (Lemta?) and Turrus Hannibalis (El Mohedieh?) near a village Dimas an amphitheatre is preserved (43 × 32 metres); it had only one story, and was in the style of that at Philippeville in Algeria. Pellissier, *Lettre à Mr. Hase*, in *Rev. arch.*, i, 814. The same writer (*op. cit.*,

ii, 498) mentions the ruins of a small amphitheatre at Kénais (Tunisia) five miles from Muredina, in the style of that at Dimas.

Thapsus. Guérin, i, p. 130 : . . . plus au sud sont les débris d'un amphithéâtre. Il a 460 pas de tour. L'arène mesurait 62 pas de long sur 44 de large ; elle est cultivée, les gradins n'existent plus.

Oppidum Botrianense or *Ruspae* (now henchir-Badria, Batria or Botria). Guérin, i, p. 161 : j'aperçois d'abord les restes d'un amphithéâtre. Il est aujourd'hui presque entièrement démoli ; la forme néanmoins est encore très-reconnaissable. L'arène, qui est maintenant cultivée, avait 50 pas de long sur 32 de large. Des espèces de contreforts appuyaient la muraille d'enceinte, qui mesurait environ 320 pas de circonférence.

Colonia Suffetula (Sbéitla). Guérin, i, p. 383. L'amphithéâtre . . . est presque circulaire, l'ellipse qu'il détermine, étant peu prononcée. Tous les gradins ont disparu, et il est ruiné de fond en comble. Néanmoins la configuration générale en est encore reconnaissable. Il mesurait 80 pas de long sur 76 de large. *Eph. ep.*, vii, 53 (rep. in *moenibus amphitheatri*).

Oppidum Maclaritanum (henchir-Makter). Guérin, i, p. 409 : L'amphithéâtre construit en blocage mesure seulement 160 pas de tour. Les voûtes et les gradins qu'elles soutenaient, n'existent plus.

Utica (Bou-Chater). Guérin, ii, p. 6 f. : Un vaste amphithéâtre a été pratiqué dans un ravin naturel, qui offrait de lui même par sa forme elliptique celle qui convient à ces sortes de monuments. Tous les gradins ont été enlevés et quelques débris insignifiants subsistent seuls de cette puissante construction. Elle avait environ 360 pas de circonférence, l'arène mesurait 52 pas de long sur 42 de large. Cf. Pellissier, *Lettre à Mr. Hase, 2de partie*, in *Rev. archéol.*, iii, 399, who makes the circumference 266 metres, and Davis, *Carthage and her Remains*, p. 507, according to whom the arena might easily have been flooded.

Thuburbo minor (Tebourba). Guérin, ii, p. 188 : Il ne subsiste plus que la forme encore reconnaissable de son amphithéâtre, dont tous les gradins ont été enlevés, et dont l'arène est actuellement hérissée de broussailles et de cactus.

(*Meraissa*, the name of the ancient city is unknown.) Guérin, ii, p. 214 f. : Creusé dans les flancs d'une colline l'amphithéâtre est, sauf quelques pans de murs, complètement démoli. L'arène mesurait 40 pas de long sur 22 de large.

Putput ? (Souk-el-Abyâd). Guérin, ii, p. 262 : on reconnaît les contours d'un amphithéâtre, dont l'arène mesurait environ 55 pas de long sur 45 de large.

Aurelia Vina (henchir-el-Meden). Guérin, ii, p. 265 : les vestiges d'un amphithéâtre.

Uthina (Oudenah). Guérin, ii, p. 282 f. : Les ruines d'un amphithéâtre. L'arène avait 72 pas de long sur 50 de large. Quatre portes principales donnaient entrée dans ce vaste monument. On avait profité pour le construire d'un bassin naturel formé par un vallon elliptique. Alfonse Rousseau, *Lettre à M. Amédée Jaubert*, in *Revue arch.*, iii, p. 146 : L'amphithéâtre qui est de forme ovale, est placé sur une éminence . . . j'ai estimé sa circonférence 240

pas environ. L'amphithéâtre paraît avoir été creusé par la main d'homme ; son élévation actuelle, qui peut être de 70 m. environ, arrive au niveau du sol. Il ne serait pas impossible qu'il eût servi aussi à des naumachies. . . . Ses restes permettent aisément au visiteur de reconnaître la place des galeries, des tribunes, des vomitoires, etc. Cf. John Jackson, *Account of the Ruins of Carthage and of Udenah in Barbary* (1803), in *Archaeol. Brit.*, xv, p. 151 : 'The (2) principal entrances have been very broad ; there are 16 other entrances for the spectators, 8 on each side, perfectly uniform . . . the whole has been built with hewn stone'.

Seressita (henchir-Oum-el-Abouab). Guérin, ii, p. 356 : La forme de l'amphithéâtre est encore reconnaissable ; mais le monument en lui même est presque entièrement détruit, l'arène mesurait 38 pas de long sur 31 de large.

Tuburbo majus (henchir-el-Kasbah). Guérin, ii, p. 370 f. : L'amphithéâtre . . . dont la forme seule est reconnaissable, car il est presque entièrement détruit, mesurait 206 pas de circonférence, l'arène avait 40 pas de long sur 25 de large. Tous les gradins ont disparu, ainsi que les voûtes qui les soutenaient. Ruinart, *Acta mart.*, p. 78 : 'the martyrdom of SS. Perpetua and Felicitas is transferred by Valesius to Carthage, and by most writers to Tuburbium'. In these *Acta* the amphitheatre is repeatedly called the scene of the martyrdom.

Oea. An amphitheatre must have existed in the town or in its immediate vicinity, according to Apuleius, *Apol.*, c. 98, where he says of his stepson : in ludo quoque gladiatorio frequens visitur, nomina gladiatorum plane quidem aut puer, honeste, ab isto lanista docetur. This is supported by the inscription on a triumphal arch at the place, which was erected by a curator muneris pub. munerarius IIvir qq. flamen perpetuus (*CIL*, viii, 24). Perhaps the spectacles took place in the amphitheatre described by Castiglione, *Mémoire . . . sur la partie orientale de la Barbarie*, p. 18, from the report of an English traveller : à Zavia (Tripoli vecchia) village placé à une journée de marche de Tripoli du côté de Tunis, se trouve un amphithéâtre, qui est encore entier et qui a intérieurement 148 pieds de diamètre.

In these provinces also the most important spectacles must have been those organized by the *sacerdotes provinciae*. *Sacerdotes* and *sacerdotales provinciae Africae* often occur : O. Hirschfeld, *I sacerdoti dei municipii Romani nell' Africa*, *AdI*, xxxviii (1866), p. 69 ff. Because of the spectacles that had to be given the *sacerdotium provinciae Africae* was a great burden (Henzen, 6904 = *CIL*, vi, 1, 1736 [A.D. 362]). That among these were amphitheatral shows is expressly testified by Augustine, *Epp. ad Marcellin.*, 138(5) : Apuleius, cui sacerdoti provinciae permagno fuit, ut munera ederet venatoresque vestiret. These spectacles were at Carthage : *Cod. Theod.*, xii, 1, 145, 176 ; xvi, 10, 20 ; at what intervals they were repeated is unknown, but they took place late in October, probably beginning on the 26th ; cf. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 71. Besides these there were evidently very frequently *munera* in the several cities on various occasions. *CIL*, viii, 24 (*Oea*) : curator muneris pub. munerarius IIvir qq. flamen perpetuus. 1270 (*Chisiduo*) : aedilis

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et munerarii item duoviru (*sic*) et munerarius. 4418 (Lambiridi): duumviralicius mun(erarius) Lambiridi(tanus). 969 (col. Julia Neapolis a. 400 (401): ex mun(erario). 1225 (col. Septimia Vaga): aedilis ac sac. IIvir qq. II. cur. muner. Lup(iani). 6995 (Cirta): diei muneris quem de liberalitate sua ob honorem IIIviratus edidit. *Eph. ep.*, vii, 145 (colonia Julia Curubis): [quod in vicem . . . patris IIviri et . . . fratri]s IIviri (duobus) annis munera fec. *CIL*, viii, 4681 (Madaura): aed. IIvir. q. fl. pp. sac. Liberi patris—admod(um) largus munidator. 1888 (Theveste): ob honorem flamonii annui. 5276 (ager Hipponensis): a mil. flam. Aug. pp. pontifici IIviri(o) ob magnificentiam gladiatorii muneris quod civibus suis triduo edidit. 8324 (Cuicul): Pro beatitudine—Valentiniani Valentis adq(ue) Gratiani—NN. v. c. pro editione muneris debiti. 7969 (Rusicade): pro salute imp. Caes. (187 A.D.) 241 (Suffetula) Marcellus—medica nobilis arte—cum cuncta parasset edendo, placiturus tertium muneris (diem *i.e.* per tres dies?)—obiit. 1887 (Theveste):—mun. qui(nque) dierum cum) occisioni(bus ferarum). 857 (Tuburbo majus) ob edit[ionem]. *Eph. ep.*, vii, 720 (Rusicade):—in muneribus editione promptas liberalitates.

(b) THE EAST.

For these provinces I have not only catalogued the scanty records of amphitheatres, but also the notices known to me of amphitheatrical games. Cf. *Programm der Königsb. Universität*, 1860, vi, *De propagatione munerum ac venationum per Graeciam et Orientem*.

ACHAIA.

Corinthus. The only city of Greece in which there is certain proof of an amphitheatre; for the notices of Cyriacus, that an inscription (pp. xviii, 129, *CIG*, 1108) ad amphitheatrum has been found at Sicyon, and another (*CIL*, i, 526) in pariete amphitheatrici at Delphi, are by no means trustworthy. Curtius, *Peloponnes.*, ii, 222 also mentions a small brick building at Sparta, the inner diameter of which is about 100 ft., and the whole 180 ft.; 'it seems to have been an amphitheatre of Roman Sparta, intended for musical and other performances'. Cf. Welcker, *Tagebuch einer griech. Reise*, i, 217 (in Kiepert's map a circular circus in a corner of the Issorion) and ii, 113. Bursian, *Geogr. v. Griechenl.*, ii, 126 regards it as an Odeion belonging to the *temenos* of Dionysos. Pausanias, as Maffei remarks (*Verona illustr.*, iv, p. 59), mentions no amphitheatre in Greece, not even at Corinth, and it must at least remain uncertain whether the one there was yet built in his time. It lies, according to Curtius, *op. cit.*, ii, 527, east of the new town at the foot of the hill, and is 'entirely built into an artificially enlarged depression in the rocky surface, so that one does not see it until one stands immediately above the top of the benches'. Bursian, *Geogr. v. Griechenl.*, ii, 15. Cf. the full description by Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke aus Griechenland*, p. 264 f. Curtius thinks that it was already mentioned by Dio Chrysostom, who says (*Or.*, xxxi, p. 591, 78, ed. Dindorf, p. 385) that the Corinthians saw gladiatorial games ἐξω τῆς πόλεως—ἐν χαράδρᾳ τιῇ, πλῆθος μὲν διναμένων δέξασθαι

τόπω, ὅπου αὐτὸ δὲ ἄλλως καὶ ὅπου μηδεὶς ἂν μὴδὲ θάψει μὴδὲνα τῶν ἐλευθέρων. That Dio refers to the place where the amphitheatre stands may be true, but he would hardly have expressed himself thus if the building were already in existence, which according to the *Exp. lat. mundi*, 52 (*Geogr. l. m.*, ed. Riese 118, 19) was an *opus praecipuum* in the fourth century. For the spectacles here cf. also Apuleius, *Metam.*, x, c. 18, where a *thiasus* promises a three days' *munus* at the festival celebrating the beginning of the *quingennalitas*; also Julian, *Epp.*, 35 (the Argives were compelled to contribute to the cost of the gladiatorial games and *venationes* of the Corinthians, who are not ἐς χορήγησιν ἀγώνων γυμνικῶν ἢ μουσικῶν τῶν πολλῶν δέονται χρημάτων. ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ κυνηγία τὰ πολλὰ ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἐπιτελούμενα ἀρκτοὺς καὶ παρδάλεις ὠοῦνται). Cf. the inscription of Corinthian *venatores*, CIG, 1106, quoted below in note on ii, 56, 24).¹

Athenae. Lucian, *Demon.*, 57: 'Ἀθηναίων δὲ σκεπτομένων κατὰ γῆλον τὸν πρὸς Κορινθίους καταστήσασθαι θέαν μονομάχων, προελθὼν εἰς αὐτοὺς, Μὴ πρότερον, ἔφη, ταῦτα, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ψήφισθηθε, ἂν μὴ τοῦ Ἑλέου τὸν βωμὸν καθέλητε. When Dio of Prusa delivered his Rhodian oration², gladiatorial games had already been introduced into Athens. Dio, *Orat.*, xxxi, p. 630 R.: οὐκ εὐθὺς τὰ περὶ τοὺς μονομάχους οὕτω σφάδρα ἐξηλώκασιν Κορινθίους, μᾶλλον δ' ὑπερβεβλήκασιν τῇ κακοδαίμονι κἀκείνους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας, ὥστε οἱ Κορινθιοὶ μὲν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως θεωροῦσιν ἐν χαράδρῳ τινί, πλῆθος μὲν δυναμένῳ δέξασθαι τόπω, ἡνικαὶ δὲ ἄλλως καὶ ὅπου μηδεὶς ἂν μὴδὲ θάψει μὴδὲνα τῶν ἐλευθέρων, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ θεῶνται τὴν καλὴν ταύτην θέαν ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, οὐ τὸν Διόνυσον ἐπὶ τὴν ὀρχήστραν τιθέασιν· ὥστε πολλάκις ἐν αὐτοῖς τινα σφάττεσθαι τοῖς θρόνοις, οὐ τὸν ἱεροφάντην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἱερεῖς ἀνάγκη καθίζειν. 'In the theatre of Dionysos there runs before the steps on which the thrones stand a marble balustrade of rough construction about 3 ft. 5 in. high, probably dating from the Roman period when gladiatorial games were held in the orchestra'. A. Müller, *Scenische Alterthümer*, in *Philologus*, xxiii, 494. Dio continues, καὶ τὸν εἰπόντα περὶ τούτου φιλόσοφον καὶ νοιθετήσαντα αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἀπεδέξαντο οὐδὲ ἐπήνεσαν, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἔδισχέραν, ὥστε ἐκείνους ὄντα μὲν γένει Ῥωμαίων μηδενὸς ὑστερον, δοῦσαν δὲ τηλικαύτην ἔχοντα ἡλικίαν οὐδεὶς ἐκ πάντων πολλοῦ τετύχηκεν, ὁμολογοῦμενον δὲ μόνον μάλιστα μετὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἀκολουθῶν βεβιωκέναι τοῖς λόγοις, καταλείπειν τὴν πόλιν καὶ μᾶλλον ἐλεῖσθαι διατρίβειν ἀλλαχόσε τῆς Ἑλλάδος. The philosopher referred to here cannot possibly be Demonax, if the latter's period is to be dated between 50 and 150 or even later. Zeller, *Gesch. d. Philos. d. Griechen*, iii, 1, 691, 6. It might, however, be Apollonius of Tyana, to whom Philostratus, *Vit.* i, 4, attributes a very ancient lineage. *Ibid.*, iv, 22: Διωρθοῦτο δὲ κἀκεῖνο Ἀθήνησιν· οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ξυνιόντες ἐς θεάτρον τὸ ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκρόπολει προσείχον σφαγαῖς ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἐσπουδάξτε ταῦτα ἐκεῖ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν Κορίνθῳ νῦν, χρημάτων τε μεγάλων ἐνημέτοις ἦγοντο μοῖχοι καὶ πόρνοι καὶ τοιχωρίχοι καὶ βαλαντιοτόμοι καὶ ἀνδραποδισταὶ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔθνη, οἱ δ' ὥπλιζον αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐκέλευον ξυμπέπειν. ἐλάβετο δὲ καὶ τούτων ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ καλούντων αὐτὸν ἐς

¹ For the plan of the Venetian *Provveditore* F. Grimani to use the amphitheatre of Corinth as a plague lazaretto (1701), cf. Spyr. P. Lampros, *Das korinthische Amphitheater*, in *Mith. d. d. archäol. Instituts zu Athen*, ii (1877), pp. 282-8, with plate xix.

² Marquardt, *StV.*, ¹², 349, 2.

ἐκκλησίαν Ἀθηναίων, οὐκ ἂν ἔφη παρελθεῖν ἐς χωρίον ἀκάθαρτον καὶ λύθρου μεστόν. ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτα ἐν ἐπιστολῇ. If this happened under Nero, according to the quite untrustworthy narrative of Philostratus, it would be necessary to assume that Demonax only attempted to deter the Athenians from a reintroduction of the spectacle, which had been discontinued for a considerable time.

Megara. *CIG*, 1058 = Lebas-Waddington, ii, 43 (with a few certain restorations of the text: Γάϊον Κούρτιον Πρόκλον . . . Κουρτίου Πρόκλου υἱὸν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀγωνοθέτην Πινθαίων καὶ συστράτηγον καὶ ἀγορανόμον φιλοτιμησάμενον μονομάχων ζεύγη κ— πρῶτον Πανέλληνα (i.e. president of the deputies of Megara to the council of Panhellenes set up by Hadrian. The inscription is of the time of Antoninus Pius).

Plataeae. Apuleius, *Metam.*, iv, c. 13: *Ibi famam celebrem super quodam nomine Demochare munus, edituro gladiatorium deprehendimus. Nam vir et genere primarius et opibus pluribus et liberalitate praecipuus, digno fortunae suae splendore publicas voluptates instruebat. . . Gladiatores isti famosae manus, venatores illi probatae pernicitatis: alibi noxii perdita securitate suis epulis bestiarum saginas instruantes. . . Qui praeterea numerus, quae facies ferarum? Nam praecipuo studio, forensi etiam, advexerat generosa illa damnatorum capitum funera, etc.*

Thessalia. Hither journeys Thiasus, nobilissimas feras et famosos inde gladiatores comparaturus. Apuleius, *Metam.*, x, c. 18.

Larissa. *Id. ib.*, i, c. 7: a pedlar goes there to see a gladiatorium spectaculum satis famigerabile.

MACEDONIA.

Dyrrhachium. *CIL*, iii, 1, 607: . . . gladiatorib. p[aribus] xii edi[dit]. Heuzey et Daumet, *Mission archéol. en Macédoine* (1876), p. 383 (pl. 27, p. 4 and 30): reliefs of gladiators.

Thessalonice. Heuzy, *op. cit.*, p. 274, no. 112 (inscription of 143 A.D.): announcement of three days' *κυνήγια* and *μονομαχίαι*, in accordance with the will and testament of a certain Herennia . . . Hispana, to begin on the 13th of March. Lucian, *Lucius s. asinus*, 49: ὁ δὲ Μενεκλῆς ὁ δεσπότης ἡμῶν . . . ἐκ τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης δεῦρο ἐληλύθει ἐπ' αἰτία τοιαύτη· ὑπέσχετο τῇ πατρίδι θέαν παρέξειν ἀνδρῶν ὅπλοις πρὸς ἀλλήλους μονομαχεῖν εἰδόντων. *Ἀθέατρον* is the scene of the spectacle, in which one of the performers is to be a woman, *ἥτις κατεκέρκιστο θηρίοις ἀποθανεῖν* (52), and the narrator fears *μὴ που ἄρκτος ἢ λέων ἀναπηθήσεται* (53). That there was no amphitheatre here is inferred by Maffei, *Verona illust.*, iv, 67 from the *Acta S. Demetrii* (Mabillon, *Annal.*, cf. Tafel, *De Thessalonice*, p. xlii ff.) where it is said of the gladiatorial games of Maximianus; *illic enim parabatur per quasdam tabulas circulus circumseptus*. Ad. de Longpérier, *Rev. archéol.*, vi, p. 198 describes the *stèle* of a *retiarius* found here. According to the emendation of Kaibel, *De monumentor. aliquot Graecor. carminib.*, p. 40, the inscription runs *Εὐφράτης παῖς ἦλθον, ἐθ' αἱ πλοκαμίδες ἐπῆσαν, Ἐξάκι νικήσας πατρίδ' ἐπηυκλείσα*. Tombstone of a *secutor* in *Mith. d. deutsch. archäol. Inst. in Athen*, x (1885), p. 15, 1: *Τ. Φλαούος Σάτυρος Νεικηφόρος Συνέτου Λακεδαιμονίῳ τῷ καὶ Ναρκίσῳ σεκούτορι τὸ ἡρώων κ.τ.λ.*

Philippopolis. The sepulchral inscription found here, *CIL*, iii, 1,

659 = Orelli, 3746, was erected by a *IIvir et munerarius* to his son ; cf. *CIL*, iii, 1, 660 (muner[arius] iterum [fla]men D[ivi] Vespasi[an]i) Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 529 : sepulchral inscription of a gladiator—*Βίκτωρ Σκαεῦς* (Scaeva, see note on ii, 57, l. 16). He was of Thessalonica, and fell at the hands of *Πίννας*, who in his turn was slain by the *σύνοπλος Πολυελέης*.

THRACIA.

Constantinopolis. Bock, *L'amph. de Constantinople* (Bruxelles, 1849) assumes, apparently without reason, that the amphitheatre which according to the *Chronicon Paschale*, i, p. 495 was built by Severus at Byzantium (*κυνήγιον* (sic) *μέγα πόντι*) was only a theatre with arrangements for gladiatorial combats. In Codin., *De Signis*, 6, p. 31, ed. Bonn (cited by Suidas, s. *κυνήγιον* : *ἐν τῷ κ. τὸ πρῶτον ἐρρίπτοντο οἱ βιοθάνατοι κ τ.λ.*), mention is made of *Μαξιμῖνος ὁ κτίσας (τὸ κυνήγιον)*. In the old description of the city in Panciroli, *Notit. dign. utr. imp.*, p. 259 the amphitheatre in the *regio secunda* is mentioned (at the end of the Golden Horn ; cf. Fries, *Byzantium*, *SIRE*, i³, 2620). Cf. *Cod. Theod.*, xiv, 6, 5 (419 A.D.) : *inter amphitheatrum et D. Juliani portum per littus maris*. According to Bock, p. 36, the latest mention of the amphitheatre occurs in the twelfth century : Banduri, *Imp. orient.*, ed. Paris, p. 26. Sepulchral relief of a *Samnis* (*Πορλάρις τῷ ἰδίῳ πατρὶ μετὰς χάρις* from the Dardanelles : Gurlitt, *Antike Denkm., etc.*, in *Epigr. archäol. Mitth. aus Oesterreich*, i, 7).

CRETA AND THE OTHER ISLANDS

Creta. Maffei, *Verona ill.*, iv, p. 62, cites a MS. *Trattato dell'isola di Candia* by Onorio Belli Vicentino, who went thither in 1583 as physician to the *provveditore generale* (l'opera è scritta con erudizione e con senno, e non si ha sopra quel paese alle stampe cosa di gran lunga paragonabile). According to Magrini, *Scritture inedite in materie di architettura* (Padova, 1847), p. 10, this treatise is lost ; the two letters of Belli there printed only deal with theatres and temples. He maintained that besides seven theatres he had discovered five amphitheatres, and he gives views of two. Of the one at *Gortyn*, ch'ei rappresenta secondo il costume con pianta affatto simile a quella del Coliseo Romano nel portico raddoppiato e nelle quattro vie diametrali, benchè poi di soli archi 56, dice ch'era tutto di mattoni e senza nissun ornamento d'architettura. L'altro dice ch'era a *Gerapetra* (*Hierapytna*). It is said to be partly hewn out of two hillsides, and completed in elliptical form with six contraforti di muraglia soda senza ornamento. Maffei, who was generally inclined to call in question even the most trustworthy reports on amphitheatres, admitted that this information might be correct, as he relied on the judgment 'd'un uom si intendente e sensato'. The existence of the amphitheatre at *Hierapytna* is confirmed by G. Perrot (*Rev. des deux mondes*, 1864, p. 1004, and *L'île de Crète* [1867], p. 123). It is 60 paces in diameter. No tiers of seats now exist. Bursian, *Geogr. von Griechenland*, ii, 578.

Melos. The statement in *CIG*, 2432 : In Melo in marmore supra amphitheatrum, is hardly worth notice.

Lesbos. Inscription on the common tomb of a gladiator *familia*

at Mitylene (*CIG*, ii, *Add.*, 2194 b, p. 1028): *φαιμία μονομάχων πατρ. (?) Κλαυ. Τριφωνιανού νέου καὶ ἀρχιερείας Ὀρφίας Λαίλιας* [Σ or Ζ] *ωρίου γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ*. Probably Claudius Tryphonianus was a chief priest, and that they provided games in Lesbos, as elsewhere, is shown by inscriptions 2184-94. According to Conze, *Reise auf der Insel Lesbos*, p. 5, there are to be seen in the bell-tower of the castle of Mitylene four stones, each with the figure of an armed gladiator holding his shield before him, and with illegible inscriptions. Two other stones in the same place show sculptures in relief of *bestiarii* fighting with lions. By the *thermae* (where also is the inscription quoted above) there is a stone which beneath the name "Ἐλιξ displays a rude relief of a bull goring a prostrate man. *Ann. d. Inst.*, 1842, *lav. d'agg.* Q. Tombstone of Πολυδρομος, a gladiator *Mith.* d. *Archäol. Instit. zu Athen*, xi (1886), 273, 17.

Thasos. *CIG*, 2164: inscription of the gladiators (*myrmillones* and *essedarii*) of a certain Hecataea, from which, however, it can by no means be concluded that gladiatorial games were held here, as islands (e.g. Cos, *CIG*, 2511) were often chosen for the residence of 'families' of gladiators.

ASIA AND THE OTHER ANATOLIAN PROVINCES.

In the Asiatic countries, as elsewhere, the most important spectacles were those organized by the provincial associations (*Communia*, κοινά) of the separate provinces under the lead and at the cost of the priests who presided over them: cf. Marquardt, *StV*, i², 503 ff., and Kuhn, *Verfassung des Röm. Reichs*, i, 111-115.¹ The last mention of these games is in the year 465, when the gladiatorial combats had long ceased: *Cod. Just.*, l. un. de officio comit. Orientis (*Cod. I.T.*, xxxvi). There is ample evidence that gladiators were exhibited at these games in earlier centuries. A document written by the emperor Alexander Severus (*Cod. Just.*, x, 61) expressly mentions gladiatorial games given by the high priests of the provinces, as does the account of the martyrdom of St. Polycarp (in the year 155; cf. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 514 note), in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, iv, 15, p. 135, 27, ed. Schwegler; Ruinart, *Acta mart.*, p. 42; Rufinus translates *ἀσιάρχης munerarius* (Kuhn, *loc. cit.*). Hence gladiatorial families are often found in the inscriptions as possessions of these priests (*CIG*, 2511, 3213, 3677; ii, 2194b, 2759b). Galen relates that after the completion of his medical studies at Alexandria he was appointed by the high priest of Pergamus (158-164) physician to his gladiators, and employed a new method of treatment: *κατὰ τύχην δὲ πολλῶν τεθνεώτων ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν ἔρεσιν ἐμοὶ δὲ ὅτε τῶν ὡς εἰρηται τετρωμένων ἀποθανόντος τινὸς οὐτ' ἐξ ἄλλου τραύματος*. In consequence of this, he says he was chosen for the same office by succeeding high priests: *De compos. medicam. p. genera*, lib. iii, cap. 2, ed. Kuehn, v. xiii, p. 599; cf. ed. Kuehn, xiii, 564; xviii B, 561 (which shows that these games took place in summer).

¹ According to Monceaux, *De communi Asiae provinciae* (Paris, 1885), pp. 56-67, the *ἀσιάρχης* was the *ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας* holding office in the year of the great provincial games, which he organized at his own expense. These games were held at the same periods as the Olympic and Actian games.

The gladiatorial schools were doubtless generally in the cities in which the provincial festivals were held. Such schools were found in fact at Smyrna, Philadelphia, Cyzicus and Pergamus, all cities of this kind; cf. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 513; *id.*, *De concil. et sacerdotibus prov.*, in *Ephem. epigr.*, 1872, p. 209; Monceaux, *l.l.*, p. 38. But citizens of other cities belonging to the festal association were also eligible for the priesthood, and they could keep and train their gladiators at their own places of residence or at other convenient places. If therefore monuments relating to gladiators are found in a place, the most that can be asserted is that there was a school there, but not that gladiatorial games were held there. There is no doubt that in many cities gladiatorial games took place on many other occasions besides the festivals of the provincial associations. On the imperial gladiators in these provinces and in Cyprus, cf. ii, 54, 26 and note.

The following places, arranged according to provinces, are those for which there is evidence of amphitheatral shows or of matters connected therewith.¹

Caria. *CIG*, 2511: *φамиλία μονομάχων καὶ ὑπόμνημα κυνηγεσιῶν Νεμερίου Καστρικίου, Λευκίου, Πακωνιανού, Ἀσιάρχου, καὶ Ἀνρηλίας Σαπφούς, Πλάτωνος, Λικιννιανῆς, ἀρχιερείας, γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ.* Biagi rightly refers this to a common burial-place of the gladiators and *venatores* belonging to the married couple, such as are to be found elsewhere (*CIG*, 3942 and *IRN*, 736 = *CIL*, ix, 465). Presumably the residence of the Asiarch was Halicarnassus, and he had merely chosen the island of Cos as a place of abode or of burial for his gladiators.

Halicarnassus. *CIG*, 2663, inscription of a *retaliarius* regarding gifts which he offered to the goddess Nemesis.

Stratonicea. *CIG*, 2719, inscription of one T. Flavius, Leontis f. Quir. Aeneas, *ἀρχιερατεύσαντος μεγαλοπρεπῶς, ἐν ᾗ ἀρχιερωσίνῃ καὶ μονομαχίας καὶ κυνηγεσίας ἐπετέλεσεν*, according to Böckh of the age of the Antonines. What highpriesthood is here meant is uncertain; cf. Marquardt, p. 513.

Caryanda. The inscription here, mentioning a bull-fight and a *κυνήγιον* is referred by the editor, Lebas-Waddington, 499, to the pre-Christian period.

Mylasa. Cousin and Diehl, *Inscr. de M.* (in *Bull. de corresp. Hellén.*, 1888, p. 11 f.). A very mutilated honorary decree for an *ἀρχιερεὶς* (l. 19 *ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀρχιερατείας χρόνῳ*) who among other things had given gladiatorial games. L. 8: *πάντες τοὺς ὑποπεσόντας μονομά-* (9) *[χου τοῦ]ς τε σὺν τοῖς ἐν ταῖς ἐξοπλάσiais (sic) ἀναλωμέ[το]νοις . . . διὰ τῶν καὶ ἄλλων μονομάχων τριῶν (?) τοῖς μὲν κ.τ.λ., L. 16 . . . διδαχῇ ποιικλῇ καὶ ἐκ παντὸς ὀπλισμοῦ διακρί[τους(?)] . . .*

Miletus. *CIG*, 2880, inscription of a prophet of the temple of Branchidae, a son *ἀρχιερέων τῶν Σεβαστῶν* (probably = Asiarchs, cf. Marquardt, *loc. cit.*) *ποιησάντων θεωρίας ἐπὶ ἡμέρας δέκα καὶ μονομαχίας ἀποτόμους ἐπὶ ἡμέρας δεκάδιό* (Also in *CIG*, 3422 a wild beast fight is praised as *ἀπότομος*, as in the inscription at Minturnae, *CIL*, x, 6012, see vol. ii, 83, l. 37. *CIG*, 2889 contains a list of three *murmillo*nes, two *Thraeces* and one gladiator who fought from a chariot, belonging apparently to two masters, Samia and Eucarpus;

¹ As the documents are mainly taken from the *CIG*, I follow the order of that collection.

the numbers of their victories (NI) and crowns (ΣΤ) are added to their names; ΕΛΕΤ which occurs twice does not, I think, denote ελεύθερος (Böckh) but ἐλευθερωθεῖς (liberatus); see note on ii, 51, l. 26). An epitaph: Ἀβάσκαντε πρωβοκάτωρ χρηστὲ χαῖρε. Rayet, *Inscr. inéd. d. trouvées à Milète*, in *Rev. archéol.*, N.S., xv, 28 (1874), p. 112.

Tralles. Inscription in a burial-place for gladiators: Μονομάχαι Ποπλίου Λουκίλου Πεισιωνίνου. Lebas-Waddington, 615. Epitaphs on individual gladiators, CIG, 2942 b and c = Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 290 and 291.

Nysa. The amphitheatre, described by Strabo, xiv, p. 639, lay, like that of Corinth, ἐν χαράδρῳ.

Aphrodisias. CIG, ii, *Add.*, p. 1109, no. 2753 b: φαμίλια Ζήνωνος τοῦ Ὑψικλέους τοῦ Ὑψικλέους τοῦ φύσει Ζήνωνος Ὑψικλέους, ἀρχιερέως, μονομάχων καὶ καταδίκων καὶ ταυροκαθαπτῶν. Texier, *Asie mineure* (Didot, 1862), p. 647: à l'une des extrémités (of the *stadion*) on voit a fleur de terre un mur circulaire, qui paraît avoir formé un petit amphithéâtre, dont la construction est du temps de la décadence. Je ne mentionne ce fait que parceque j'ai trouvé de semblables constructions dans deux autres stades que j'ai mesurés sur les côtes d'Asie, celui de Perga et celui d'Aspendus. I am indebted to my colleague G. Hirschfeld for this notice.

Lydia. Smyrna. CIG, 3123: φαμίλια μονομάχων Λ. Τιμῶνος Ἀσιάρχου νεωτέρου; also inscriptions of individual gladiators: 3275 (*retiarum*); 3291 ἱπποδιώκτης seems to be rightly taken by Böckh for a gladiator); 3368; 3374 (*Thraeces*); 3392 (*murmiliones*). Also a relief, found in Spiegelthal's excavations, a wild-beast tamer with a panther (*Programm der Acad. Alb. Regim.*, 1860, vi) seems to have been found near Smyrna. A representation of *venationes* and gladiators ("Ἰστρος, Εὐρώτας) in the Conzenbach collection. Stark, *Nach d. griech. Orient*, pp. 173 ff., 374 ff. Keller, *Thiere d. klass. Alterth.* p. 70. According to Eusebius the martyrdom of St Polycarp took place in the στάδιον (according to Jerome *De viris illustribus*, xvii, ed. Villars ii, 858, in amphitheatro). Maffei, *Degli anfit.*, p. 91: Equivoco però prese, com'è solito, nelle reliquie d'antichi edifizj Tomaso Smith, che nelle notizie delle chiese d'Asia disse vedersi a Smirna avanzi di tale anfiteatro.

Philadelphia. CIG, 3422 (apparently of the age of the Aurelian emperors):—ἀρχιερασάμενον καὶ δόντα κοντροκυνηγέσιον ἐνόδῳ γον ἀπότομον ἐκ θείας φιλοδωρίας. Francke explains rightly as I think: fight of a single wild beast fighter or of several individuals with one beast each, the men being armed with κοντάρια or hunting javelins. Cf. p. 180.

Cyzicus. Texier, *Description de l'Asie mineure*, ii, p. 174: Une rivière qui prend sa source dans un des acrotères du Dindymon, forme à l'ouest une vallée assez profonde, sur laquelle est placée l'amphithéâtre, qui s'appuie sur les deux mamelons inférieurs. Il n'est guère possible que dans l'antiquité ce ruisseau ait eu un autre cours; par conséquent il passait sous l'arène de l'amphithéâtre, ce qui me porte à penser qu'elle était construite en bois. . . . Les vomitoires sont au nombre de 32; la plupart de ceux du rez-de-chaussée sont encore conservés; ils sont construits en blocs de granit à bossage; mais cet ouvrage est très-peu soigné, et annoncerait

plutôt l'époque de Gallien, qui celles des Antonins . . . cet édifice est indigne de la renommée de Cyzique. Il n'y avait pas de portique extérieur ; les vomitoires conduisaient directement aux précincts. Plate 106 gives a view (Il ne reste plus dans l'intérieur que les massifs que supportaient les gradins. . . . L'amphithéâtre de Cyzique ressemblait beaucoup, comme disposition, à celui de Fréjus). Perrot and Guillaume, *Explor. de la Galatie et de la Bithynie*, p. 74 : On distingue encore deux rangs d'arcades superposées. The building was erected in haste, chiefly with older materials including *stelae*, the examination of which gives the date of erection at about the middle of the third century, at which time the Romanization of the city had proceeded very far, as is shown by the extant lists of names. On the exterior it seems not to have had the slightest architectural ornament, yet it was one of the largest amphitheatres. According to Texier (ii, 227) the amphitheatres of Cyzicus and Pergamus are the only ones in Asia Minor. The ruined circus which could be flooded, mentioned by Marquardt (*Kyzikos*, p. 148) is probably the amphitheatre. *CIG*, 3677 monument of a *familia* of gladiators belonging to an Asiarch, Aurelius Gratus and his wife, who was a highpriestess. Inscription of a *Thraex* in *Rev. arch.*, 1846, 2 ff. Epitaph on a certain Danaus δεύτερος πάλος Θρακων (ἐννεάκις πυκτεύσας ᾤχετο εἰς Ἀθήναι). Lebas-Waddington, 1757.

Mysia. *Pergamus*. Detailed description of the amphitheatre in Texier, ii, pp. 227-230, cf. pls. 120, 121. The natives call the ruin Gun-ghel-mess, i.e. le jour n'y vient point, à cause des galeries souterraines. . . . Il est établi sur un ravin profond, dans lequel coule un ruisseau qui forme un des affluents du Selinus ; all this proves that the arena could be flooded. It has the same proportions as that of the small amphitheatre at Cimiez (Cemenelum), an indication of the unpopularity of amphitheatral shows in Asia Minor. There are no traces of stone benches, although the rock-walls on both sides of the ravine are slightly cut into steps ; probably the wooden benches rested on these steps. L'édifice est bâti avec une simplicité toute rustique ; mais . . . dans son ensemble cet amphithéâtre devait présenter une belle et sévère composition. Cf. Donaldson, *Architectura numism.*, p. 149. Welcker, *Tagebuch einer griechischen Reise*, ii, 195, also the passages from Galen cited above (p. 246), and Aristides, *Orat.*, xxv, p. 324, ed. Jebb : θεωρία τις ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει πάνυ λαμπρά, ἥ ταύρων θήρα μοι δοκεῖν ἦ τι τοιοῦτον. Epitaph on a gladiator, Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, *Add.*, 333 a.

Phrygia. *Laodicea ad Lycum*. *Cic.*, *Ad Attic.*, vi, 3, 9. *CIG*, 3935 : Νεικόστρατος Λευκίου τοῦ Νεικοστράτου νεώτερος τὸ ἀμφιθέατρον λευκόλιθον ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν . . . καθιερώσαντος Μάρκου Οὐλπιανοῦ τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου (father of the emperor, 79 A.D.). Cf. 3936 and 3982 : μνημα μονομάχων τῶν δοθέντων ὑπὸ ἀρχιερέως καὶ στεφανηφόρου Διοκλέους τοῦ Μηραφίλου.

CIG, 3905 is said to have been found at *Hierapolis* 'inter rudera amphitheatri'. Kaibel, *l.l.*, 389 (epitaph) εἰδείω ἀνδρὶ θηροτρόφῳ.

CIG, 3847 b (vol. iii, *Add.*), of uncertain origin, ascribed to the city of *Nacolea*, contains the words κυνῆγιον πολυτελὲς καὶ παρὰδοξον.

Bithynia. *Nicaea*. *CIG*, 3674 (monument to a *retiarus*), probably also the similar inscription 3675. Cf. Nicomedia.

Nicomedia. Pliny, *Epp. ad Traj.*, 31 sq.: to Trajan regarding the criminals who were condemned in *ludum* here and at Nicæa. See vol. ii, 44, l. 14.

Galatia. *Ancyra.* On the left door-post of the temple of Augustus is a list (CIG, 4093) of the five years' games which Γαλατῶν τὸ κοινὸν ἱερασάμενον θεῷ Σεβαστῷ καὶ δεῖ 'Ρώμῃ held in honour of the Emperor. The names written before the several years are those of the Galatarchs. The principal festivities mentioned are public banquets (δημοθουναίαι), spectacles (θεαίαι), gymnastic and gladiatorial contests, wild beast baiting, bull-fights (θηρομαχίαι, ταυρομαχίαι, ταυροκαθάψια). At the first festival, which, according to the probable supposition of Franz, took place in the year 10 A.D., the giver of the entertainment provided μονομάχων ζεύγη τριάκοντα and κινήγιον ταύρων καὶ θηρίων. Gladiators fought also at the third, fourth and fifth festivals, but the numbers of the pairs are not stated. CIG, 3847 b = Lebas-Wad., 1011: κινήγιόν τε πολυτελές καὶ παράδοξον μετὰ πάσης σπουδῆς παρασχόμενον.

Paphlagonia. *Amastris.* Lucian, *Toxaris*, 57s., makes the Scythian Sisinnus fight here with a gladiator for a prize of 10,000 *drachmae*, in order to support his friend. A wild beast baiting precedes the gladiatorial combat. See vol. ii, 49, l. 1.

Pontus. *Sinope.* The inscription of a Pontarch, CIG, 4157 (for Franz's restoration p. 4 πο[ντάρχης] is undoubtedly right) mentions ταυροκαθάψια καὶ κινήγισιον καὶ — — — μαχίαν.

Lycia. [*Xanthus.* Remains of an alleged amphitheatre, see *Monum. d. Inst.*, iv, pl. 2. Cf. *AdI*, 1844, p. 134. But according to G. Hirschfeld this statement is based on an error. In Spratt and Forbes, *Travels in Lycia, etc.* (London, 1847) there is no trace of it, either in the text (i, 13) or plan.]

Telmisos (Makri). Tombstone of a *retaliarius* with the inscription: Ἑρμεῖ Παιτραεΐτης μετὰ τῶν συγκελλαρίων. (There was therefore certainly a school for gladiators there.) Benndorf-Niemann, *Reise in Lykien und Karien*, pp. 41 and 157.

Pisidia and Lycania. *Sagalassus.* CIG, 4377 (epitaph in the form of a eulogy):—

πάντη μὲν κῦδος Τερτύλλου . . .
 ἐκ τε σοφῶν ἔργων ἐκ τ' ἀγαθῶν πατέρων.
 νῦν δ' ἔτι που καὶ μᾶλλον, ἀρηιφίλων ὅτε φωτῶν
 τόσσην ἐν σταδίοις ἐστόρεσεν στρατιῇν,
 ἀρκτοὺς παρδάλιδας τε κατέκτανεν ἡδὲ λέοντας
 σφῶν κτεάνων πάτρην πρεσβυτέρην θέμενος.

Εστόρεσεν is Franz's restoration, for ΕΞΕΝ which is said to be the reading on the stone; perhaps, however, it has been copied erroneously and should be ἐστόλισεν. With O. Müller, Welcker and Franz, one can understand στάδιον to include an amphitheatre such as is mentioned in the case of Aphrodisias.

Antiochia Pisidiae. Henzen, 6156 = *CIL*, iii, 1, 293: Cn. Dottio Dotti Marullini fil. Ser. Planciano patr. col. flam. IIvir IIqq. vir muner. II (munerario iterum) et agonothes. perp. certam. qq. talant. asiarch. templ. splend. civit. Ephes. etc.

Iconium. Ammianus, xiv, 2: (Isauri) apud Iconium Pisidiae

oppidum in amphitheatrali spectaculo feris praedatricibus objecti sunt.

Pamphylia. *Perge* and *Aspendus*: cf. remarks on Aphrodisias above.

Cilicia. *Aegae*. Philostrate, *Vit. Apoll.*, II, xiv, ed. Kayser, p. 31, 21 makes Apollonius say: *φώκη μὲν, ἣν εἶδον ἐγὼ ἐν Αἰγαίᾳ καθειρμένην εἰς κυνήγια, οὕτως ἐπέβησεν ἀποθανόντα τὸν σκύμνον, ὃν ἐν τῷ οἰκίσκῳ ἀπεκύθησεν, ὥς μὴ προσδέξασθαι τριῶν ἡμερῶν σίτον, καίτοι βορωτάτῃ θηρίῳ οὕσα.* 'According to the *Acta S. Thallelaei* (*Acta Sanctorum Maii*, T. v, p. 14* [20 May], St. Thallelaeus was thrown to the wild beasts in the στάδιον here; the place is also called τὸ θέατρον.' Jordan.

Tarsus. The martyrs Tarachus, Probus and Andronicus are said to have suffered here in the year 304. *Acta Mart.*, ed. Ruinart (1731), p. 391: ὁ ἀνοσιώτατος Μάξιμος (governor of Cilicia) μετακαλεσάμενος Τερεντιανὸν Κιλικάρχη, αὐτὸν φιλοτιμῶν (?) ἐκέλευσε τῇ ἐξῆς πάνδημον θέαν ἐπιτελεῖν τῶν κυνηγίων τῇ πόλει. Καὶ ὁ Τερεντιανὸς παραχρῆμα τοῖς ἐφεστώσι τῶν θηρίων ἐτοίμοις γίνεσθαι διέταττεν. Ἡρώας δὲ γενομένης πᾶσα ἡ πόλις σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ παιδίοις ἐξῆρσαν ἐπὶ τὸ στάδιον· ἦν γὰρ ὁ τόπος τοῦ θεωρίου τοῖτοισι ἀπὸ μῆλλου μικρὸν πλεονος ἐνός· πληρωθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἀμφιθέατρος τῶν ὄχλων κ.τ.λ.

SYRIA WITH PHOENICIA AND PALAESTINA.

Antiochia. An amphitheatre, alleged to have been built by Caesar on the acropolis (Malalas, p. 217, 91, V) is said to have been turned by Valens into a place for wild beast fights, and to have been destroyed by Theodosius. O. Mueller, *Antiq. Antiochenae*, p. 79 (ii, 2, note 10). But there seems to have been more than one amphitheatre: Libanius, *Orat. Antioch.* (i, p. 345 Reisk): *τις δ' ἂν ἐφίκοιτο διεξίτων ἑτέρα θεάτρων εἶδη, τὰ μὲν ἀθληταῖς ἐναγωνίασθαι πεποινημένα, τὰ δ' ἀνδράσι πρὸς θηρία*; Gladiators must have appeared at Antioch a few years after Constantine's prohibition of bloody spectacles (325), as Libanius, who was born about 314, boasts (*De vita sua*, p. 3, ed. Morell.) that at the age of 15 he despised this spectacle. He often mentions gladiatorial games, as in *Epp.*, 218 (cf. 220), where he laments that his cousin had wasted his fortune with the purchase of beasts and beast-baiters. Other passages are cited by Gothofredus, *ad Cod. Theodos.*, xii, 1, 103 (wild beast fights more popular at Antioch than the shows of the theatre or the race-course: *Epp. ad Caesarium*, 1454 Wolf. Kuhn, *op. cit.*, i, 113). He accuses Tisamenus of having brought an entertainer from Beroea to Antioch with all the apparatus of beast-baiting (*In Tisam.*, ed. Reisk., ii, p. 447). That the prohibited certamina pugilum in which the Caesar Gallus took delight at Antioch (Amman., xiv, 7, 3) were gladiatorial games, as Lipsius thought, has been rightly contested by Valesius, *op. cit.*, and Gothofredus, *ad cod. Theodos.*, xv, 13, 1.

Phoenicia. *Berytus*. Agrippa, king of the Jews, built an amphitheatre here, in which he caused two troops of 700 criminals each to fight one another (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xix, 7, 5). At the same place Titus had a large number of Jewish prisoners killed in a gladiatorial show (*B.J.*, vii, 3, 1). Josephus does not say that this took place in an amphitheatre; and Maffei, *Degli anf.*, p. 85, supposes that Agrippa's amphitheatre was only of wood. Gothofredus

remarks (*ad cod. Theodos.*, xv, 12, 1) that it is no accident that Constantine's prohibition of bloody spectacles (325) was published here.

Palaestina. *Tiberias.* 'The ruins of an amphitheatre are still to be seen in the neighbourhood'. K. Furrer, *Wanderungen durch Palästina* (1865), p. 316.

Caesarea. Herod built an amphitheatre here, πολλὸν δχλον δέχεσθαι δυνάμενον καὶ κείμενον ἐπιτηδείως ἀποκτείνειν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xv, 9, 6. He there celebrated the periodic ἀγών, which he founded (Ol. 192 = 8 B.C.) in honour of Augustus, παρεσκευάκει δὲ πολὺ πλῆθος μονομάχων καὶ θηρίων, ἱππων τε δρόμον καὶ τὰ πολυτελέστερα τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ παρ' ἄλλοις τισὶν ἐπιτηδεύματων. Cf. *B.J.*, i, 21, 8; vii, 2, 1; vii, 3, 1, and Euseb., *De Martyr. Palaest.*, iv, 13, *Acta mart.*, ed. Ruinart, p. 283.

Hierosolyma. Joseph., *Ant. Jud.*, xv, 8, 1: παρασκευὴ δὲ καὶ θηρίων ἐγένετο (at the celebration of the above-mentioned ἀγών) λεόντων τε πλειστων αὐτῷ συναχθέντων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσα καὶ τὰς ἀλκὰς ὑπερβαλλούσας ἔχει καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἐστὶ σπανιώτερα· τούτων αὐτῶν τε πρὸς ἄλληλα συμπλοκαὶ καὶ μάχαι πρὸς αὐτὰ τῶν κατεγνωσμένων ἀνθρώπων ἐπετηδεύοντο, τοῖς μὲν ξένοις ἐκπληξίς ὁμοῦ τῆς δαπάνης καὶ ψυχαγωγία τῶν περὶ τὴν θέαν κινδύνων, τοῖς δ' ἐπιχωρίοις φανερά κατάλυσις τῶν τιμωμένων παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐθῶν. Maffei, *op. cit.*, p. 75 considers that these two amphitheatres were also built of wood. Oros., vii, 30, 5, ed. Zangemeister = p. 546 Hav.: (Julianus) amph. Hierosolymis extrui iussit. As Zangemeister observes, the source of this statement is unknown; for it is not in the authors used here by Orosius, viz. Jerome, *Chron.*, 2379; Eutrop., x, 16; Rufinus, *H.E.*, x, 36.

Canatha. An amphitheatre here is mentioned in the inscription CIG, 4614.

Gerasa. The foundations of an elliptic amphitheatre without the city were seen by Count Bertou, *BdI*, 1837, p. 166. R. Dörrens, *Das Báb-el-Ammán in Gerasa* (Erbkam, *Ztschr. f. Bauwesen*, xvi, p. 350) mentions two amphitheatres.

Hiericus (Jericho). After Herod's death (4 B.C.) Σαλώμη καὶ Ἀλεξὰς συναγαγόντες τὸ στρατιωτικὸν εἰς τὸ ἀμφιθέατρον τὸ ἐν Ἱεριχοῦντι πρῶτον μὲν ἐπιστολὴν ἀνέγνωσαν πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας γεγραμμένην κ.τ.λ., Josephus, *A.J.*, xvii, 8, 2; *Id.*, *B.J.*, i, 33, 8: Σαλώμη . . . συνήγεν αὐτοὺς (τοὺς στρατιώτας) εἰς ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ πλῆθους ἐν τῷ καθ' Ἱεριχοῦντα ἀμφιθέατρῳ.

ARABIA.

Bostra. From the time of Trajan the location of the legio III Cyrenaica (Lebas-Wadd., p. 461). Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Haurán und die Trachonen*, p. 59, mentions amphitheatres at S'uhbe and Bosrá. (Burckhardt, *Reise in Syrien*, p. 368 ff., where the ruins of the latter city are described, mentions no amphitheatre.) Inscriptions in the amphitheatre at Bosrá, Mordtmann in *N. Rhein. Mus.*, 1872, p. 148.

AEGYPTUS.

Alexandria. The amphitheatre in the suburb Nikopolis must have been built immediately after the occupation of Egypt by the

Romans in 724, as Strabo, who was in Egypt in 730, already knows it. (xvii, p. 795: ἀμφιθέατρον καὶ στάδιον καὶ οἱ πεντετηρικοί ἀγῶνες [see note on vol. ii, p. 113, l. 35] ἐκεῖ συντελοῦνται.) There was also an imperial school for gladiators here as early as the time of Augustus (see note on vol. ii, p. 54, l. 14). It was from this amphitheatre that the *papyrus amphitheatre*, so called a *confecturae loco*, Pliny, *N.h.*, xiii, 75 and 78, took its name (Birt, *D. antik. Buchwesen*, 248). Josephus, *B.J.*, ii, 18, 7: καὶ δὴ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησιαζόντων περὶ ἧς ἐμελλον ἐκπέμπειν πρεσβείας ἐπὶ Νέρωνα, συνερρήσαν μὲν εἰς τὸ ἀμφιθέατρον ἄμα τοῖς Ἕλλησι συγχοί Ἰουδαίων.

CYRENAICA.

Cyrene. Beechey, *Proceedings of the Expedition to explore the N. Coast of Africa from Tripoli eastward 1821 and 1822* (1828), p. 529. The amphitheatre seems to have been circular, and the diameter of the arena more than 160 ft. The entrance was from above, and the seats on the slopes of the hill, as at Ptolemais. P. 530: 'The seats seem to have occupied a space of above 80 feet in depth; if we reckon the level space (or platform) inclosing the amphitheatre at 20, the whole building will have stood upon 300 feet of ground'. It seems to have had no subterranean rooms. C. Pachó, *Voyage d. l. Marmarique*, pls. 52, 53 gives representations of beast-baitings and gladiators in the necropolis.

Ptolemais (Ptolemeta). Beechey, *op. cit.*, p. 381: 'The amphitheatre has been chiefly excavated in the quarry in which it stands, and a small portion of it only has been built, where the rock could not be made to serve. There appear to have been no interior communications, and the approach to the seats was probably from above as well as from below by means of the staircases between the several cunei only, no passage being anywhere observable'. The diameter of the whole building (which, it appears, was circular, like the last, including the arena and the seats is about 250 ft.

Berenice, *CIG*, 5362: Δέκιμος Οὐαλέριος Γάλου υἱὸς Διονύσιος τοὺς οἴκους ἐκονίασεν καὶ τὸ ἀμφιθέατρον κατεσκεύασε τοῖς ἰδίῃς δαπανήμασιν Βερενικῶν τῷ πολιτεύματι *Id.*, 5361: Ἐτους νῆ Φαῶφ κε a monument raised by the Jewish community to a certain Μάρκος Τίττιος Σέξτον υἱὸς Αἰμιλία—παραγενθῆς εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἐπὶ δημοσίων πραγμάτων κ.τ.λ., which is to be set up εἰς τὸν ἐπισημότατον τόπον τοῦ ἀμφιθέατρον. Böckh considers that the first year of the local era was 67 B.C., so that the date of the decree is 22 Oct. 13 B.C.

DIMENSIONS OF 71 AMPHITHEATRES.

The following measurements, even when they are given for the internal as well as the external axes, cannot give more than an approximate idea of the size of the buildings. For, in spite of apparent precision, the various measurements of the same amphitheatre hardly ever agree. Taking, for instance, the amphitheatre at Thysdrus, we find that Pellissier gives the following dimensions of the long and short axes of the whole building: 137.65 metres, 115.90 m.; Pelet gives 130.35 m. and 119.53 m.; Coste 150 m. and 130 m.; Guérin, 149 m. and 129 m. For the amphitheatre at Puteoli

Pelet gives the following dimensions of the axes of the building and of the arena: 190·95 × 144·87 and 111·95 × 65·85, which are greater than the corresponding dimensions of the Colosseum. On the other hand, Beloch, *Campanien*, p. 138 gives: 147 × 117 and 72 × 42, with the remark that the larger dimensions commonly given are false. I have in every case reduced the measurements to metres, following the tables in Silber, *Die Münzen, Masse und Gewichte aller Länder der Erde*. The measurements marked P are taken from Pelet, *Description de l'amphithéâtre de Nîmes*, 54, and the rest from the most trustworthy sources cited in the foregoing list.

	Longer Axis of the whole building.	Shorter Axis of the whole building.	Longer Axis of the Arena.	Shorter Axis of the Arena.
Abella (Beloch)	c. 79 m.	c. 53 m.	—	—
Alba Fucentina	93	35	79 m.	21 m.
Alba Intemelium	35	31	—	—
Aquae Segete (Jollois)	108	90	48·3	31·8
Aquincum	—	—	53·36	45·54
Arelate P.	136·47	107·29	69·5	39·35
Ariminum	120	91	76·40	47·40
Augusta Praet. Salass.	86·14	73·86	—	—
Augusta Treverorum	—	—	c. 72·5	c. 48·6
Augustodunum ¹	154	130	74	49
Augustomagus (Silvanectes)	—	—	75	68 ¹
Augustoritum, see Limovices	—	—	—	—
Aventicum	109·8	88·2	—	—
Baeterrae	86	70	76	58·5 ²
Burdigala	—	—	73·45	53·95
Caesarodunum (Salmon) ³	135	120	68	30
Cales	87·17	58·98	—	—
Capua P.	169·89	139·60	76·12	45·83
Caralis (Maltzan)	84	70	47·37	33·1
Carnuntum	97·66	75·25	72·2	44·25
Carthago	—	—	79·2	—
Casinum	—	—	c. 63	—
Catana	—	—	70·7	49·5
Cemenelum ⁴	—	—	51	37
Colonia Agrippinensis	100	60	—	—
Corinthus	—	—	88·4	57·9
Cyzicus (Perrot & Guillaume)	150	—	—	—
Cyrene	—	—	more than 48·8	48·8
Emerita	75·4	52·6	—	—
Ercavica	58·6	48·7	—	—
Faleria (Picenum)	178·8	106·2	—	—
Falerii (O. Hirschfeld)	—	—	54·3	32·7
Florentia	100·96	—	—	—
Forum Julii	113·85	82·20	67·71	39·7
Grumentum	—	—	62·6	60

¹ From the *Comptes rendus* cited above, p. 224.

² The first two figures from the *Bull. d. l. Soc. archéol. d. B.*; the last two from Caumont.

³ See above, p. 225.

⁴ Cf. Texier on the amphitheatre at Pergamus, above p. 249.

	Longer Axis of the whole building.	Shorter Axis	Longer Axis of the Arena.	Shorter Axis
Italica	156·5	134	—	—
Julia Caesarea	168	88	140	60
Lambaesis	104	—	—	—
Leuci	137·6	61	58·5	19·5
Limovices	137	113	—	—
Luca	123·9	96·4	80·1	53·4
Lugdunum (M. Daussigny) ¹	140	117	64	41
Luna	—	—	63	37
Lutetia Parisiorum	128	—	55	49
Mediolanum Santonum	c. 129·5	105·3	78	45·6
Nemausus P.	132·18	101·38	69·14	38·54
Ocriculum	c. 75	c. 51·54	—	—
Octodurum	64·2	60·3	—	—
Paestum	56·9	34·4	—	—
Patavium	—	—	77·40	39·65
Pergamus	136·16	128·08	51	37
Pictavi (Caumont)	138	115	86	68
Pola P.	137·8	112·6	70	44·8
Pompeii P.	135·65	104·05	66·65	35·05
Ptolemais	76·2	76·2	—	—
Puteoli (Beloch)	147	117	72	42
Rastiatum	65	48·75	—	—
Roma				
1. Flavianum P.	187·770	155·638	85·756	53·624
2. Castrense (Canina, <i>Edif. d. R. a.</i>)	52	40	38	25
Sarmizegetusa	—	—	c. 40	c. 20
Sutrium	—	—	50	40
Syracusae	—	—	70·9	40
Tarraco P.	148·12	118·89	84·45	55·22
Theveste	—	—	45·50	45·50
Thysdrus P.	139·35	119·53	77·31	57·32
according to Guérin	149	124	94	60
Tolosa	—	—	48·75	26
Tusculum	70	52	48	29
Urbs Salvia	60 ? (80 ?)	50 ? (60 ?)	—	—
Utica	—	—	41	—
Venusia	—	c. 58	—	—
Verona P.	153·18	122·89	75·68	44·39
Vindonissa	c. 69	—	—	—

XXXVII. THE PERFORMANCE OF COMEDIES UNDER THE LATER EMPIRE.

(Vol. II, p. 95, 2 lines from bottom.)

Down to the beginning of the second century the performance of comedies is attested by Quintilian and Juvenal (*e.g.* 5, 157). The continuance of the practice in that century is proved by M. Antonin., *Comm.*, xii, 36, where a *κωμῳδός* is mentioned as playing in a five act comedy (*τὰ πέντε μέρη*; Epictet., *Diss.*, i, 24, 17: *περὶ τρίτον ἢ*

¹ From Gsell-Fels, *Oberitalien* (1872), p. 1, 144.

τέταρτον μέρος, in the third or fourth act). Cf. also Phrynichus, p. 163 Lobeck, s. θυμέλην—: ἐνθα μὲν κωμῳδοὶ καὶ τραγῳδοὶ ἀγωνίζονται λογιὸν ἐρεῖς· ἐνθα δὲ οἱ αἰλῆται καὶ οἱ χοροὶ ὀρχήστραν· μὴ λέγε δὲ θυμέλην. For the beginning of the third century cf. Dio, lxxvii, 12 : οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς κωμῳδαῖς οἱ ποιηταὶ ἐτι αὐτῷ (Getae nomine) ἐχρῶντο, where the ποιηταὶ can only be adapters of older pieces for the stage. The passage lxxix, 2 : ὥσπερ γὰρ προσωπεῖον τι ἐς τὰ θέατρα ἐν τῷ διακένῳ τῆς τῶν κωμῳδῶν ὑποκρίσεως εἰσέφερετο (read εἰσφέρεται) κ.τ.λ. . . . is not clear. Most of the texts cited by Welcker, *op. cit.*, p. 1477 ff., are too vague to serve as proofs for contemporary public performances of entire comedies. Evidence for the fourth century is found in Donatus, *Ad Andr.*, iv, 3 : sive haec (persona feminea) personatis viris agitur, ut apud veteres, sive per mulierem, ut nunc videmus, where one can hardly suppose that mimes are meant. For the beginning of the fifth century, Augustine, *C.D.*, ii, 8 (*op. cit.*, p. 1481) : et haec sunt scenicorum tolerabiliora ludorum, comoediae scilicet et tragoediae, hoc est fabulae poetarum agenda in spectaculis, multa rerum turpitudine, sed nulla saltem sicut alia multa (mimes) verborum obscenitate compositae. *Id.*, *Epp.*, 202 : tot locis pingitur, funditur, tunditur, sculptur, legitur, cantatur, saltatur Juppiter adulteria tanta committens. *Cantatur* refers to the tragic actors, *sallatur* to the pantomimes, *agitur* suggests the comic actors in such pieces as the *Amphitruo* of Plautus (the acting of which at this period is not however proved by Arnob., vii, 33), but the word may merely refer to mimes and Atellan actors.

XXXVIII. THE PERFORMANCE OF TRAGEDIES UNDER THE LATER EMPIRE.

(Vol. II, p. 97, l. 16.)

EVIDENCE, in my opinion irrefutable, for the really dramatic performance of tragedies at Smyrna under Antoninus Pius is afforded by Philostratus, *Vitt. Sophist.*, i, 25, 3, ed. K., p. 229 (cf. Suidas, s. ἐφίεναι) : ὑποκριτοῦ δὲ τραγῳδίας ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ὀλυμπίων, οἷς ἐπεστάται ὁ Πολέμων ἐφίεναι φήσαντος, ἐξελαθῆναι γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῦ κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦ δράματος κ.τ.λ. In Lucian, *Nigrin.*, c. 8 : ἤδη τραγικοὺς ἢ καὶ νῆ Δία κωμικοὺς φαῖλους ἑώρακας ὑποκριτάς, τῶν συριττομένων λέγω τούτων καὶ διαφθειρόντων τὰ ποιήματα καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἐκβαλλομένων, καίτοι τῶν δραμάτων πολλάκις εὐ ἐχόντων τε καὶ νενικηκότων, one might think of the representation of single scenes from dramas which had won prizes in earlier times. Also in Pausanias, i, 3, 2 : τοῖς πολλοῖς . . . ὅποσα ἤκουον εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων ἐν τε χοροῖς καὶ τραγῳδαῖς πιστὰ ἡγουμένοις the word τραγῳδαῖς might be interpreted as recitals of single choric scenes by τραγῳδοί, just as in the numerous passages quoted in Welcker's *Die Griechische Tragödie*, which do not prove the performance of entire tragedies. Cf. e.g., Philostratus, *l.l.* ; Dio Chrysost., *Or.*, xxiii, p. 336, 15 and Welcker, *op. cit.*, p. 1319. The passage in Dio Chrys., *Or.*, xix, p. 261, reads with the correct punctuation given by Welcker p. 1320 : καὶ τὰ γε πολλὰ αὐτῶν (the words recited by actors) ἀρχαῖά ἐστι καὶ πολὺ σοφωτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἢ τῶν νῦν· τὰ μὲν τῆς κωμῳδίας ἀπαντα, τῆς δὲ τραγῳδίας τὰ ἰσχυρά, ὡς εἴκοι, μένει· λέγω

δὲ τὰ λαμβεία · καὶ τούτων μέρη διεξέλασιν ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις · τὰ δὲ μαλακώτερα ἐξεβρόνκε τὰ περὶ τὰ μέλη. Perhaps by μέλη Dio only meant the choruses, which indeed had no existence in the later comedy, and had begun to be abandoned in tragedy centuries before Dio's time, for the lists of τεχνίται appearing in the Σωτήρια, or commemorative festival at Delphi, soon after its foundation in 279 B.C., show that even at that time the tragic companies only consisted of three actors with a flute-player and a διδάσκαλος (Lüders, *Die Dionys. Künstler*, p. 112 ff.; Anhang, no. 112). The recitation of the iambic pieces is designated as λέγειν as well as εἶδεν, and was therefore probably a kind of recitative; cf. vol. ii, p. 337 ff.; Plutarch, *De sera num. vind.*, c. 11: τῆς Ἰνούς καὶ ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις λεγοῦσθαι ἀκούομεν; followed by an iambic passage. On the other hand, Lucian, *Saltat.*, 27, says of the tragic actor: ἐνὶ οἷς καὶ περὰ δὴ τὰ λαμβεία καὶ τὸ δῆλοισχιστον μελωδῶν τὰς συμφορὰς καὶ μόνης τῆς φωνῆς ὑπεύθυνον παρέχων ἑαυτὸν. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 46: observatum etiam fuerat, novissimam fabulam cantasse eum publice Oedipodem exulem atque in hoc desisse versu: Θανεῖν μ' ἄνωγε σύγγαμος, μήτηρ, πατήρ. Also the passage in Libanius, iii, p. 375, ed. Reiske, cited by Welcker, p. 802, and by P. E. Mueller, *De gen. aev. Theodos.*, ii, p. 137, as showing the continuance of the acting of tragedies, is no proof that entire plays were put on the stage: λέγε δὲν κεκλείσθαι τοῖς ὑποκριταῖς τὸ θέατρον, ἵνα μὴ τραγωδὸς εἰσελθὼν Πασιφάνη μυθήσῃται τὴν ἐξοκειλάσαν εἰς ἀλλόκοτον ἔρωτα, μηδ' αὐτὴ κωμωδὸς τὰς παρὰ Μενάνδρῳ τικτούσας καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα.

XXXIX. ON THE FREQUENT USE OF FAMOUS ARTISTS' NAMES.¹

(Vol. II, p. 107, line 12 from bottom.)

THE well-known passage in Seneca, *Q.n.*, vii, 32, 3: at quanta cura laboratur, ne cujus pantomimi nomen intercidat? stat per successorum Pylades et Bathylli domus, harum artium multi discipuli sunt multique doctores, was interpreted by Scaliger on Euseb., 1995, as if the pupils of Pylades were called Pyladae, and those of Bathyllus Bathylli; similarly Salmasius, on *Scr. Hist. Aug.* (L.B., 1679), ii, p. 829 sqq.; Lessing, *Abhandlung v. d. Pantomimen der Alten*, xi, 14 (Lachmann); and Mommsen, *ad CIL*, v, 2, 7753. We know a pantomime Theocritus, who also bore the name Pylades. *Or.*, 2629 = Wilmanns, *E.I.*, 2623 = *CIL*, v, 2, 5889 (Mediolani): D. M. | CVRANTE CALOPODIO LOCATORE | THEOCRITI | AVGG. LIB | PYLADI | PANTOMIMO | HONORATO | SPLENDIDISSIMIS | CIVITATIB. ITALIAE | ORNAMENTIS | DECVRIONALIB. ORNAT. | GREX | ROMANVS | OB MERITA EIVS | TITVL. MEMORIAE POSVIT. Ab altera parte SVI TEMPORIS PRIMVS | TROADAS. A tertia IONA. The words Theocriti Augg. lib., which are written in larger characters than the rest, give the name of the person commemorated, who was later called Pylades; but in this case the older name had not been so fully ousted by the new one that it could not have been used as a designation. Pylades and Bathyllus are however by no means the only names which

¹ Cf. two 'programme' of Königsberg University (1859), *De nominibus clarorum artificum frequentatis*.

R. L. M.

were assumed by later pantomimes or attached to them. In the biography of L. Verus (c. 8) it is said: *habuit et Agrippum histrionem, cui cognomentum erat Memphi, quem et ipsum e Syria veluti tropaeum Parthicum adduxerat: quem Apolaustum nominavit, and further, histriones eduxit e Syria, quorum praecipuus fuit Maximinus, quem Paridis nomine nuncupavit.* (Cf. *CIL*, xii, 3347, p. 624, 1.) It is clear that as L. Verus gave these dancers the names of famous artistes, so the names Pylades and Bathyllus were given to other pantomimes by their masters or patrons, friends or admirers, to encourage or honour them, or were assumed by the mimes themselves out of respect for their patterns and teachers, or in the feeling that they had themselves attained pre-eminence. These names then often acquired such general vogue that they quite superseded the original names.

One of the most celebrated pantomime names was Paris. The earliest dancer known to us who bore it lived at Nero's court, and was executed in 67 A.D. (vol. ii, 114); on his art see ii, 102. The second lived under Domitian (ii, 114 f. and i, 247 and n.); he is mentioned in Juv., vi, 87 (*utque magis stupeas ludos Paridemque reliquit*; Statius sold his *Agave* to him (vol. ii, 100), and Martial wrote an epitaph on him (xi, 13). Cf. on the two Eckstein in Ersch and Gruber's *Encykl.*, sect. iii, pt. xii, p. 104. The third is the above-mentioned favourite of L. Verus (see ii, 115), referred to by Galea (see vol. ii, 106). The Paris mentioned Grut., 332: Athenodorus xysticus Paridi thymelico benemerenti fecit, seems to have been a fourth. A fifth is mentioned by Libanius, ed. Reiske, iii, p. 362, 13: *καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸν παρ' ἡμῖν (at Antioch) ποτὲ λάμψαντα [καὶ] τὸν ὁμώνυμον τοῦ παλαιοῦ βουκόλου, παρ' ᾧ καὶ τοῦ κάλλους ἐκρίθησαν αἱ θεαί, σοφιστῆς Τύριος (ὅς τῃ γλώσσῃ τὰ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἰσχυρε, σελων τε καὶ τινάσσων ἅπαντα) τοῦτον οὕτως ἐβήρησε κείμενον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ ἐντάφιον αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον ἔδωκεν, ὥστ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτι ἂν ἐξήγησε μείζον, εἰ σοφιστὴν οἰχόμενος εἶμα, ὅς γε καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτὸ προσειπεῖν ἤξιωσε τὸν ὀρχηστὴν.*

It may be supposed that Memphis or Memphius was a celebrated pantomime name from the fact that the above-mentioned Agrippus assumed it. Perhaps it was this Memphis whom Athenaeus (i, 20 C.) calls τὸν ἐφ' ἡμῖν φιλόσοφον ὀρχηστὴν (cf. vol. ii, 104 bottom). There is another in *Anthol.*, xi, 255, Pallad. 57:

Δάφνιν καὶ Νιόβην ὀρχήσατο Μίμφος ὁ σιμῆς
ὥς ξύλινος Δάφνην, ὥς λίθινος Νιόβην.

Apolaustus, the second name that Agrippus assumed, was also famous. The first distinguished dancer known to us who bore it was a freedman of Trajan. Grut., 331, 6 = *CIL*, vi, 2, 10, 114: M. Ulpius Aug. lib. Apolaustus maximus pantomimorum coronatus adversus histriones et omnes scaenicos artifices xii. (A certain M. Ulpi Apolausti ser. Dionysius, *IRN*, 5194 = *CIL*, ix, 709; a M. Ulpius Apolaustianus, Or., 2598). The second Apolaustus (freedman of the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus) is mentioned with his earlier name Memphius in the following inscription in Rome (Orelli, 2160 = *CIL*, vi, 2, 10, 117): Aurelio Apolausto Memphio Augg. lib. hieronicae coronato et ton diapandon Apollinis sacerdoti soli vittato, archieri synodi et Augg. L. Aurelius Panniculus

qui et Sabanas. Patrono optimo. So also at Tibur, *CIL*, xiv, 4254 (beneath three wreaths and the list of some of his rôles, of which *Ῥωσίον* and *Ὀπίστη* are still legible): L. Aurelio Augg. | lib. Apolausto | Memphio | pantomimo hieronicae ter te(m)|poris sui primo | vittato Augg. | sacerdoti Apollinis Herculano | Augustali | s.p.q.T. | item ornamentis decurionatus honorato. On the side of the base: . . . Aug. edente | L. Aurel. Augg. l. Apolaus(to) | Memphio | magistro. So again in an inscription erected by himself near Fundi, *IRN*, 4140 = *CIL*, x, 6219: L. Aurelius Alpolautus pantomimus Memfius Mercurio invicto votum solvit,¹ and in a fragment at Veli, *CIL*, xi, 1, 3822: pantOMIMO | . . . O PROVECTO | ab imp. anTONINO | et | aurelio CAESARE | . . . apolausTI. MEMPHI | . . . SENIORIS | . . . IN VRBE | . . . dom | . On the other hand, in two other inscriptions, which attest his public appearance in the cities of S. Italy, he is called only Apolaustus. *IRN*, 652 = *CIL*, ix, 344 (Canusii): L. aELIO AVG. LIB. | aurELIO APOLAVSTo | PaNTOMIMO | augVSTALIVM QQ hierONICE TEMPORIS | SVI PRIMO | colonia AVRELIA | auG. PIA CANVSIVM | D.D., cf. Mommsen's note. Orelli, 2628 = *CIL*, x, 3716 (Laternum): . . . AVREL . . . APOLAVSTO HIERONICO BIS CORONATO | ET DIAPANTON, PARASITO ET SACERDOTI APOLLINIS | AVGVST. CAPVAE MAXIMO. At court he was naturally only called by the name bestowed on him by Verus. Fronto, *Epp. ad L. Ver. Aug.*, i, 2: et te si spectaveris teste revincam, Pyladem magistro suo istum tanto meliorem esse, quanto sit Apolausto similior. And in general this name superseded his earlier name, as he is certainly the person of whom it is said in *Vit. Commod.*, c. 7: Apolaustus alique liberti aulici pariter interempti sunt. Cf. Casaubon on this passage, and Mai on Fronto, *loc. cit.*

The Pylades mentioned by Fronto is the third of this name known to us. The second was a favourite and presumably a slave of Trajan — Dio, lxviii, 10: καὶ τοὺς ὀρχηστὰς ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἐπαγγάγε' καὶ γὰρ ἐνὸς αὐτῶν τοῦ Πυλάδου ἦρα. Hadrian manumitted him Grut., 331, 1 = *CIL*, v, 7753 (Genua): P. Aelius Aug. lib. Pylades pantomimus hieronica instituit; L. Aurelius Augg. lib. Pylades hieronica discipulus consummavit. He was therefore the instructor (also mentioned by Fronto) of the third Pylades, who evidently took the name from him. This third Pylades, originally named Theocritus according to *CIL*, v, 2, 5889, quoted above, p. 257, and *Augg. lib.*, i.e. a freedman of Marcus Aurelius and Verus, was a tragic dancer specially distinguished in the *Ion* and *Troades*, and according to Galen, ed. K., xiv, 631 (cf. vol. i, 247), was, with Morphus and a third (probably the second Apolaustus), the most celebrated artist of this class in his day. An inscription erected by him near the amphitheatre at Puteoli (*Millh. d. Arch. Inst.*, 1888, p. 79) reads: L. Aurelio Aug(ustorum) lib. Pyladi pantomimo temporis sui primo, hieronicae coronato iiii, patrono parasitorum Apollinus, sacerdoti synodi, honorato Puteolis d.d. ornamentis decurionalib. et duum-

¹ *CIL*, xii, 3347 (Nemausus: D. M. | Afrodís . . . | symmele(s) ?) | grex Gall. | Memphi et | Paridis p.m. (pantomimorum ? Publio Marco ?) et | Sextis administrantibus is enigmatic in several respects.

viralib., auguri, ob amorem erga patriam et eximiam liberalitatem in edendo muner(e) gladiatorum venatione passiva ex indulgentia sacratissimi princip(is) Commodi pii felicis Aug. centuria Cornelia. Cf. Mommsen's notes, pp. 79-83. Probably it was he with whom, according to Dio, lxxiii, 13, Didius Julianus played at dice after the murder of Pertinax. It is perhaps no accident that the name Theocritus, which occurs in the above inscription, appears again as that of a dancer, who was a favourite of Caracalla (Dio, lxxvii, 21).

In addition to the first Bathyllus (for whom see also Phaedrus, v, 7, 5; cf. Jahn on Persius, v, 123) we only know one of this name, the one mentioned by Juvenal, vi, 63 as a dancer of the part of Leda, who therefore lived under Domitian or Trajan (cf. vol. ii, 106). This Leda may have belonged to the humorous kind of dance, invented by the first Bathyllus, but it may well be that famous names were assumed by artists who could claim no distinction in the specialities of the original bearers.

The practice thus attested was by no means confined to pantomimes, but was common among artistes of all kinds. Of course here also many names often recur, simply because they were popular, e.g., Eutyclus, a charioteer under Caligula (vol. ii, 25); another charioteer, Grut. 340, 4; a third, Zangemeister, *Ril. de Foligno*, in *Adl.* 1870, p. 257 n.; a mime L. Acilius Eutyclus, Orelli, 2625 = *CIL*, xiv, 2408; an Aurelius Eutyclus stupidus gregis urbani, Orelli, 2645 = *CIL*, xi, 1, 433. Fortunatus and Felix, Gruter, 342; a M. Vipsanius Felix, Gruter, 340, 3, and the Felix mentioned by Pliny, *N.H.*, vii, 186 (vol. ii, 29 bottom), all charioteers. Gladiators of this name, Gruter, 334, 3; Orelli, 2566 = *CIL*, vi, 631, and on tesserae, Faustus, Felix and Fortunatus. Also such names as artists chose in special reference to their art or their successes, as Lepos (a dancer in Horace, *Sat.*, ii, 6, 70), Favor (archimimus, Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 19), Crotus (choraules, Martial, vi, 39, 19) may have been adopted just as well by later artists, without allusion to their predecessors. Thus we find in a list of mimes, *CIL*, xiv, 2408, a Petronius Favor and a Volumnius Favorabilis. The same may be said of the name Thymele (Juv., i, 36; vi, 66; viii, 197) which is also found in a *columbarium* in the Vigna Amendola: Thymele Anni Pollionis. The assumption that this Thymele was also a performer on the stage is rendered plausible by the occurrence of another inscription in the same *columbarium*: C. Annus C. l. | Lepos. vixit an. xxviii | obiit vii Idus April. C. Caesare | L. Paullo cos. (754) hic situs adquiescit (Borghesi, *Oeuvres*, iv, 477)—perhaps the epitaph of the dancer mentioned by Horace. As for the occurrence in the list *CIL*, xiv, 2408 of an Aelius Hylas, the identity of his name with that of a famous pantomime (vol. ii, 105) probably is merely due to the frequency of the name. On the other hand, the name of Apolaustus' freedman Panniculus, Orelli, 2160 = *CIL*, vi, 2, 10, 117, who was certainly a stage artist, is perhaps borrowed from Panniculus the well-known mime under Domitian (Martial, ii, 72, 4; iii, 86; v, 63). So too in the above list an Aelius Latinus may have borrowed the name of a more celebrated mime, who was a favourite of Domitian (vol. ii, 114; i, 60), and an Aelius Urbicus the name of that Urbicus who in Juvenal, vi, 71 exodio risum movet

Atellanae gestibus Autonoes. (A *secutor* Urbicus, p. 174.) Perhaps also it is no accident that two dancers bear the name Septentrio (Orelli, 2607 = *CIL*, xii, 188, Orelli, 2627 = *CIL*, xiv, 2977, see n. on ii, 107, l. 40).

The runner Ladas mentioned by Martial, ii, 86, 7; x, 100, 5 and Juvenal, xiii, 97, may indeed be the famous Olympic victor of that name (cf. Krause, *SIRE*, iv, 721) whose swiftness of foot was proverbial among the Romans (Catullus, lix, 3, etc.), but it is more natural, especially in the case of Martial, to attribute the name to some contemporary foot-racer. The name Artemidorus perhaps first became celebrated among athletes through Artemidorus the *pancratiastes* of Tralles, who in Ol. 212 (69 A.D.) was victorious in the contest for men at Olympia (Pausanias, vi, 14, 1). The same name is borne by T. Flavius Artemidorus (mentioned below, app. xlii), a citizen of Adana and Antioch, who also was a *pancratiastes* and victor in the *Agon Capitolinus* in 86 A.D. (*CIG*, 5806 = *Bull. d. Inst.*, 1877, p. 110); also by M. Aurelius Artemidorus of Settae in Phrygia, who among other victories gained the *Κύζικον Κομμόδεια ἀγέλεω*, and died 26 years old, about the beginning of the third century. For his inscription found at Capua, cf. Sauppe, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1864, sect. 24, p. 958.

The *citharoedus* Amoebeus (Athen., xiv, p. 622 D.) took his name from a celebrated predecessor (*SIRE*, i³, s.v.) whose name, according to Philostratus, *Apollon. Tyan.*, v, 7, ed. K., p. 88, seems also to have been assumed by a *citharoedus* of the first century. The name of the two Theban flute-players Antigenidas (*SIRE*, i³, s.v.) was borne by a P. Aelius Antigenidas, whose inscription has been edited by Minervini in *BdI*, 1859, p. 73: *Δόγματι βοι[λῆς ἡ πόλις] Π. Αἰλίου Ἀντιγεγίδα[ν τὸν ἴδιον πολίτην] δημαρχήσαντα . . . ἀρχιερέα ἱερᾶς συνόδου θυμεικῆς τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον] πρώτον καὶ μόνον ἀπ' αἰῶνος νεικήσαντα [τὸ διηγεῖς πάντας τοὺς] ἀγῶνας οἷσπερ καὶ μόνους ἡγωνίσαστο, ἀλειπτος Ῥώμῃ β', Νεάπολιν γ', καὶ τὸν διὰ πάντων καὶ Ἰοτιόλους τὰ πρώτα διατεθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου αὐτοκράτορος Ἀντωνεῖνου Εὐσέβεια, καὶ ὁμοίως τὰ ἐξῆς ἔχει [δύο] (?) καὶ τὰ ἐν Νικομηδείᾳ, τῇ αὐτοῦ πατρίδι ἐπιλεγόμενα Ἀσκληπεία τῷ αὐ[τῷ] ἀγῶνι ποθαύλας χοραύλας· ἐπαύσατο δὲ ἐτῶν μέ, αὐλήσας δὴμῳ Ῥω[μαί]ων ἑτεσιν ἑκοσι. Minervini has already remarked the borrowing of the name, and also mentions a still later flute-player, M. Aurelius Septimius Nemesianus Antigenides (*κύκλιος αὐλητής*, *CIG*, 1587). Further, Glaphyrus, a famous musician under Domitian (Martial, iv, 5; Juvenal, iv, 77), bears, hardly by accident, the same name as the flute-player whom Antipater of Thessalonica (*Epigr.*, 28 and 29, *Anthol.*, ed. Jacobs, ii, 102 sq.) compares with Orpheus. This latter Glaphyrus is perhaps identical with one mentioned in Orelli, 2633 = *CIL*, vi, 2, 10, 120; Heriae Thisbae monodiariae Ti. Claudii Glaphyri choraulae Actionicae et Sebastonicae. An Ibycus psalter occurs in Gruter, 331, 2 = *CIL*, vi, 2, 10, 100.¹*

This custom seems also to have existed among the gladiators (cf. vol. ii, p. 57). Doubtless here too many names are repeated without any intentional reminiscence of a famous predecessor, e.g., Trium-

¹ *CIL*, vi, 1, 10, 124^b = Grut., 580, 3: Dis Manibus. Amphion C. Salari Capitonis citharod. vixit ann. L. Zethus fratri piissim. Hic situs est,

phus in Seneca, *Prov.*, iv, 4, and Martial, *Spect.*, xx, 1; Carpophorus, *ib.*, xxiii, 27, and Orelli, 2566 = *CIL*, vi, 631 (a bearer of this name in Juv., vi, 199). Similarly, on the gladiatorial *tesserae* A.U.C. 683–701 Pilodamus (Philod.) occurs thrice (a fourth in 681 is doubtful). Philargurus (684–695) thrice, Antiocus twice (693, 701), Hermes (813 = 60 A.D.) a namesake of the man celebrated in Martial, v, 24 (90 A.D.), not to speak of other examples (cf. p. 167). On the other hand, the Pacideianus mentioned in Horace, *Sat.*, ii, 7, 97, apparently as a well-known gladiator of his day, takes his name from the contemporary of Lucilius, optumu' multo post homines natos gladiator qui fuit unus (Cic., *Tusc. quaest.*, iv, 21, etc.).

It is also well known that physicians often assumed the name Asclepiades, even as their sole designation, e.g. *CIG*, 4566: Ασκληπιάδης Ιατρός λεγέω[νος] β. Τρα[ιανῆς] Ιαχυράς, A.D. 147; *ibid.*, iii, *Add.*, 4778d: Ασκληπιάδης Ιατρός. *CIL*, ix, 5462: 'Οστρά Ασκληπιάδου Περγαμηνού Ιατροῦ. Cf. the treatise of Harless, *Medicorum veterum Asclepiades dictorum lustratio historica*, Bonn. 1828, 4 (unknown to me), in which thirteen, and Fabricius, *Biblioth. Gr.*, xiii, p. 89 sq., in which eight physicians of this name are enumerated. A certain C. Calpurnius Asclaepiades (*sic*) Prusa ad Olympum medicus, born 5 March, 87, resident at Capena, studiorum et morum causa probatus a viris clarissimis, etc. (*CIL*, xi, 1, 3943 = Orelli, 3039), was born in the same city (Pliny, *N.h.*, vii, 124) like the first famous physician of this name (vol. i, p. 183).¹ Hippocrates is found as the name of a physician, Martial, ix, 94, 2, and *CIL*, viii, 9618, Hippocratis medici Bodmilcaris f. The well-known physician Thessalus of the time of Nero (cf. i, pp. 170, 182) took his name perhaps from a son of Hippocrates (Galen, xvii a, 314, 579). Similarly a contemporary of Galen, the physician Antigenes, bore the name of a famous predecessor in his art (*StRE*, i³, p. 1108). Apuleius, *Apol.*, c. 33: Themison servus noster, medicinae non ignarus; c. 48: Themison medicus, probably the same. Lips., *El.*, i, 18: Themisones aliquot inter primores medicos: ideo medicorum pueri amabant id nomen. A physician under Domitian (Martial, vi, 70, 6) called himself Alcon, like the celebrated surgeon of the time of Claudius (vol. i, p. 171); the same name designates an unskilful physician in Ausonius, *Epigr.*, 73, 74. Among the names often borne by physicians was probably also Metrodorus (cf. *StRE*, s.v., 7–9); it was the name of a freedman of Cicero's who was a physician (*Ad Fam.*, xvi, 14, 20; *Attic.*, xv, 16; Drumann, *RG*, vi, 405). *CIL*, xiv, 2652 (Tusculum): A. Clodius Metrodorus mdicus (*sic*). So also Heras, a name perhaps first made illustrious by the immediate predecessor of Andromachus (Cels., v, 22). *CIL*, v, 2, 6064 (Mediolani): M. Petronius Herasmidicus (read Heras medicus, Gruter). Martial, vi, 78, 3: Huic Heras medicus 'bibas caveto'.

That this custom also existed among sculptors and painters cannot be proved, as Löwy (*Inschr. griech. Künstler*, p. 318) remarks, as names like Praxiteles and Leochares were common, and besides a family of artists descended from the celebrated Praxiteles may

¹ A certain G. (*sic*) Licinius Asclepias medicus, *CIL*, x, 6471. *CIG*, ii, 2987 = Lebas-Wadd., iii, 161, p. 53 (cf. 68), Ephesus: [Ἰ]ατρ[ὸν] Ἀσκληπιάδου Πρεῖσκον φιλοσέβαστον ἀρχίατρον διὰ γένους.

perhaps have existed for centuries. Considering, however, that in the imperial age artists and craftsmen often belonged to the slave class or had risen from it, one cannot be surprised that their masters should choose famous names for them, just as they might confer the name Amphion on a *citharoedus* or Themiso on a surgeon. It is then at least a plausible supposition that a family of artists is referred to in the inscription on the figure of an Egyptian monkey erected 159 A.D., and now in the Vatican: Φιδίας καὶ Ἀμμώνιος ἀμφότεροι Φιδίου ἐπόλου (Brunn, *Kunstlergesch.*, i, 610 f.; Löwy, no. 382), although considering the frequency of the name Phidias (Löwy on no. 536), this must remain a mere supposition. I also adhere to my opinion, in view of all the examples quoted, that the *decurio* and *duumvir* Q. Lollius Alcamenes, who appears in the relief in Zoega, *Bassir. ant.*, i, 23, holding a bust in his hand, was at least a *dilettante*, if not an artist.

XL. THE PYRRHIC OF ASIA MINOR.

(Vol. II, p. 108, l. 7.)

SUETONIUS, *Caesar*, c. 29: pyrrhicham saltaverunt Asiae Bithynicae principum liberi. Josephus, *Ant. J.*, xix, 1, 14; Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 58; Dio, lx, 7 and lx, 23; Sueton., *Nero*, c. 12. I think these passages make it certain that the following passage of Lucian refers to the Pyrrhic, which here was chiefly Bacchic; *De Saltat.*, 79: ἡ μὲν γε Βακχικὴ ὀρχοῖσις ἡ ἐν Ἰωνίῳ μάλιστα καὶ ἐν Πόντῳ (part of the province of Bithynia, which was also called Bithynia et Pontus or Bithynia-Pontus) σπουδαζομένη, οὕτως κεχειρώται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἐκεῖ, ὥστε κατὰ τὸν τεταγμένον ἕκαστοι καιρὸν ἀπάντων ἐπιλαθόμενοι τῶν ἄλλων κἀθηται δι' ἡμέρας τιτάνας καὶ κορύβαντας καὶ σατύρους καὶ βουκόλους ὀρώπτες καὶ ὀρχοῦνται ταῦτα ὁ εὐγενέστατος καὶ πρωτεύωντες ἐν ἑκάστῃ τῶν πόλεων κ.τ.λ. In Philostrat., *Apoll. Tyann.*, iv, 2 ed. K., p. 66, the inhabitants of Ephesus are ὀρχηστών ἡττημένοι καὶ πρὸς πυρρίχαις αὐτοὶ ὄντες, αὐλῶν μὲν πάντα μεσὰ ἦν, μεσὰ δὲ κτύπων. It appears from Plutarch, *Qu. conv.*, ix, 2, that in his time in Greece as elsewhere the Pyrrhic was danced by boys of good family. Also the dances performed in Athens at the Dionysia (Philostrat., *Apoll. Tyann.*, iv, 21, p. 73, ed. K.) seem to have been Pyrrhics. Two prizes for Pyrrhics in a pentaeteric *agon* at Aphrodisias: Lebas-Waddington, 1620 d.

XLI. THE CONTESTS IN THE ACTIAN AGON AT NICOPOLIS.

(Vol. II, p. 118, l. 20.)

EVIDENTLY all the usual gymnastic and musical contests took place here. The former are mentioned generally in Stat., *Silv.*, ii, 2, 6 (cf. vol. ii, p. 118):—

Huc me post patrii laetum quinquennia lustrī,
quum stadio jam pigra quies, canusque sederet
pulvis, ad Ambracias conversa gymnade frondes, etc.

Cf. also Henzen, *AdI*, 1865, p. 99, *Inscr. Ailet. Napol.* (ἐπιστάρχης Ἀκτίων κ.τ.λ.; cf. p. 105). *CIG*, 2723 (Stratonice)—παγκράτιον? Ἀκτία ἀγ[ε]λων. Lebas-Waddington, 1540 (Erythrae): πυγμῆν. *CIG*, 4472 = Lebas-W., 1839—παίδων πυγμῆν (time of the Severi, *CIL*, iii, 730). *CIG*, 5913, 24 (Alexandria) παγκράτιον. Ditten-

berger, *Inscr. v. Olympia in Archæol. Ztg.*, xxxv, 190, 90: a victor in the *διαυλος* and *ὀπλίτης* δρ. at Olympia *καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν περίοδον σὺν Ἀκτίοισιν*. *Ibid.*, xxxviii, p. 164, 366: *Ἀκτίους ἀνδρας παγκράτιον*.

Musical contests. *CIG*, 1420 = Lebas-W., ii, 179 A. (Sparta)—*Ἀκτια τραγῳδοῦς*. 1719 (Delphi)—*Ῥώμην Πυθαύλας Ἀκτια χοραύλας*. 1720 (Nicomedia)—*τὸ β' Ἀκτια κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς πιθαύλας καὶ χοραύλας*. 2810 (Aphrodisias)—*κυκλ. αὐλήτ. Ἀκτια*. 3208 (Smyrna)—*κιθαριφδ. Ἀκτια β'*. 4801 (Pessinus)—*κυκλ. αὐλήτ. Ἀκτιόνεικος*. *CIL*, vi, 2, 10, 120. Ti. Claudi Glaphyri choraulae Actionicae et Sebastonicae. —*CIG*, 1068 (Megara)—*Ἀκτια ἐν Νικοπόλει β'*.

Contest of heralds. Dittenberger, *op. cit.*, p. 100, 68. Inscription of a *κῆρυξ* who was victorious at Olympia in 137/8, see below, p. 266.

XLII. THE CONTESTS IN THE CAPITOLINE AGON.

(Vol. II, p. 120, l. 12.)

WHEN Suetonius wrote his lives of the emperors, in 120 A.D., several of the original contests had already been discontinued, especially (Sueton., *Domit.*, c. 4):—

(1) The contest in Greek eloquence.

(2) The contest in Latin eloquence. The praise of Capitoline Jupiter had been a regular theme in this contest, Quintilian, iii, 7, 4; Palfurius Sura had once received the prize. Sueton., *Domit.*, c. 13. Haupt, *Colloq. ex cod. Montepess.*, s. ix, *Ind. lect. Berolin. hib.*, 1871, p. 6, 7: *Ἐγκώμιον ἔγραψα. Τίνος; Ζηνὸς Καπιτωλίνου. Ἀνάγνωθι. . . Μεγάλως εἶπας. ἄρον τὸν στέφανον. οὐδεὶς σοὶ ἀντιλέγει*. Cf. also the passage Auson., *Proff.*, v, 5, quoted in the next appendix.

(3) The contest of the *Chorocitharistae*.

(4) The contest of the *Psilocitharistae* (*cithara* playing without accompaniment).

(5) The girls' race.

There remained the following:—

The contest in Greek poetry. For this the poet Diodorus wished to travel from Alexandria to Rome in the year 94 (Martial, ix, 40). In that year no less than 52 Greek poets competed, among them the Roman boy Q. Sulpicius Maximus with 43 improvised hexameters on the theme "How Zeus spoke, when he rebuked Helios for lending his chariot to Phaethon" (see vol. iii, p. 45). The Latin inscription on his monument (C. L. Visconti, *Il sepolcro del fanciullo P. Sulpicio Massimo*, p. 5) reads: *Deis manibus sacrum. Q. Sulpicio Q. f. Cla. Maximo domo Roma vix. ann. xi. m. v. d. xii. Hic tertii certaminis lustro inter Graecos poetas duo et L professus, favorem quem ob teneram aetatem excitaverat, in admirationem ingenio suo perduxit et cum honore discessit. Versus extemporales eo subjecti sunt ne parent(es) adfectib(us) suis indulsisse videantur. Q. Sulpicius Maximus et Licinia Januaria parent(es) infelicissimi f. piissim. fec. et sib. p. s.*

The contest in Latin poetry. In the year 86 Collinus, celebrated by Martial, iv, 54, obtained the prize; cf. also Morcelli, *De agone Cap.*, p. 21. Statius was an unsuccessful competitor in 90, or perhaps 94, cf. Appendix LVII. The rhetorician P. Annius Florus says that the audience had unanimously demanded the prize for him, invito

quidem Caesare et resistente, non quod sibi puero invideret, sed ne Africa coronam magni Jovis attingeret (*P. Anni Flori fragm.*, in Jahn's edition of Jul. Florus, p. xli). If the subject of his poem was the Dacian triumph (*op. cit.*), this need not as Jahn thinks (p. lxxv) be that of Trajan (102 A.D.), since Domitian also held a Dacian triumph at the end of 89, so the poem might have been composed in the year 90. Martial, ix, 35, 10, alludes to the approaching *agon* of the year 94: *Destinet aetherius cui sua certa pater*. In the year 106¹ the prize for Latin poetry was given by a unanimous vote of the judges to L. Valerius Pudens of Histonium, a boy of thirteen: Mommsen, *IRN*, 5252 = *CIL*, ix, 2860 (cf. n. on ii, 120, 22). The tragic poet Memor, a brother of the satirist Turnus, is called by Martial, xi, 9 (cf. 10), *clarus fronde Jovis, Romani fama cothurni* (cf. vol. iii, p. 45 and n.), and must have obtained the prize in one of the first three *agones*, for the eleventh book of Martial appeared soon after Domitian's death. (In *Numerian.*, c. 11: Olympius Nemesianus . . . *quique omnibus coloniis illustratus emicuit*, Casaubon emends the meaningless *coloniis* to *coronis*.)

Singing. Inscription of one Aurelius Charmus of Philadelphia, *CIG*, 3425: *ψδὸν παράδοξον, περιδοιέειν στεφανωθέντα λερούς ἀγῶνας τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης πάντας ἀπὸ Καπετωλείων ἕως Ἀντιόχειας τῆς Συρίας*.
Citharoedic contests. Juvenal, 6, 387:—

Ianium Vestamque rogabat,
an Capitolinam deberet Pollio quercum
sperare et fidibus promittere.

Cf. on Pollio, Martial, iv, 61, 9. *Bull. de corr. Hellén.*, ix, 1885, p. 124 (Nyasa). II. Ἀλλίου . . . Κυζικηνοῦ κιθαρωδοῦ καπετωλονέικου.

Flute-playing. Monument of a *Pythaulos* of Nicomedia, who obtained the prize ἐν Ῥώμῃ. Καπετώλεια πυθαύλας, *CIG*, 1720. Cf. *CIG*, 1719, quoted above, p. 264. *CIG*, 6788 (Nemausus): — — χοραΐλης γ Καπετ. According to Minervini the words Ῥώμην β' in the inscription of Antigenidas (above, p. 261) refer to the Capitoline games. The question must however remain unanswered whether the fairly common statement in inscriptions of Greek musicians and athletes that they were victorious 'at Rome' always has this meaning. If it is true, as is reported, that in an inscription on the Appian Way (*CIG*, 5919) the words Ῥώμην τραγῳδούς are enclosed in a laurel wreath, this inscription cannot refer to the Capitoline *agon*, in which the prizes were wreaths of oak.

Organ-playing? Quintilian, ix, 4, 11: In certaminibus sacris (organorum soni) non eadem ratione concitant animos ac remittunt.

Dramatic representations and recitations. In the inscription *CIG*, iv, 6829 (193-210 A.D.) occur the words: Καπετωλιονέικου παράδοξον . . . Ἐφεσίου κωμικοῦ. Artemidorus, *Onirocr.*, iv, 33: Ἡρακλείδης δ' ὀνατηρητὸς δ' τραγῳδὸς μέλλων ἀγωνίζεσθαι ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὸν τῶν τραγῳδῶν ἀγῶνα. It is possible (as Morcelli thought, *Sull' agone Cap.*, p. 16), that certain expressions occurring in inscriptions relating to pantomimes—*coronatus contra omnes scaenicos*, *hieronica coronatus* (in urbe coronato, Orelli, 2627)—refer to the Capitoline *agon*.

¹ I follow Mommsen in explaining *lustrum sexto* as the beginning of the sixth *lustrum* i.e. the sixth *agon*.

In the inscription *CIL*, vi, 2, 10,114 (see above, p. 258): M. Ulpius Aug. I. Apolaustus | et maximus pantomimorum | coronatus adversus histriones | et omnes scaenicos | artifices xii, the number xii, may, as Wilmanns, *E.I.*, 2619, supposes, mean the twelfth agon, 130 A.D.

Contest of Heralds. Dittenberger, *Inscr. aus Olympia in Archäol. Ztg.*, xxv, p. 100, 68: II. Αἰλιος Ἀρτεμῆος Λαοδικεὺς (sic) νικήσας Ὀλυμπιάδι σκδ (Ol. 229, 1 = 137/8) Ὀλύμπια κήρυκας καὶ τοὺς ὑπογεγραμμένους ἀγῶνας τὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ Καπετώλ[εια . . .] Ἀκτια κ.τ.λ. . . . ὑπὸ φωνασκῶν Λ. Τυρρώνιος Λόγγος Εἰκονία τῶν καὶ Λαοδικία. *CIA*, iii, 129:—T. Αἰλ. Αὐρήλιος Ἀπολλώνιος Ταρσεὺς καὶ Ἀθηναῖος κωμῳδοὺς καὶ κήρυξ περιοδοδείκῃ σὺν Καπετωλίοις κ.τ.λ. *Id.*, 129: Οὐαλέριος Ἐκλεκτος Σινωπεύς . . . κήρυξ διςπερίοδος νικήσας ἀγῶνας ἱεροῦ οἰκουμενικοῦ τοῦ ἐν ὑπογεγραμμένους . . . Καπετώλεια ἐν Ῥώμῃ γ', Ἀθηναῖς Προμάχου ἐν Ῥώμῃ γ', τὸν χειλιετὴ ἐν Ῥώμῃ, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐτειμήθην χρυσεῖ βραβεῖν μόνος καὶ πρῶτος τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος κηρύκων, Εὐσέβεια ἐν Ποσιόλοις δ' Σεβαστὰ ἐν Νεαπόλει δ' κ.τ.λ. The inscription was erected between 253 and 257, as is shown by a later inscription of the same herald, put up at Olympia about 261, wherein he is called κήρυξ τριςπερίοδος, and his victories in Rome are enumerated as above, the last with the designation Ῥώμης αἰώνια. Dittenberger, *op. cit.*, xxxviii. (1880), p. 165 f., 369.

Gymnastic contests. All those usual in the sacred games in Greece, both for men and boys, as may be certainly assumed from the existing evidence.

Long distance race. *CIG*, 2682 = Lebas-Waddington, 301: inscription of T. Flavius Metrobius of Iasos, who won the victory τὴν περίοδον ἀνδρῶν δόλιχον Ἰασέων πρῶτος καὶ τὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ Καπετώλεια πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων (86 A.D.).

Boxing. *CIG*, 237, inscription of a boxer M. Τόλλιος of Apamea (not earlier than Hadrian).

Wrestling. Dio, lxxix, 10: Αὐρήλιος Αἰλιξ δ' ἀθλητὴς . . . τοσοῦτον τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς ὑπερῆσεν, ὥστε πάλην τε ἅμα καὶ παγκράτιον ἐν τῇ Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἀγωνίσασθαι ἐθέλησαι, κὰν τοῖς Καπετωλείοις καὶ ἄμφοι νικήσαι, . . . ὁ μὴδεὶς ἄλλος ἐπεποιήκει (218 A.D.). Cf. n. on ii, 129, 5.

Pancration. *CIG*, 5806. T. Flavius Artemidorus of Adana (see above, p. 261) won τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν μεγάλων Καπετωλείων τὸν πρῶτον ἀχθέντα ἀνδρῶν παγκράτιον (86 A.D.). Martial, vi, 77:—

Cum sis tam pauper, quam nec miserabilis Irus,
tam juvenis quam nec Parthenopaeus erat;
tam fortis, quam nec, cum vinceret, Artemidorus,
quid te Cappadocum sex onus esse juvat?

There can be little doubt that the same Artemidorus is meant here, as Martial's sixth book appeared in the year 90. It seems from v. 3 that Artemidorus had been beaten shortly before (in the agon of 90).

CIG, 5804. T. Flavius Archibius of Alexandria: τὰ μεγάλα Καπετώλεια τὴν τρί[την] Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀγενεῖων παγκράτιον στεφανωθέντα, κα[ὶ] τὴν τετάρτην ἀνδρῶν παγκράτιον νικήσαντα καὶ τὴν πέμπτην ἀνδρῶν παγκράτιον στεφανωθέντα καὶ τὴν ἕκτην ὁμοίως ἀνδρῶν παγκράτιον στεφανωθέντα πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων (94, 98, 102, 106 A.D.).

Aelius Aurelius Menander of Aphrodisias won ἐπὶ θεοῦ Ἀρτυνείου,

ὡς οὐ μόνον στεφανωθῆναι ταῖς ἰκείνου χερσὶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τειμαῖς ἐξαιρέτοις τιμηθῆναι. Lebas-Waddington, 1620 a. Καπετώλεια Ὀλύμπια ἀνδρῶν παγκράτιον πρῶτον Ἀφροδεισιῶν. *Ib.*, 1620 b = *CIG*, 2180 b. As the seventh Panathenais, in which Menander had apparently won before, falls in the year 150/1 (Dittenberger, *Die attische Panathenaidenāra*, *Comment.* Mommsen, pp. 244, 253), the Capitoline *agon*, in which he won, must be either that of 154 or of 158.

CIG, 3674. M. Aurelius Corus of Cyzicus won Ῥώμῃ Καπετώλεια ἀγρεῖαν παγκράτιον (perhaps 166 A.D.).

Ib., 5913. M. Aurelius Asclepiades, apparently of Hermopolis in Egypt, a very famous pancratiast, won (line 21) Καπετώλεια ἐν Ῥώμῃ δῖς, τὸ δεύτερον μετὰ πρῶτον κλήρον στήσας τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστάς (?) (178 and 182 A.D.).

Artemidorus, *Onirocr.*, iv, 42: Μένιππος ὁ Μάγνης οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τοῦ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀγῶνος, ἔδοξε παγκρατιάσαντος αὐτοῦ νύκτα γενέσθαι: οὐ μόνον ἐλείφθη τὸν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀγῶνα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πληγῇ τῇ χειρὶ ἀπώλεσεν.

In the inscription of a victor from Megara, *CIG*, 1068, who won thrice in the Capitoline *agon*, there is no indication of the contest; nor in that of a certain M. Aurelius Thelymitres (καπετωλωνεῖτης). Rayet, *Inscr. inéd. de Milet*, in *Rev. archéol.*, xv, 28 (1874), p. 113.

Chariot-racing. Inscription of a charioteer P. Aelius Gutta Calpurnianus: — In factione Veneta vici . . . sacro quinquennialis certaminis I. Cf. p. 152.

It may be concluded from the gentile names Flavius, Aelius, Aurelius, that the Capitoline victors received civil rights from the emperors, unless, like the boxer M. Tullius of Apamea, they already possessed them.

XLIII. CONTINUANCE OF THE CAPITOLINE AGON.

(Vol. II, p. 121, l. 22.)

THE ordinance of Diocletian and Maximian (*Cod. Just.*, x, 53) regarding the athletes who were coronis non minus tribus certaminis sacri, in quibus vel semel Romae seu antiquae Graeciae coronati is certainly to be referred to the *agon Capitolinus*. Bock, *Les dernières solennités des jeux Capitolins de Rome* (Bruxelles, 1849), p. 6, wrongly refers the passages in Firmic. Matern., iii, 6, 12 and vi, 31 to the same games. The 'coronarum insignia' mentioned in the first passage are priestly insignia, as the collocation with 'praetexta vestis' shows (cf. praetexta et aureae vestes atque aurearum insignia coronarum, vi, 31). The second passage speaks quite generally of sacred games: athletam faciet ista genitura, sed qui in sacris certaminibus victor, gloriosa et digna reportet insignia coronarum. This passage no more necessarily proves the continuance of the *agon Capitolinus* than iii, 12, 3: sacris certaminibus praepositos, iii, 14, 3: facit in sacris certaminibus esse victores . . . aut sacri certaminis principes; iv, 7 *in f.*: sacri certaminis palmas aut coronas largitur aut sacris certaminibus faciet esse praepositos aut templorum fabricatores aut sacrorum confectores. It is probably right with Scaliger to refer to the *agon Capitolinus* the certainly rather obscure passage Ausonius, *Proff.*, v, 5: Tu paene ab ipsis orsus incunabulis Dei poeta nobilis Sertum coronae praeferens Olympiae puer celebrasti

Jovem; cf. e.g. *Καπετώλεια Ὀλύμπια* in *CIG*, 2180 b. The scholiast to Juv., 6, 387 speaks of the festival as of a thing of the past (Pollio quercum: coronam dicit; inde enim solebant coronari); Bock (p. 31) thinks it ceased after the laws in *Cod. Theod.*, App. I. x, ed. Ritter, vi, p. x; lxix, 16, 10 (de paganis sacrificiis et templis) in the year 407/8.

I add notices of some obscure or only partially intelligible pictorial representations, which Bock refers to the *agon Capitolinus*. A diptych from Monza (Gori, *Dipl.*, ii, 243 ss., pl. viii) shows a Muse with a lyre and a bald man with a scroll and a book. Two similar painted glass vessels in Buonarrotti, pl. xxx s, p. 216: three Genii fly up to a man depicted as a river-god (which Bock thinks is an allusion to the Blue faction); one Genius holds a vase over the man's head, with ΚΑΙΘΕΘ below; beneath the Genii is written, [HILA]RIS VIVAS VALEAS VINCAS. In Garrucci, *Vetri ornati*, etc., pl. xxxiv, 1: a flute-player in a long striped sleeved gown, in his left hand two flutes, in his right a palm (?), to the left a mask on a staff, to the right a basket. On the staff, in addition to a wreath, is the inscription: ILIA CAPITOLIA. Bock describes a similar glass vessel after Boldetti, *Osserv. sopra i cimeli de' SS. Martiri*, I, c. xxxix, p. 205; he thinks that Ilia stands for Aelia, which he supposes alludes to the alleged descent of Theodosius from Hadrian.

XLIV. THE EXTENSION OF GYMNASIC CONTESTS IN THE WESTERN PROVINCES.

(Vol. II, p. 122, l. 21.)

NEAPOLIS was the chief centre from which gymnastic contests spread through Italy, beginning with Campania (see vol. ii, p. 118). The Neapolitan games, which first attained to great importance under Augustus, were called Ῥωμαία Σεβαστὰ Ἰσολύμπια, and were celebrated in the third year of each Olympiad. Till the founding of the *agon Capitolinus*, they were the most important Italian festival of the kind. At Olympia has been found a fragment of a document recording the permission granted there to make the Neapolitan festival 'isolympic', that is, to observe the order of the Olympic festival; see G. Hirschfeld, *Zu griech. Inschr.*, in *Ztschr. f. österreich. Gymnas.*, 1882, pp. 491-499. At Naples the *gymnasiarchia* was one of the most honoured magistracies, it took precedence of all the municipal offices, except the *demarchia*.

Puteoli. Antoninus Pius founded in memory of Hadrian (Ἀδριανεία, *CIG*, 3208) a sacrum certamen iselasticum (*CIL*, x, 515 [142 A.D.]) quinquennale (*Vit. Hadrian.*, c. 27), generally called Εὐσέβεια (ἀγῶνες Πλοῖ), *CIG*, 1068, 1720, 5810, 5913; Artemidorus, *Onirom.*, i, 26; *CIG*, 5853; Mommsen, *CIL*, x, p. 183; Dessau, *BdI*, 1881, p. 141, 1.

At Pompeii gymnastic games are recorded as early as Augustus: *CIL*, x, 1074 d = *IRN*, 2378 (vol. ii, p. 82 f.); *CIL*, i, 1251 (Ib. vix post Augustum) NN. Ilv. j. d. Laconicum et districtarium faciund. et porticus et palaestr. reficiunda locarunt ex d. d. ex ea pecunia quod eos e lege in ludos aut in monumento consumere oportuit faciun. coerarunt eidemque probarunt. *CIL*, iv, 1177 (at a spec-

tacle given by Cn. Alleius Nigidius Maius under Tiberius, p. 70) : . . . venatio athletae sparsiones vela erunt ; cf. 1181. In electioneering appeals, Pyramus Olympionica (*Ephem. epigr.*, i, no. 151 ; *CIL*, iv, 3291, p. xvii). Fructus pyceta, *CIL*, iv, 387.

Beneventum. Inscription of a poeta latinus coronatus in munere patriae suae. At the end : Esterti, primus Beneventi studium orchestopales instituisti. *CIL*, ix, 1663.

Dalmatia. Epidaurus (Ragusa vecchia). Pugilum spectaculum, *BdI*, 1857, p. 46 ; cf. *CIL*, iii, 1, 1745.

Galliae. Here Massilia must have been the centre from which the practice spread. *CIG*, 3413 = Herzog, *Gall. Narb. App.*, 618 (from Boeckh) : ὁ δῆμος Δημήτριον Δημητρίου Γάλλον τὸν πρῶταν καὶ στεφανηφόρον τῆς Μασσαλίας τὸ γί, ἥρωα, ἐπιμεληθέντος τῆς γυμνασιαρχίας καὶ τῶν . . . ὡν τεμῶν Λουκίου Λουιδίου λειτουργίας . . . *CIL*, xii, 410 ib. : agnothet(ae) agoni(s) Iobiani ; cf. p. 812. *CIL*, v, 2, 7914 (Nicaea) : NN. q̄ Ilvir Massil.—agnothetae, episcopo Nicaeensium amici (cf. p. 916).

Arelate. *CIL*, xii, 670 ; NN. (dona) vit, item HS n. cc̄, (ex quor. usur)is omnibus annis . . . (ludi) athletar. aut circen(ses ederen)-tur.

Nemausus. *CIL*, xii, 3232 : ψήφισμα τῆς ἱερῆς θυμелиκῆς Ἀδριανῆς συνέδου τῶν περὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Τραϊανὸν Ἀδριανὸν Σεβαστὸν τὸν νεὸν Διόνησον συναγωνιστῶν. Archiereus sacrae synodi 3183, xystarchus 3132.

Vienna (Vienne). Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 22 (a. 102–105) : interfui principis optimi cognitioni in consilium adsumptus, gymnicus agon apud Viennenses ex cuiusdam testamento celebrabatur : hunc Trebonius Rufus, vir egregius nobisque amicus, in duumviratu tollendum abolendumque curavit ; negabatur ex auctoritate publica fecisse. egit ipse causam non minus feliciter quam diserte . . . placuit agona tolli qui mores Viennensium infecerat, ut noster hic omnium. *CIL*, xiv, 1923 : D. m. Niciae citharoedo Iulia.

Minnodunum. Orelli, 339 = Mommsen, *Inscr. Helvet.*, 149 : Pro salute domus divin. J.O.M. Junon. regin. aram Q. Aelius Aunus sevir Aug. de suo ; item donavit vicinis Minnodunens. den. DCCCL. ex quorum usur. gymnasium in per(petuum) c(urarent).

Hispaniae. Balsa (Lusitania) *CIL*, ii, 13 : edito barcarum certamine et pugilum.

Barcino. *CIL*, ii, 4514. Legacy of a centurion under Marcus Aurelius to the city of den. vii. D. ex quorum usuris semissibus edi volo quodannis spectac. pugilum die iv Iduum Juni : usque ad den. CCL, etc.

Africa. Carthago. Tertullian, *Scorpiace adv. Gnosticos*, c. 6 : Adhuc Carthaginem singulae civitates gratulando inquietant donatam Pythico agone post stadii senectutem. Cf. for athletic exercises *id.*, *De pallio*, c. 4. The *agon*, which had probably been founded by Severus, was renewed in the year 376 : *Cod. Theodos.*, xv, 7, 3, cf. Gothofred. Tertullian, *loc. cit.*, mentions the appearance of musicians as well as athletes (corporum et vocum praestantiam). Among the victories of one of the two *CIL*, xiv, 474 (Ostia) : Pythia Karthaginis, Asclepia Karthaginis ; which Dessau, *BdI*, 1881, pp. 137–

141, considers to refer to only one festival, dedicated to the two gods. Cf. vol. iii, 47, 4-8 and n.

In the cities of the *provincia proconsularis*, gymnastic games (always called *gymnasium*) often combined with banquets (*epulum*) of the *decuriones* and citizens, were among the most common festivities: *CIL*, viii, 754, 769, 858, 860, 895 (spectaculum pugilum et gymnasium),¹ 937, 1323, 1353, 1361, 1414, 1449, 1501, 1574, 1577. Cf. the index, p. 1117. *Ephem. epigr.*, v, p. 283, n. 293; p. 291, n. 320; vii, n. 127, 238, 256, 258, 714.

Numidia. Theveste. *CIL*, 1858 sq.: will of C. Cornelius Egrilianus praef. leg. xiii geminae, who left a fund that on certain days every month gymnasia populo publice praeberentur in thermis.

Mauretaniae. Caesarea. *Eph. epigr.*, v, p. 477, 1036: Greek epitaph on an athlete (παγκράτιον νικήσας).

XLV. THE TAXES OF THREE ROMAN PROVINCES.²

(Vol. II, p. 133, l. 2.)

JOSEPHUS gives the following account of the division of Palestine between the sons of Herod the Great, which Augustus effected in 4 B.C., and of the revenues which they drew from their allotted districts (*Ant. Jud.*, xvii, 11, 4; cf. Marquardt, *StV*, I³, 409 f.): 'Ἀρχέλαον . . . τοῦ . . . ἡμῶς τῆς χώρας ἥπερ Ἡρώδης ὑπετέλει, ἐθνάρχην καθίσταται . . . τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν ἡμῶσιαν . . . παρεδίδου Φιλίππῳ καὶ Ἀντίπῳ· καὶ τοῦτω μὲν ἦ τε Περαιά καὶ τὸ Γαλιλαῖον ὑπετέλουν, φορὰ τε ἦν διακόσια τάλαντα τὸ ἐπ' ἔτος, Βατανάα δὲ σὺν Τραχωνίτιδι καὶ Ἀβραυτίτι σὺν τινὶ μέρει ὅκου τοῦ Ζηνοδώρου λεγομένου Φιλίππῳ τάλαντα ἑκατὸν προσέφερε, τὰ δὲ Ἀρχελάῳ συντελοῦντα Ἰδουμαία τε καὶ Ἰουδαία τὸ τε Σαμαρειτικὸν, τετάρτου μέρους οὗτοι τῶν φόρων παρετέλυντο . . . προσῆι δὲ Ἀρχελάῳ φορὰ χρημάτων τὸ κατ' ἑνιαυτὸν εἰς τάλαντα ἑξακόσια ἐξ ἧς παρέλαβεν ἀρχῆς. If then to the 900 talents which the sons of Herod received between them, we add the 200 from the payment of which Augustus released the subjects of Archelaos, it results that the districts in question had previously paid 1100 talents annually in taxes. To this must be added the 60 talents which Augustus assigned as a yearly allowance to Herod's sister Salome (*A.J.*, xvii, 11, 5) and perhaps further revenues used for contesting the legacies which Herod left to his relatives. Palestine then paid about 1200 talents a year to the successors and heirs of Herod. If, as Marquardt (p. 408, 2) and Mommsen (*RG*, v, 511, 1) assume, Hebrew talents are to be understood (equivalent, according to Hultsch, *Metr.*³, p. 606, to 7830 marks or £383 5s.) the revenue would amount to £459,895. However this may be, Herod the Great's grandson, Herod (or M. Julius) Agrippa, who in the last years of his reign (37-44 A.D.) ruled as king over the whole kingdom of his grandfather (Marquardt, p. 411), derived from it a revenue of 12,000,000 drachmae, or £461,633. Josephus, *A.J.*, xix 8, 2: προσωδεῖσάτο δὲ οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν προσφοράς, διακοσίας ἐπὶ χιλιάς μυριάδας. It may be assumed with certainty that under the administration of Roman procurators the country had to pay at least as much, which quite agrees with the statement of Josephus,

¹ Cf. Heuzen, 6599 (ex agro Tunetano): pugilum certamina . . . et populo gymnasium.

² Cf. my Königsberg 'programm', *Acad. Albin. R. gym.* 1880, l.

that in the spring of the year 64 the arrears of taxation amounted to 40 (Hebrew) talents. Josephus, *B.J.*, ii, 17, 1: *καὶ οἱ βουλευταὶ μερισθέντες τοῖς φόροις συνέλεγον, ταχέως δὲ τὰ τεσσαράκοντα τάλαντα (τεσσαῦτον γὰρ εἶπεν) ἡθροίσθη.*

On this basis can be reckoned the approximate amount of the money taxes of Egypt under Vespasian, for according to the speech which, as Josephus relates, Agrippa made to the Jews in the year 64, they amounted (apart from the contribution in grain) to more than twelve times the taxes of Palestine. Josephus, *B.J.*, ii, 16 (ed. Bekker, v, p. 186 f.): (*ἡ Αἴγυπτος*) τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ παρ' ὑμῶν φόρου καθ' ἓνα μῆνα πλεον' Ῥωμαίοι παρέχει, καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἐκωθεν τῇ Ῥώμῃ σίτων μηνῶν τεσσαῦρον. I have already shown (Appendix V, p. 22) that the statistical statements in this speech are drawn from an official document, a *Breviarium totius imperii*, compiled on the same plan as that of Augustus. Josephus would hardly have an opportunity of using such a document before his residence in Rome, where he wrote the history of the Jewish war about 75 A.D. Therefore at that time the annual payment in specie on the part of Egypt amounted to more than 24,000 Greek talents, or £5,540,000.

The annual Egyptian contribution of grain, which under Augustus had amounted to 20 million modii or 600,000 quarters, must have been considerably higher under Vespasian (cf. Rodbertus in the present work, App. v, p. 22). Now as the average price of wheat, as I have already shown (*Ind. lect. Regim.*, 1866, v) amounted in the period from Nero to Trajan to 4-5 sesterces the modius, the value of the Egyptian contribution of grain must have been rather above than below 100 million sesterces or £1,065,000. But, as Mommsen remarks (*RG*, v, 560), part of this contribution must have come from the domains, and another part perhaps was delivered in return for payment, so that it is impossible to calculate the total amount of the Egyptian revenues. It may however be safely said that it exceeded the sum of £5,530,000 in modern money. For in the first place part of the corn contribution was undoubtedly payment of taxes in kind, and secondly, as Josephus tells us, the taxation in specie amounted to more than twelve times that which was due from Palestine. Supposing the total taxation amounted to £6,000,000, the contribution per head of the population would be less than 15s., for Egypt certainly had more than 8 million inhabitants under Vespasian.

Diodorus, i, 31, gives the total population of Egypt (undoubtedly including Alexandria) as seven millions, Josephus, *B.J.*, ii, 16, 1, excluding Alexandria, as seven millions and a half. In Diodorus's time Alexandria had 300,000 free inhabitants (xvii, 528). Its prosperity had greatly increased since his time, and the ease with which a livelihood could be made, together with the pleasures which the city offered, must have allured a constant stream of immigrants from the country districts and the other towns. We may therefore conclude that in the time of Josephus its population, inclusive of slaves, was rather above than below a million. That the 'gens fecundissima' (Pliny, *N.H.*, vii, 33; Pliny, *Paneg.*, 31) in nearly a century had only increased from 7 to 8½ millions (while that of Germany, for instance, increased by nearly 54 per cent. between 1815

and 1865) is probably to be explained on the supposition that at the time of Diodorus the density of the population had nearly reached the limit fixed by the quantity of land available for cultivation. Even if we make a very high estimate of the land capable of cultivation in Egypt in Roman times (cf. Klöden, *Handb. der Erdkunde*, iii, 472), e.g. 11,000 to 12,000 English square miles, we find that when Diodorus wrote the density was 580-640 per square mile, and when Josephus wrote 710-770.¹ At the present time it exceeds 500 in Middle and Upper Egypt (Wagner-Guthe, *Lehrb. d. Geographie*, p. 229).² It may be noted that if what Diodorus says about Egypt is to be understood literally (i, 31: πολυανθρωπία . . . καθ' ἡμᾶς . . . οὐδενὸς τῶν ἄλλων δοκεῖ λείπεσθαι), there were other countries as thickly populated. In any case Wietersheim's (and still more Beloch's) estimates of the population of the Roman provinces are in many cases too low.³

A total fiscal burden of about 15s. per head of the population is exceptionally low, judged by modern standards; for at the present day it stands in France at £2 18s. 8d., in England at £2 5s. 5d., in Italy at £2 3s. 10d., and in Germany at £2 2s. 3d. (E. Reclus, *Géog. univers.*, iii, 948, 2).

Although this estimate of the total amount of the Egyptian taxes may arouse doubts as to its correctness on account of the relative lowness of the figures, it agrees very well with a statement of the taxes of Egypt under Ptolemy Philadelphus. He received, according to Jerome, *In Dan.*, xi, 5 s, 1122 (Bened.) from Egypt annually quatuordecim milia et octingenta talenta argenti (£2,790,000) . . . et frumenti artabas (quae mensura tres modios et tertiam modii partem habet) quinquies et decies centena milia (203,000 quarters). Cf. Marquardt, *StV*, ii², 193, 3, and for this and the other data for the Egyptian revenues see F. Rühl, *Der Schatz des Ptolemäus Philadelphus*, in *N. Jahrb. f. Philol.*, 1879, p. 621 ff. It is not at all surprising to find that the country with a considerably increased population was able and obliged to bear, when under the Romans, money taxes twice as high as under Ptolemy Philadelphus, and a tax in corn about thrice as high.

Now Velleius says that the revenues which the Roman treasury derived from Egypt were almost as high as those from the Gaul which Caesar conquered. Velleius, ii, 39: Divus Augustus praeter Hispanias aliasque gentes quarum titulis forum ejus praenitet, paene idem facta Aegypto stipendiaria quantum pater ejus Gallis in aerarium reditus contulit. Equally well known are the statement of Suetonius (*Caesar*, c. 25, where according to Marquardt, *StV*, ii², 242, 4 instead of CCCC, the reading of the Vatican MS., we should read [CCCC]), and the statement of Eutropius (undoubtedly based

¹ Mommsen, *RG*, v, 578, assumes a maximum cultivable area of 700 German sq. m., or 15,335 English, with a density of about 500 to the English sq. m.

² [The density of population in Egypt is now, according to the census of 1907, estimated at 939 per sq. m., exclusive of desert. This gives a non-desert area of about 12,000 sq. m., but of this less than 10,000 are regarded as cultivable under present conditions. Tr.]

³ Hartel's estimate (*Græch. Papyri des Erzhersogs Rainer*, pp. 22 f. and 58 f.) drawn from the Arab conscriptions, that the population of Egypt amounted to 15 millions in the year 640 appears to me impossible.

on Suetonius), vi, 17, that Caesar 'Galliae . . . tributum nomine annuum imperavit sestertium quadringenties'. Therefore according to Velleius Gaul paid more than £6,000,000, and according to Suetonius and Eutropius only about £350,000. O. Hirschfeld (*Antiquar. krit. Bemerk. z. röm. Schriftstellern*, in *Wiener Studien*, 1880, p. 110 f.) regards the passage in Velleius as corrupt, and for 'paene idem' reads 'paene vicies' (or 'p. v. tantum'). I am more disposed to think that Velleius means the taxes paid in his own day by the Gallic provinces, a revenue for which the treasury was indebted to the conqueror of Gaul, although he had not himself raised it. It is not improbable that Velleius derived his information from the *Breviarium totius imperii* of Augustus, as he also seems to have used the latter's *Index rerum gestarum* (Mommsen, *RGDA*², p. 3 s.). It may well be supposed that Caesar imposed very light taxes on the exhausted country; and it may be taken for granted that sixty years later they were very much heavier. As early as the time of Augustus Gaul was one of the most wealthy provinces, and its population must have considerably exceeded that of Egypt. If we estimate the mean density of the population of Gaul in Caesar's time at only 46 per square mile (Mommsen, *RG*, iii², 216, 1000 per sq. German m.), the whole of Roman Gaul had then already more than ten million inhabitants, and in sixty years the population must not only have made good the losses caused by the war, but must have increased very materially.

Finally, it may be noted that the sum which, according to Philostratus, *Viſ. Soph.*, ii, 3, was to be paid as φόρος by the province of Asia under Hadrian, amounted to seven million drachmae (i.e. 28,000,000 sesterces, or less than £300,000), a sum far too low, as the above results show, to be accepted as the total fiscal contribution of this province. For it is hardly conceivable that this populous flourishing country with five hundred cities paid much less than Palestine.

XLVI. RODBERTUS ON THE COMPARISON OF ANCIENT WITH MODERN WEALTH.

(Vol. II, p. 139, l. 19.)

I HAVE often corresponded with Rodbertus (d. 6 Dec. 1875) on economic and statistical questions which arose in the course of my studies, and his letters were sometimes complete dissertations. I insert here the letter of 4 December, 1871, which he wrote on the receipt of the first edition of this volume. I preface it with the remark that I greatly doubt whether it is possible to prove, as he maintains, that the value of money measured by wheat alone was six times as high in Rome as it is to-day, and that I not only entirely dissent from his opinion that the income of Narcissus exceeded an average income of his day in a far higher degree than that of [W. B.] Astor exceeds an average modern income, but that I do not know on what this opinion is based.

'Your comparison of private wealth in Roman times and our own was extraordinarily interesting to me, for such a comparison is one of the most difficult questions known to political economy. It is

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not covered by the question of the real value of precious metal (in so far as that is only measured by a wheat standard), in other words the value of money measured in terms of wheat at different periods is no true standard for the comparison of private wealth at the respective periods. I am confident that I can prove from the sources that the value of money, measured merely by *wheat* was at least six times as high in Rome as it is to-day, but I do not consider the conclusion justified that the real value of money *in general* was six times as high, or that the same sum of money would have represented six times as much *private wealth*. For wheat alone does not make wealth, indeed one must first turn it into bread to be able to use it.

‘But measured by *bread* the difference in the value of money at the two periods is not nearly so great as it is when measured by the raw material, for the manufacture of flour was enormously more laborious in ancient times than it is to-day. Moreover it was just the same with *all manufactured articles*, and these are the material of *wealth*. The labour of manufacture and transportation very much diminished the real value of money *in general* in antiquity, and if the same sum of money purchased six times as much wheat, it did not represent anything like six times as much *wealth*, for this consists in the *manifold* means of enjoyment ready for use, which one person has at his command as compared with other persons at a given time. For example, measured by silken fabrics, the same sum of money, which purchased six times as much wheat as to-day, would be worth many times less than it is now. All this of course tells in favour of your view, that even if the value of money on a wheat standard was six times as high as it is now, a private income measured by the same standard would nevertheless not have exceeded a modern one in the same proportion.

‘And now, how shall we decide the question of comparative private wealth at different periods, even supposing we know the real value of money *in general* at two periods, if the material of wealth, *viz.* the means of enjoyment, is to a great extent of different kinds? Here the money standard is of no use.

‘I have therefore always thought that the question as to the difference in wealth at *different* times must be put in another form, and so I will formulate the question as follows:—

‘Which enjoyed an income surpassing in a higher degree the *average income* of his day, Narcissus or Astor?’

‘Whichever it was, he was the richer man of the two. I may say that I believe, compared thus, Narcissus would beat Astor by many incomes’ lengths.

‘Perhaps one might object to such a method of comparison that the chief of a Kaffir tribe that knows next to nothing of agriculture might conceivably receive an income surpassing the average income of a fellow-tribesman an infinitely greater number of times than Mr. Astor’s income surpasses that of the average American, and yet one would not call the Kaffir chief richer than Astor. The objection would be valid, were it not based on an *impossible* premiss. Great individual wealth *can* only arise when, as an accompaniment, relatively great productivity of labour or dense population, social institutions (slavery or property in land and capital) exist, which bring

about the result that the wages of individual labour do not absorb the whole profits of that labour, but that the surplus accumulates in the hands of other persons, relatively few in number. In times of barbarism, which are always times of scanty productivity and scanty population, it is on these grounds impossible for many and high surpluses to accumulate in the hands of individuals, just as they could not accumulate if the above-mentioned institutions came to an end.

'I believe also that this method of comparison which I have suggested is the only one of historical, ethical and economic interest, and I need not add that by using it we should entirely avoid the insoluble problem of the *universal* real value of money, and in each of the periods compared we could apply the money standard as commonly accepted. You, my dear Sir, know better than I whether the science of Roman antiquities has the data at its command to answer the question I have raised regarding Narcissus and Astor.

'You are too modest in your preface.¹ In Heaven's name do not believe in the wisdom of us modern political economists. No science makes bricks with less straw nowadays than ours. There are but few who have even tried to cast a glance *behind* that wall of metal currency which has been built up on property in land and capital, and only too effectually conceals from us the real nature of economic relations. We have, so to speak, always been looking at the facts through distorting spectacles, and almost contracted cataract in the effort. What is called capitalism—it would be better to say 'capitalistics' on the analogy of chrematistics, which according to Aristotle broke up the older economic order, for in the same way capitalism is breaking up our modern political economy which is based on property in land and capital and on the freedom of labour—what, I say, is called capitalism is entirely based upon these optical illusions, which are due to the wall of metal currency. Only the social question will cough the cataract—unless it kills us first'.

XLVII. THE DISSOLUTION OF PEARLS IN VINEGAR.

(Vol. II, p. 140.)

KING, *Natural History of the Precious Stones and of the Precious Metals*, p. 273, says with regard to the pearl worth ten million sesterces, which Cleopatra swallowed dissolved in vinegar: 'It is unfortunate for this good story that no acid the human stomach can endure is capable of dissolving a Pearl even after a long maceration in it. Barbot has found by actual experiment, that one layer was reduced to a jelly, whilst the next beneath was completely unaffected. No doubt, the wily Egyptian swallowed her Pearl safe and sound, and in some more agreeable potation than vinegar, secure of its ultimate recovery uninjured: and invented the story of its complete and instantaneous dissolution, which be it remembered, rested entirely upon her own testimony, in order to gain her wager.' Also Ernst v. Baer, (*Historische Fragen mit Hilfe der Naturwissenschaft beantwortet*, 1873, p. 3 ff.) declares on the ground of an experiment either

¹ Not included in the translation.

that the story is a myth or that Cleopatra swallowed the pearl whole.

The former of these statements appeared to me so decided and apparently trustworthy that I applied to my former colleague Prof. C. Gräbe for information on the subject, and he declared the statement to be entirely erroneous. I am indebted to him for the following communication.

‘A 5 per cent. solution of acetic acid, equivalent in acidity to a strong vinegar, when used cold, dissolves pearls very slowly; several hours are required to make them disappear. Boiling immediately induces a fairly strong development of carbonic acid, and after 8–15 minutes small pearls are dissolved. A 3 per cent. solution acts in almost the same way, but the effect is noticeably slower with a 1 per cent. solution. The pearls are dissolved more quickly if the liquid is boiled or agitated; by these means the bubbles of carbonic acid, which are evolved and hinder the contact of the liquid with the pearls, are removed. Vinegar produced by fermentation contains from 2½ to 8 per cent. of acetic acid.’

XLVIII. A CATALOGUE OF TABLE DELICACIES FROM A GREEK COMEDY.¹

(Vol. II, p. 147, l. 19.)

THE following passage from Clement of Alexandria contains a slightly altered fragment from the New Comedy, which has escaped the notice of Meineke. Clemens Alex., *Paedagog.*, ii, 1, 3, p. 164 Pott (ed. Klotz): Καὶ μοι μὲν ἔλεος ὕπνῳ τῆς νόσου, οἱ δὲ ἐξυμνεῖν. οὐκ αἰσχύνονται τὰς σφετέρας ἡδοναθείας, τὰς ἐν τῷ πορθεῖ τῷ Σικελικῷ σμύρνανας πολυπραγμονοῦντες καὶ τὰς ἐγγέλεις τὰς Μαίανδρείους (sic Kl.) καὶ τὰς ἐν Μήλῳ ἐρίφους καὶ τοὺς ἐν Σκιάθῳ κεστρεῖς καὶ τὰς Πελωρίδας κόγχας καὶ τὰ βύτρεα τὰ Ἀβυθηνά, οὗ παραλείποντες δὲ τὰς ἐν Λιπάρα μαινίδας οὐδὲ τὴν γογγύλην τὴν Μαντικὴν, ἀλλὰ οὐδὲ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀσκραίοις τεύτλα, κτένας τε ἐκζητοῦσι Μηθύμναιους καὶ ψήττας Ἀττικὰς καὶ τὰς Δαφνίους κίχλας Χελιδονίους τε Ἰσχάδας, δι' ἃς εἰς Ἑλλάδα πεντακοσίαις ἀμα μυριάσιν ὁ κακοδαίμων ἰστεύλατο Πέρσης· ὄρνεις ἐπὶ τούτοις συνωποῦνται τοὺς ἀπὸ Φάσιδος, ἀτταγὰς Αἰγυπτίους, Μῆδων ταῶνα. Lehrs (d. 1878) restored the fragment as follows:—

ἐκ Σικελικοῦ πορθεῖ μὲν ἡδιστὴν ἔχει
σμύρναναν, ἐγγέλεις δὲ τὰς Μαίανδρείους,
Μήλου δ' ἐρίφους, τοὺς ἐν Σκιάθῳ κεστρεῖς,
κόγχας Πελωρίδας, ἐξ Ἀβύδῳ δ' βύτρεα·
οὐ δ' αὖ παραλείψει ἐκ Λιπάρας τὰς μαινίδας,
οὐ Μαντικὴν τὴν γογγύλην, οὐ τεύτλα
Ἀσκραία μὰ Δία· τοὺς δὲ Μηθύμνης κτένας
ζητήτεον, ψήττας τε μάλα τὰς Ἀττικὰς,
Δαφνίους κίχλας Χελιδονίους τ' Ἰσχάδας.

Kock, *Com. Att. fr.*, iii, 426, quotes two lists, Athen., i, 4 c, and Pollux, vi, 63, in support of his view that the above catalogue is not derived from a single passage, but from several united, and that therefore no restoration is possible. But the list in Athenaeus is evidently identical with that in Clement, for it contains not only the

¹ Already published in *Program. Acad. Alb. Regimont.*, 1869, v.

first nine articles enumerated by the latter, exactly in the same order (only omitting the sixth the *δοτρεα* 'Αβυδηνά), but also the correspondence in the expressions of the two authors in the seventh cannot be accidental (τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀσκραίοις τεύτλα Clem., τὰ παρ' Ἀσκραίοις τεύτλα Ath.), seeing that in every other case the place of production is given with *ἐν* or with an adjective. The articles not found in Clement, but mentioned by Athenaeus (τῶν Παχυνικῶν θύνην τὰς ἡτριάδας between the second and third, and τὰς ἐκ Θηβῶν βουνιάδας between the eighth and ninth of Clement), as well as the addition of *πλωτάς* to *ἐγγέλεις* (with the omission of *Μαιανδρίους*) are certainly derived from the original catalogue, for they naturally fit into the iambic metre (e.g. *πλωτάς ἐγγέλεις Μαιανδρίους, Θύνην μὲν ἡτριάδα τῶν Παχυνικῶν, Ἐκ Θηβῶν—βουνιάδας*).

Also the list of the first ten articles in Pollux is derived from the same source, although the divergence in expression and forms (e.g. *κόγχαι Πελωριαί, τεύτλον ἐξ Ἀσκρης, μαινίδες ἐκ Λιπάρας*) make it appear at least possible that Pollux quoted not from the original, but from some secondary source. The order is deranged, but not essentially: articles 2 and 6 of Clement are absent from Pollux, 4 stands before 3, and 9 before 7; the addition to 1 (*καὶ μύραινα Ταρτησία*) and the designation of the *θύνη* as *τύριοι* (perhaps a mistake, at least such tunny are mentioned nowhere else)—these discrepancies are of no great importance.

That Athenaeus and Clement quote from a prose paraphrase of a passage from a comedy, is shown by their verbal correspondence in expressions which do not fit into the iambic metre. Traces of the elegiac metre, which Kock, p. 427, recognizes 'in haud paucis', I can only find in the passage in Clement: *δι' ἃς ἐς Ἑλλάδα πεντακοσίαις ἡμέραις ὁ κατοδαίμων ἐστεύλατο Πέρσης*, which is of quite a different character and is obviously derived from another reminiscence. It is not in Athenaeus, and in Clement it is immediately followed by a passage which easily falls into iambic rhythm (*ὄρνεις ἐπὶ ταύτοις — τοὺς ἀπὸ Φάσιδος, Μήδων ταύρων τ' ἀτταγᾶς τ' Αἰγυπτίους*).

The catalogue of table delicacies given by these three authors differs widely from other well-known lists. It agrees neither with the fragment of Antiphanes (*ἐν Προβατεί*), Meineke, iii, 108 (*ed. min.*, i, 544):—

*Βουπτίας μὲν ἐγγέλεις, μὲν Πορτικοί,
γλαυκοὶ Μεγαρικοί, μαινίδες Καρίστιαί,
φαγροὶ δ' Ἐρετρικοί, Σκύριοι δὲ κάραβοι,*

nor with the fragments of Archestratus of Gela, in which, it is true, oysters of Abydos occur, but also cockles of Mitylene (Athen., iii, 92D, *Ennii Heduphag.*, ed. Vahlen, p. 106, 2, 3). *Σύκα Χελιδόνεια* (*edd. χελιδόνεια*) are known from Epigenes (*ἐν Βακχάα*, Athen., iii, 7, p. 75 c, d). Varro's list (Gell., vi, 16) is quite different: *pavus* e Samo, Phrygia *altagena*, *grues Melicae*, *haedi ex Ambracia*, *muraena Tartesia*, *ostrea Tarentina*, etc.).

XLIX. SPECIFICATION OF SILVER PLATE ACCORDING TO THE WEIGHT.¹

(Vol. II, p. 209, l. 31.)

MARTIAL repeatedly speaks of presents of gold and silver in such a way that one might think he was referring to ingots. So xiii, 48 :

Boleti.

argentum atque aurum facile est laenamque togamque
mittere : boletos mittere difficile est.

This is specially the case in those passages where the weight of gold and silver presents (at the Saturnalia) is stated. vii, 86, 6 : nulla venit a me Argenti tibi libra pustulati. (Sueton., *Nero*, c. 44 : exegitque ingenti fastidio et acerbitate nummum asperum, argentum pustulatum, aurum ad obrussam.) x, 14, 7 : Quando brevis gelidae missa est toga tempore brumae ? Argenti venit quando selibra mihi ? x, 57 : Argenti libram mittebas ; facta selibra est, Sed piperis : tanti non emo, Sexte, piper. xi, 105 : Mittebas libram, quadrantem, Garrice, mittis. Saltem semissem, Garrice solve mihi. xii, 36 : Libras quatuor aut duas amico Argentemque togam brevemque laenam, Interdum aureolos manu crepantes—Quod nemo, nisi tu, Labulle mittis, Non es, crede mihi, bonus. vii, 58 he complains that he has received such a quantity of worthless Saturnalia presents from Umbricius, that eight slaves had to carry them, and he concludes, line 11 :

quanto commodius nullo mihi ferre labore
argenti potuit pondera quinque puer.

The same kind of expression is found where purchases and bequests are spoken of. Martial, ii, 44 : Emi seu puerum togamve pexam Seu tris, ut puto, quattuorve libras, etc. ii, 76 : Argenti libras Marcus tibi quinque reliquit. Cui nihil ipse dabas, hic tibi verba dedit. *Vita Persii* : scriptis . . . ad matrem codicillis Cornuto rogavit ut daret sestertia, ut quidam centum, ut alii volunt* et argenti facti pondo viginti. Silver plate of the weight of twenty pounds might be worth 100,000 sesterces, but only if its artistic merit was unusually great. Martial, iii, 62 :—

Centenis quod emis pueros et saepe ducenis,
quod sub rege Numa condita vina bibis ;
quod constat deciens tibi non spatiosa supellex,
libra quod argenti milia quinque rapit

haec animo magno credis te, Quinti, parare ?

In fact, however, in all the above quoted passages silver and gold plate are meant, just as in xii, 66, 7 : argentum atque aurum non simplex Delphica portat. The designation by the mere statement of the weight is to be explained by the fact that it was regularly engraved on the plate, and could be stated at once as its most obvious property.

Numerous passages show that at the Saturnalia it was not really

¹ Cf. *De donis saturnaliis aureis et argenteis*, *Progr. Acad. Alb. Regimont.*, 1876, iii. W. Gilbert, *Zu Martialis*, in *N. Jahrb.*, 1882, p. 131f., has reached the same conclusions by the same arguments, without having seen my treatise.

unwrought silver or gold, but always plate, that was presented. Poor people gave larger or smaller silver spoons (Martial, viii, 33, 3: *quid tibi cum phiala, ligulam cum mittere possis, Mittere cum possis vel cochleare mihi*; cf. the passage quoted below, viii, 71, 9; v, 8, 2: *graciles lingulae*; xiv, 120: *lingula argentea*); richer or more liberal people gave dishes and goblets (Horace, C., iv, 8, 1: *Donarem pateras*, etc.; Martial, vii, 72, 4: *tibi . . . December . . . lances ferat et scyphos avorum*). It is shown most clearly by Martial, viii, 71 that silver plate is always to be understood when a certain weight of silver is mentioned. Here Martial laments that the Saturnalia presents of a certain Postumianus grow smaller from year to year; ten years before he had received four pounds of silver from him, soon after only about two, in the fifth year a pound of Septician silver. (This, which is also mentioned iv, 88, 3, evidently took its name from a manufacturer or dealer, like the Furnian, Clodian and Gratian vessels [Marquardt, *Priv.*, 696, 1].) Martial continues:—

Bessalem ad scutulam sexto pervenimus anno,
post hunc in cotula rasa selibra data est.
octavus ligulam misit sextante minorem,
nonus acu levius vix cochleare tulit.

Similarly, v, 19, 11:—

Saturnaliciae ligulam misisse selibrae
e lamnisve Tagi scripula tota decem,
luxuria est, tumidique vocant haec munera reges.

I have written the second line according to Munro's emendation; $\frac{1}{2}$ libra = 163.73 grams, 10 scripula = 11.37 grams. As at that time the value of gold was more than twelve times that of silver (Hultsch, *Metrol.*, p. 238), a *selibra* of silver and ten *scripula* of gold were of about the same value. Embossed golden bowls were among the lottery prizes of the rich at the Saturnalia, Martial, xiv, 59; that the gold was sometimes extremely thin is shown by viii, 33. Cf. also *CIL*, viii, 1858 (Theveste):— — *datasque ? a]d Kapitol. arg. lib. clxxx id est lances iiii [et au]ri lib. xiiii id est pihal[as (sic)] iiii scyposos ii.*

L. PRICES OF SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS.

(Vol. II, p. 217, l. 33.)

Roman numerals denote the volumes of the *CIL*, arabic the numbers of the inscriptions; where arabic numerals stand alone, the reference is to vol. viii; L = Lambaesis; W = Wilmanns, *Exempla Inscriptionum*.

200	Sest.	2787	L. dec(urioni) coh. II	Hisp. ¹
400	—	3191	L. militi leg.	
—	—	3006	L. — ex testam. suo fieri mo(num) den. c — — patrono.	
—	—	ix, 4017	Alba Fucens. — — fab. ex tes | HS CCCC.	
500	—	3572	L. filiae annorum XII.	
600	—	x. 4929	Venafrum. — — ex testamento HS DC.	
800	—	3254	L. mil leg. III Aug.	

¹ The lowest sums may be the prices of the tombstones usual in Africa (there called *cupula*, French *caisson*), see J. Schmidt, *Philol.*, xxvi, 1886, pp. 163-167.

- 1000 — 3334 L. D. m. s. L. Aelius L. f. Papi Macer Vix. ann. LX qui testamento monumentum sibi fieri jussit ex HS D n. quod ut fieret adjectis ~~insuper~~ HS D n. Octavia Saesula conjunx pia carissima faciendum curavit.
- — W. 1513 = Henzen, 6832. Roma. mil. nu(meri) stator. pr(aetorianorum). — fecer. heredes—ex ~~den.~~ CCL.
- — 2845 L. optio leg. III Aug.
- — 3001 L. centurio leg. III Aug.
- — 4332 L. vet. ex adjutore princ(ipsis) leg. III Aug.
- — 2823 L. bf. leg. (beneficiarius legati).
- — 2896 L. A leg. III Aug.
- — 2981 L. adjutori.
- — 3109 L. conjugii — NN vet.
- — xi, 1, 2803 Volsinii. — ex testamento HS M.
- 1200 — 2815 L. sig(nifer) leg. III — — ex HS mille CC n.¹
- — 2877 L. centurio leg. III Aug.
- — 3016 L. vet. leg. III Aug.
- — 3654 L. — parenti monumentum ex HS mille ducentis n. ex praescripto ejus.
- ? 4387 Seriana. — monumentum sibi — et conjugii — facien- dum locavit SS DVCC num. (HS M ? CC nummis).
- 1600 ? — 3055 L. (vet.) ? leg. III Aug. ex HS (A) DC.
- 2000 — 2783 L. imag(inifer) leg. III. Aug.
- — 2817 L. centurio leg. III.
- — 4180 L. maritus (conjugii).
- — 2886 L. optioni leg. III Aug.
- — 4055 L. matri — it cot testamento legavit fecit ex HS II n.²
- — 2953 L. filiae virgini — quae vixit annis xii, etc. (pater centurio leg. III.).
- — ix, 5809 Potentia. — — optio in | centuria hoc fieri jussit | honoris pietatisque causa et C. Lucilio Secundo | patri et Lose | — ti matri et — e | aviae | ex HS M M praelegatis.
- — x, 3360 Puteoli. militi ex class. pr. Miseniens.
- 2000—2500 — 3079 L. vet. leg. III — cum sibi in funus et monumentum HS II mil. erogari cavisset — filius et — liberta adjectis de suo HS D n.b.m.f.
- 3000 — Eph. ep., v, 1255 Thibursicum. — Vaga — veterano — ex HS III m.n.
- — ix, 4269 Amiternum (apparently for three persons). test. (fie)ri jussit HS M M M.
- — x, 1327 Nola. uxori ex testamento HS M M M.
- — x, 5753 Sora. — ex testamento HS III.
- — x, 6186 Formiae. HS M M M.
- 3400 — ix, 1077 ager Compinusus. — ex testamento IIICCCC.

¹ In the index to *CIL*, p. 1118, erroneously given as 200,000 sest.

² I.e. ex qua summa ut idem opus post mortem suam perficeretur, item testamento suo caverat. Mommsen.

- 4000 — 3025 L. veteranus — sibi et — conjug.
 5000 — 811 Avita Bibba. A family grave—heredes ex HS V mil. n. faciundum curaverunt eo amplius solo a se comparato.
 — — 2185 vicinia Theveste. — — HS n. V m. ejusdem memoriae posuere sepulcrum incolumes parentes.
 — — ix, 707 Teanum Apulum. V.
 6000 — W. 1897. Nola. — aid. iterum IIvir quinq. Pompeis decurio adlectus ex veterib. Nola. — matri — vitrico decurioni Nola.—
 — — iii, 2, 5780. Abudiacum Raetiae (Epfach). — (decurioni municipi (sine dubio Augustani Mommsen) — fila (sic) et heres patri sicut testamento praeceperat sestertis VI milibus faciendum curavit.
 — — 8840 Ticlat. — decurioni allecto secundum voluntatem testamenti ejus ex HS VI milib.
 — — xii, 324 Narbonensis inter oram et Verdonem. filio — (parentes) commun(i) in(pensa) s(ua) HS VI.
 — ? — xiv, 1307 Ostia (piccolo monum. sepolcr.). HS ½ M. Fuit fortasse V M.
 6400 — vi, 3, 21458. Roma. — patrono ex testamento ejus HS III m.n. et ex suo amplius adjectis HS III CCCC m.n.
 9200 — 3005 L. centurio.
 10000 — and more. vi, 1924. Roma. Diis manibus L. Tulli Diotimi viatoris qui consulibus et praetoribus apparuit posterisque ejus et Brittiae Festae uxori sanctissimae et pientissimae de HS X quam summam Diotimus impendi jussit Brittia Festa adjecta impensa consummavit.
 — — vi, 10,027. Roma. (C. Sufenas C.f. Pup. Niger | . . . ab Jano medio sibi et | Sufenatiae C. l. Urbanae etc. ex testamento HS CCIOO | arbitrato | Arginnae C. l. Veranae.
 — — vi, 2, 12,692 Ib. — ex testame. HS X.
 — — — — 13,087 Ib. — ex HS M n.
 — — x, 3749 Atella. — ex testamento HS X.
 — — xi, 1, 217 Placentia. — factum ex testamento HS X
 11000 — x, 3888 Capua. — HS n. X M.
 12000 — CIL, i, 1199. Sinuessa. — — IIvir patri.
 — — 2764 L. T. Flavio Maximo praef. leg. III Aug. heredes Juli Secundi quondam A leg. s.s. cui idem Maximus testamento suo monumentum sibi ex SS. xii nummum faciendum delegaverat.
 — — CIL, x, 4727 ager Falernus. — X M M.
 18300 — x, 3361. Neapolis. — — sibi et — uxori et libertis libertab. posterisque eorum t.f.c. ex HS CCIOO adjecit eo — conjunx HS IOO M M M CCC.
 20000 — vi, 2, 11,504 Roma. — ex testamento — HS XX.

- — vi, 3, 22107. *Ib.* — ex testamento X X.
- — ix, 2365 Allifae. — (ex) testamento suo X X.
- — 4731 Reate. — ex testamento ejus — de HS XX.
- — x, 2402 Puteoli (tit. mausolei rotundi). HS X X.
- — x, 4795 Teanum Sidicinum. X X.
- — xi, 1, 4009 Capena. — patrono — ex sestertiorum xx quae eis reliquit ut curent fecerunt.
- 24000 — 9109 Auzia. — mausoleum operae (*sic*) quadratorio secundum verba testamenti ejus super HS XVI quae dependi mandaverat additis de suo HS VIII n. (233 A.D.).
- 25000 — vi, 2, 14,215 Roma. — HS X X V (nisi pro X scribendum est C).
- 26000 — 2851 L. — centurioni leg. III Aug.
- — 4524 Zarai (*Zraia*), family grave of a veteran. — — expensa ex xx n.
- 20-30000 — ? Thibursicum Bure. Aedem quam NN uxoris suae SS xx mil. n. ex t. (f. debuit) multiplicata pecunia excoluit et omni re per(fecit).
- 50000 — 2841 L. — princ. leg. III Aug. — heredes ejus patrono b.m.f. nam mesolaeum Romae in praedis suis ex HS L m.n. factum est.
- — W. 1298. Coazzo prope Romam in via Nomentana. trib. mil. leg. III Cyrenaicae scrib. q. vi primo harispic. maximo testamento fieri jussit sibi et fratri suo HS L m.n. arbitratu heredum.
- — xiv, 480 Ostia v. 5: — heres
 Quinquaginta meis milibus, ut volui,
 Hanc aedem posuit struxidque novissima templa, etc.
- 63000 — 2224 Mascula (Numidia). — — A leg. III Aug. — — se vivo cum liberis ex HS LXIII n.
- 80000 — 21 Leptis. — — (monumentum) quod opere Signino pater — — fecerat sibi posterisque suis — — (res)tituit et a fundamento erexit HS Lxxx milib. n.
- 100000 — vi, 2, 176 Roma. (sacerdoti) pontifici ? Laurentium Lavinatium — ex testamento suo monum(enti sump- tum) de HS C mil. n. erogari praecepi(t).
- — vi, 2, 14,706 Roma. — at the end : ex m. SS c (Momm- sen : ex m[andatu] s[estertiis] C.).
- — x, p. 979 Casinum. NN. quae testamento dedit coloniae Minturnensi HS C et municipio Casini C ita ut VII Idus Mart. natali suo quotannis crustulum et mulsum detur, ex testamento fieri jussit HS C. (The name of the person who erected it is absent.)
- — xiv, 367 Ostia. — se viro Augustati negotiatori ex Hispania citeriore et — uxori ex testamento ita uti caverat factum HS C.
- 192000 — Plutarch, *Cato min.*, c. 11: ἐμπαθέστερον ἔδοξεν ἢ φιλοσοφώτερον ἐνεργεῖν τὴν συμφορὰν—μνήματος ξεστοῦ

- λίθων θασιῶν ἀπὸ τάλάντων ὀκτώ κατασκευασθέντος ἐν τῇ Αἰνίων ἀγορᾷ.
- 200000 — *BdI*, 1885, p. 72, Roma. — mil. cohort. vi pret., etc. — milit. l. i adjutrice — NN, etc. (four names) et omnes comanipuli sui de re ipsius b.m.f. ex *den.* L milibus.
- Uncertain. 2451 Saltus Aurasius (Numidia). — mausoleum ex HS . . xii n.
- 10,781 Macomades. — sumptus erogatus — x — x (10,000 denarii? Index, p. 1,118).
- 10,970 Fezzan. — sumptos — in numo *den.* follis m. — — praeter cibaria sol(ita) — —.

There are also some statements as to cost on some Syrian sepulchral monuments, probably all of the fourth century A.D.

Lebas et Waddington, *Voy. archéol. en Asie mineure*. Syrie, Section III Royaume Nabatéen. VIII Salkhad 1999. Monument of two *centuriones ordinarii* 345 A.D.— ἀνηλώθησαν (δηναρίων) ἑγ μ(υριάδες). Ce tombeau devait être un édifice considérable, probablement une de ces tours carrées, comme il en existe encore beaucoup dans les ruines du Haourân.

Ib. 2000—τὸν τάφον ἀντήγειραν [ἀνήλωσαν ἑπτ]ὰ μυριάδας χιλίας.

Ib. 2036. Mothana. Monument of a woman of Rotomagus, which her husband erected ἀναλώσας δηνάρια μύ[ρια] πεντακισχίλια. 342 A.D.

Ib. 2037 — actuaries vexillationis Μοθανῶν. [Ἀνήλωσα δραχμαῖς μ(υριάς) χιλίας Σύρου. 350 A.D.

Ib. 2053. Meschquouq. Εὐτυχῶς ἐκοδομήθη ὁ πύργος.

Veteranus ex ordinario qui stipendia meruit in Mesopotamia.

Σονάνιος οἰκοδόμος. Ἦτους σμέ (Bostra era 245 = 350 A.D.)

Ἀνελόθ[η] *den.* μύρια.

To all appearance the sums here, with the exception of 2037, are given in *denarii* of Diocletian. According to the latest investigation of Hultsch (*Der Denar Diocletians*, in *N. Jahrb. f. Philol.*, 1880, p. 27 ff., and *Metrol.*², p. 333) 36,000 of them go to the pound of gold, i.e. they are equivalent to 2981 d. or 3.133 centimes. The reduction of the sums to English money therefore gives:—

No. 1999.	130,000 <i>den.</i> of Diocl.	= c. £161 10s.
" 2000.	71,000 " "	= c. £88 4s.
" 2036.	15,000 " "	= c. £18 13s.
" 2053.	10,000 " "	= c. £12 8s.

The value of the Syrian *drachmae* (2037) has not yet been determined. Hultsch, *Metrol.*², 338, 1: 'At the lowest these *drachmae* were equal to those of Diocletian, possibly they were somewhat higher'.

The price of a piece of ground bought for the erection of a monument is mentioned in *CIL*, vi, 3, 23,851—(emerunt) locum HS C; further Wilmanns, 2573 = Marini, *Atti*, ii, p. 712 (Roma): LVCRINAE IVCVNDAE | P. LUCRINVS P. L. THALAMVS | A. CORINTHIS FABER | LOC. ENP. EST *den.* C M. ARGENT | SIBI. ET. SV. POS.

I am indebted to Prof. Hultsch for the following communication :
 'The rendering of $\overline{\text{M}}$ by *minutulus* is I think open to serious objection ; I explain it as a numeral, reserving the inquiry whether this letter occurs elsewhere combined with the ideogram for $\overline{\text{C}}$. The price of the piece of land would then amount to :—

'£4,500 if the *argenteus* is reckoned at its nominal value of $\frac{1}{16}$ of the *aureus* of Caracalla (*Metrolog.*² 323 ff.) or at

'£2,545 at the metallic value of the *argenteus* under this emperor, or at

'£1,762 at its metallic value under Elagabalus.

'The later the period assigned to the inscription, the lower will the value have to be reckoned ; but I do not think one would in any case have to put it as low as £500, still less £170 as might be reckoned from the passage cited from my *Metrologie*, but I suppose one might stop at the X of the Diocletianic system (i.e. $\frac{1}{100}$ of the *aureus* : *Der Denar Diocletians*, p. 28). At that rate the *argenteus* = 1.79 d. and the price of the ground at about £750.'

According to the two inscriptions from Narbo, *CIL*, xii, 4354—*inlatis arcae seviror. ob locum at tuitionem statuæ HS n. IIII l.d.d. IIIII viror. and 4397*—*inlatis arcae IIIII viror. ob tuitionem statuæ HS n. M l.d.d.d. IIIII viror.*, there seem to have been paid 3000 sest. for the ground in the first case.

LI. LATRINES IN ROME.

(Vol. II, p. 224 ff.)

PERHAPS the ancient Italian towns excelled the modern in nothing more than in their sanitary arrangements.¹ Latrines (*amphorae in angiportis*) are mentioned in Rome as early as the speech of Titius for the *Lex Fannia* 593 = 161 B.C. ; *Macrob. Sat.* iii, 16, 15 ; cf. *Lucret.*, iv, 1026 ; *Martial*, xii, 48 ; 77, 9 (*sellae Patroclianae*) ; *Schol. Juv.*, 3, 38 ; *Cujac.*, *Obs.*, xxiii, 34 ; *StRE*, s.v. *Dolium*, *Latrina*, *Lavatio* ; *Jordan*, *Topographie*, i, 445 f. Beside the latrines erected by private enterprise, there were, it seems, public ones as early as *Tiberius*, *Sueton.*, *Tiber.*, c. 58 ; cf. *Preller*, *Reg.*, 234 ; certainly under *Nero*, *Sueton.*, *Vit. Lucani*, ed. Roth, 299, 27. One such appears to have been discovered near the *castra Praetoria*. *Bulletino municip.*, 1878, p. 243, pl. ii, 3. We do not know which kind of convenience was provided by the *conclavia*, which, according to *Martial*, v, 44, 6 ; xi, 77, were evidently much frequented. *Rodbertus* points out (in *Hildebrand's Jahrb. f. Nationalökonomie*, v, 1865, pp. 309–314, n. 81) that *Vespasian* taxed the private latrine industry (sale of excreta to gardeners, etc.).² Similar arrangements may be assumed at least in the cities of Italy, as they existed at *Pompeii* ; cf. *Overbeck-Mau*, *Pompeji*³, p. 72 (public closet in the

¹ According to *Baudrillart*, iii, 228, in the seventeenth century, in the majority of European cities, not even the houses had privies. Francis I ordered that new houses in Paris should be provided with them. Charles III was the first to purify Madrid. 'L'insalubrité était si épouvantable, que l'on la sentait six lieues à la ronde. Il n'y a sorte de difficultés et d'oppositions qu'il n'éprouvât dans son projet. Il fallut faire venir des Napolitains pour établir de force des latrines'.

² Auction of the contents of the latrines at Bassora under the Khalif : *Kramer, Culturgesch. d. Orients*, ii, 332.

forum civile), 133 (in the building of Eumachia), 201, 233-235 (in the older, newer and central baths), in the great theatre 162. Cf. Michaelis, *Arch. Anz.*, 1860, 115 f.; Jordan, *Topogr.*, ii, 169. The Aurelian wall, restored by Honorius in 403, had, according to the description of the monk of Einsiedeln, 116 privies in it (*necessariae cxvii*), *ibid.*, 158, 580.

That in addition to the sewers, carts were used for removing excreta from the latrines is not (as Pöhlmann, *loc. cit.*, p. 131 remarks) to be inferred from the passage in the *lex Julia municipalis* in which an exception is made from the prohibition to drive vehicles by day, in favour of 'plostra stercoris exportandae causa', for undoubtedly these carts that were driven through the city by day were not used for cleaning out the latrines, but for removing filth from the streets. The former object was effected by means of the *cloacae*, and 'the juridical sources prove the great extent of the private drains, by means of which the latrines of the houses were emptied into the public sewers'. The latter were continuously and abundantly flushed, so that in the imperial age Rome possessed a most efficient system of sewerage. Frontinus comments on the extraordinary improvement in the cleanliness of the city and purity of the air which Rome owed to the application of the surplus water from the aqueducts to the flushing of the drains. Besides Rome, we know of several cities in which a sewerage system was carried out, and there can be no doubt that it was not uncommon (Pöhlmann, pp. 123-126). This conclusion is further supported by the following passages. Columella, *De cult. hortor.*, 81 sq.: *Pabula nec pigeat fesso praebere novali Immundis quaecunque vomit latrina cloacis*. Galen, ed. K., xvi, 360: *δεῖ μέντοι φυλάττεσθαι τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς κήποις ἀέρα διὰ τοὺς ὀχετούς, ὥς τὰ πολλὰ τοὺς ἀποπάτους ἐκκαθαίροντας εἰς τοὺς κήπους, καὶ τὴν μεγάλην δυσωδίαν*.

LII. CIVITATES MUNDI.

(Vol. II, p. 232, l. 10.)

THE following notice following a list of the provinces of the empire in a Paris MS. of the ninth century, has not yet been satisfactorily explained: S[unt in] hoc mundo civitates VDCXXVII (Mommsen, *Die Städtezahl des römischen Reichs*, in *Hermes*, xxi, 1886, p. 491). K. J. Neumann's attempt (*Civitates mundi*, in *Hermes*, xxii, p. 160) to connect this sum with the figures of the Anonymus Ravennas is mistaken, as Kubitschek (*Civitates mundi*, *ibid.*, p. 465 ff.) remarks, who seeks the source of the statement in Ptolemy's Geography. Here he counts 'rather less than 5675' names of cities and tribes. It may be added that the number 5627 will not be found too great even for the cities of the Roman empire, if one considers the facts that in the political handbook (Append. v. p. 22) used by Josephus, 500 cities were assigned to Asia and 1200 to Gaul; also that a similar work, or indeed the same, may be the source of the statement in Aelian that there were 1197 cities in Italy (*Var. Hist.*, ix, 16: *καὶ οἱ πόλεις ὅκισαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν πάσαι ἐπὶ καὶ ἐνεήκορα καὶ ἑκατὸν πρὸς ταῖς χιλιάς*); and further that Ptolemy speaks of 248 cities in *Tarraconensis* and 324 in the African provinces (vol. ii, pp. 232 and 237).

LIII. MARBLE AND BRONZE AS MATERIALS FOR STATUES.

(Vol. II, p. 319 f.)

ACCORDING to the investigation by Max Fraenkel, *De verbis potioribus, quibus opera statuaria Graeci notabant* (Berlin 1873), *ἀγάλμα* generally signifies a marble statue and *ἀνδριάς* one of bronze, hence a mention of the material is only quite exceptionally added, as *ἀγάλματι μαρμαρίνῳ* CIG, ii, 3085 (Teos); on the other hand *ἀνδριάντα μαρμάρειον* CIG, ii, 2384 in an inscription from Paros, where also *ἀνδριάντες* were exceptionally of marble (p. 34 sq.). *Εἰκὼν* is used both of statues and paintings, in the former case as an equivalent of *ἀνδριάς*, Fraenkel, p. 37; of busts or herms, e.g. Lebas-Waddington, ii, 194 c. l. 3 (*εἰκὼν* est un buste en forme de Hermès); *εἰκὼν ἐνοπλος* a bronze medallion in relief; of paintings, *εἰκὼν γραπτὴ τέλεια* a full-length portrait, *εἰκὼν γραπτὴ ἐν ὀπλῳ* or *ἐνοπλος*, a half-length portrait. Where *εἰκὼν* is used of sculptures the material is generally mentioned, and, except in Paros, it is almost always bronze (Fraenkel, p. 34).

That in Greece bronze was practically always the material for honorary statues is shown for the earlier period by the expression *χαλκοῦν τινα στήσαι* or *ἀναθεῖναι*, and by the passages cited by Fraenkel, p. 32, from Aristotle and *Anthol. Pal.*, ii, 727: *ἐπερέ μιν χρυσῶ ἐν ἀγάλματι μήδ' ἐνὶ χαλκῷ* Τούτων τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰκλον ἐστάμεναι, and for the later period especially the Rhodian oration of Dio of Prusa, *Or.*, 31, p. 313 M., 340, 343 (of Athens, Byzantium, Lacedaemon, Mytilene): *ἀλλ' ὅμως ὅταν δέξῃ τινα στήσαι χαλκοῦν ἱστᾶσι κ.τ.λ.*, 344 s., 346 (Athens). That in Rome also in the earlier period public statues were generally of bronze is shown by a passage of Lucilius (*frag.* ed. L. Mueller, xv, 2): *ut pueri infantes credunt signa omnia athena Vivere et esse homines*. Augustus ordered that the erection of a bronze statue should accompany the honour of a triumph, Mommsen, *StR.*, i², 436 f.¹ Horace, *Sat.*, ii, 3, 183: *Laetus ut in circo spatieri et aeneus ut stes*. At a later date bronze remained the usual material for honorary statues. Apuleius, *Florida*, iii, 165: *Quid igitur superest ad statuæ meae honorem, nisi aeris pretium, artificis ministerium? quae mihi ne in mediocribus unquam civitatibus defuere, ne ut Carthagine desint, etc.* Ammianus Marc., xiv, 6, 8: *Ex his quidam aeternitati se commendari posse per statuas existimantes eas ardentem adfectant quasi plus praemii ex figmentis aeriis sensu carentibus adepturi quam ex conscientia honeste recte factorum: eas auro curant imbractari, etc.* The *Breviarium* of Zacharias mentions in Rome only the 3785 aenea simulacra regum et ducum. Jordan, *Topographie*, ii, 576.

From the beginning of the empire, especially from the time when the Carrara quarries began to be used for sculpture, marble was used for statues of all kinds. The various kinds of marble, as of bronze, differed of course in price (see vol. ii, p. 297). When both bronze and marble statues of the same person were erected (see vol. ii, p. 297), probably, when executed in the usual style, both cost about

¹ Cf. *Vit. Alexandri Severi*, c. 28: *exemplo Augusti qui summorum virorum statuas in foro suo [e marmore] collocavit additis gestis*. The words in brackets must be a gloss.

the same price and were equally esteemed. This was the case in Rome, where Claudius *e.g.* among the honours decreed him only accepted a bust of silver and two statues in bronze and marble (Dio, lx, 5); and we find the same thing in the provinces (cf. the Langres will, vol. ii, p. 297, and the inscription of Teos, *CIG*, 3085: *εἰκὼν χαλκῇ καὶ ἀγάλματι μαρμαρίνῳ καὶ εἰκὼν χρυσῇ*). At the present day statues of bronze and marble can be made at about the same prices. As I am informed by my friend Prof. R. Siemering, the prices at Berlin for a statue 6 ft. high were in 1870 as follows: bronze £42, Tirolese marble £35, Carrara marble, second quality, £35, first quality £66-73 (if very clear, as much as £82). The carriage of the Tirolese marble to Berlin costs about £12.

The frequency of marble honorary statues, especially in the *municipia*, and sepulchral statues of the same material is shown by the extremely abundant remains of them. The material, as has been said above, is comparatively seldom mentioned in inscriptions. Statuas . . . aenearum, *CIL*, xii, 2231 (Gratianopolis); st. aereae duae, *CIL*, ii, 1459 sq. (Ostippo, Baetica); st. aerea cum basi marmorea, 105 A.D., *CIL*, vii, 875 (Aquileia); st. marmorea, *BdI*, 1886, p. 250 (Castel di Sangro); *CIL*, ii, 4020 (Tarraconensis); st. marmorea equestris, *CIL*, ii, 1972 (Malaca); st. marmorea, *CIL*, v, 1, 2174 (Altinum).

As a rule only statues of emperors (besides those of deities) were made of silver and gold (Preller, *Röm. Mythol.*, i³, 239, 2; Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 23; Dio, lxxviii, 12; Victor, *Caess.*, 40, 28); but there are exceptions, *e.g.* Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 7, 1 (vol. ii, p. 296, l. 27), and *CIL*, iii, 2, 6308 (Moesia superior, Semendria):—ab ordjine in se conlatam statuam arg. ex p. lib. xl; *CIL*, xi, 1, 364 (Arimini):—sign. arg. vi et imagine(m) ex auri p. ii, etc.; *ib.*, xii, 5864: posito simulacro Viennae argenteo HS n. CCCIOOO CCCIOOO (200,000 sest.); *Eph. ep.*, vii, n. 426 (Hippo Regius): statuam argenteam ex HS LCCCCXXXV tribus libel(lis), sing(ula), terr(uncio) et aeris quad(rante) (51,335 $\frac{1}{4}$ sest.); *Eph. ep.*, v, 756 (Lambaesi): (st)a-tuncula argen[tea adjecta] Mercuri ex HS XIII m. *Εἰκόνας χρυσῇ* (Fraenkel, p. 34) are with the exception of statues of emperors and deities) probably as a rule *ἐν χρυσοῖς*.

LIV. PRICES OF STATUES.

(Vol. II, p. 319 f.)

THE earliest of the Greek notices of the prices of statues known to me is the fragment of an Attic inscription, *CIA*, 318, 319, mentioned by U. Köhler in *AdI*, 1865, p. 325, if his view is correct that it refers to the same object as the fragment on p. 315 s. with the date Ol. 89, 4 = 421 B.C. The former inscription specifies the costs for material, work and erection of two statues (*ἀγάλματα*, but probably of bronze), together with all that belonged to them, as scaffolding and pedestals. The total amount is 5 talents 3310 *drachmae* = £1281 5s. A talent (= 26·20 kil.) of copper cost in this case 35 *drachmae* = £1 6s. 11d; a talent of tin 230 dr. = £8 17s.¹ For

¹ In 1870 an equal weight of Paschkoff copper cost £3 5s. to £3 14s., of Swedish copper £2 1s. 6d., of Banca tin £3 1s. 6d. to £4.

a decoration, apparently consisting of leaves (*ἀνθεμῶν*) beneath or upon the shield (*ὁ[πλὸς]*? *τῇν ἀσπίδα*) of one of the two figures 1½ talent 23½ minae = 49·4 kil. of tin were employed. A comparison with the ancient prices immediately to be quoted, shows at least that these statues were colossal, and perhaps that the material and artistic execution were especially costly.

In the account of the cost of the frieze of the Erechtheum in Ol. 93 (Böckh, *Staatshaushalt*, i², 150, cf. Löwy, *Inscr. griech. Bildhauer*, p. 356 f.) the sum for a single figure without accessories is 60 dr. = £2 6s. 2d., for a man on horseback 120 dr., for a chariot with two horses and a youth 24 dr., for a woman with a child 80 dr. The figures are 2 ft. high, very finely worked in front, but left flat behind. The low price makes it certain that only the work and not the material is included.

Diogenes is reported to have said (Diog. La., vi, 2, 35; Schol. Pind., *Nem.*, 6) that the most precious things are sold for the lowest prices and *vice versa*; a statue for 3000 *drachmae* (£115) and a peck of meal for two small copper coins. Of course an honorary statue is meant. An express confirmation is afforded by the inscription *CIA*, ii, 251 (307–301 B.C.): *στήσαι τὸν δῆμον εἰκόνα χαλκῇν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ Ἀσκληπιδίου ἀπὸ τρισχιλίων δραχμῶν*. Cf. the Cnidian inscription (of about the Christian era) in Newton, *Discoveries*, p. 763, n. 49: *ἐλεσθαι δὲ καὶ ἀνδρα ὅστις ἀποδεξάμενος παρὰ τοῦ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἀφιστήρης* (president of the *βουλή*) *>γφ* (3500 dr.). *τὰν ἐπιμέλειαν τὰς εἰκόνας τὰς ἀναστάσεις ἐν τάχει ποιήσειται*. So when the citizens of Oreus in Euboea promised to erect a bronze image (*χαλκῇν εἰκόνα*, undoubtedly a statue) of Demosthenes, if he would release them from their debt of a talent (6000 dr.; Aeschin., *In Ctesiphont.*, p. 495 sq.; Köhler, *Ges. Schr.*, vi, 346), they would have saved half the sum they owed.

When Dio of Prusa in his Rhodian oration, in which only honorary statues of bronze are dealt with (cf. 286 above), says that they can be erected for 1000 or even for 500 *drachmae* (Dio, *Or.*, xxxi, p. 597 R.), the statement is fully confirmed by the records on the bases of statues. For probably Dio did not reckon by Attic *drachmae* (in which the two prices would correspond to £38 10s. and £19 5s.), but by denarial *drachmae* (Hultsch, *Metrol.*², 250–253), and meant prices of 4000 and 2000 sesterces (£42 12s. and £21 6s.), the latter of which occurs sometimes. The great difference between these prices and that mentioned by Diogenes is no doubt to be explained not by a rise in the value of money, but chiefly by the mechanical execution of the ordinary decorative and honorary statues turned out under the empire. Also some estimates in an account of the expenditure on certain spectacles at Aphrodisias (*CIG*, ii, 2758) agree with the other notices of the imperial age. Here we find twice *ἀνδριάντος*—*δην.* α., and once *ἀγαλματοποιαίς*—*δην.* [α.] φ. (1000 den. = 4000 sest., 1500 = 6000). Similarly in the inscription from Philadelphia in Lydia, Lebas-Waddington, 648 = *CIG*, 3422 (see vol. ii, p. 229):—*φυλαῖς ἐκτὰ ταῖς ἐστακυλαῖς τοῖς ἀνδριάντας πρὸς δηνάρια χεῖλια*. In general agreement with these facts are the statements that equestrian statues could be delivered for 6000 sest. (*Ephem. epigr.*, vii, n. 247 [Africa procons., 196 A.D.] *statuas*

equestres [dua]s ex HS ~~XII~~ n.—posuit), and portrait herms for 400. At the Leonidea at Sparta, the victors received by a foundation of C. Julius Agesilaus, about the time of Nero, 100 *drachmae* each for such herms (*op. cit.*, ii, 194 c. l. 3 : καὶ εἰκόνα λαμβάνοντες > ρ.).

Prices under 2000 sest. must refer to statuettes, even when it is not expressly stated.

100 sest. *CIL*, iii, 633 (catalogue of temple gifts at Philippi) : — — tabula picta Olympum *den.* xv, sigillum marmurium Liberi *den.* xxv.

Homolle, *Bull. de corr. Hellén.*, v, 1881, p. 468 (Delos) : — — *πρὸς Σαρπηδόνα ἀγάλμα τῷ Διονύσῳ ΔΔΓ'* (middle of the third cent. B.C., Löwy, *Inscr. griech. Bildh.*, no. 530).

CIL, vii, 180 (on the basis of a very elegant, small figure of Mars, found near Lincoln, from the lettering probably of the second cent.) : Deo Mar(ti) et nu(mini)b(us) ? Aug(usti) Col(l)asuni Bruccius et Caratius de suo donarunt ad sester(tios) n(umos) c(entum). Celatus aerarius fecit et aeramenti libr(am) donavit factam *den.* iii.

248 sest. *CIL*, ii, 1163 (Hispalis, basis marmorea parva) : Genium Baetis, sig(num aere)um L. Julius de salario suo annuo ex denariis lxii cum base d.d.d.

400 sest. *BdI*, 1882, p. 38 (Rome) : — — A de suo dedit manipularibus suis in genium centuriae suae ponendum HS CCCC n., ad quam summam adjecit A ejus HS CCC n. eisdem qui mensam aeream et protectum fecerunt (118 A.D.).

1100 (1200 ?) sest. *CIL*, ii, 2006 (Nescania, Baetica) : Genio municipi Nescaniensis L. Postumius Stico Nescaniensis signum cairae (ex aere) pecunia sua ex HS M n. fieri et Nescaniae in foro poni iussit ; quot donum ut consummari posset, M. Cornelius Niger Nesc(aniensis) h(eres) ejus adjectis de suo ad impensas operis HS C. n. (CC n ?) dedicavit.

1300 sest. *Ephem. ep.*, vii, n. 242 (Africa procons.) : Minervae Aug. sacr. — statuam ex HS DCCCC n. adjectis a se HS CCCC n.d.d. faciend. cur.

1500 sest. ? *CIL*, xii, 3058 (Nemausus) : ? signa . . . Isis] ex [HS . . .]—Serapis Vestae Dianae Somni (Dianaes omnia mavult Mommsen) [ex]—HS n. vi (numero sex milibus).

In the following records of prices from 2000 sest. upwards I put those in square brackets in which the monument is not expressly called a statue. It remains doubtful whether the price of the pedestal is as a rule included in the figures. Express mention of it (as above, 248 sest., and *CIL*, viii, 8310 : statuam cum basi ; *Eph. ep.*, vii, 757 : statuas cum basibus, etc.) is not frequent. But considering that a very large pedestal only cost 400 sest. (*Eph. ep.*, vii, 792, p. 290), and consequently an ordinary one about 300,¹ the difference arising from the addition and subtraction of this sum is not very considerable. (An *ara* for 1000 sest., *Eph. ep.*, v, p. 452, 931).

2000–3000 sest. (£21 6s. to £31 19s.).

CIL, viii, 1401 (Thignica) : statuam quam pater eorum ex HS ii

¹ As the erection of a statue for 3200 sest. is twice enjoined in wills (*CIL*, ii, 2150, viii, 924) it may plausibly be supposed that 200 sest. were for the pedestal.

suo et liberorum suorum nomine promiserat, ampliata pecunia posuit.

Eph. ep., v, p. 281, n. 289 (Zama regia) : Plutoni—ob (hono)rem flam. ampliata HS $\overline{\text{III}}$ mil. taxatione summa (the sum estimated for him) honoraria statuas duas posuit.

[*Ib.*, n. 1218 (prov. procons.) : (ob honorem) flamonis (ex summa) honoraria SS II m. n. (promis)erat multiplicata pec(unia) d. d.]

[*Ib.*, n. 823 (Zattara) :—imp. Caesari M. Aurelio Antonino Aug. (Caracalla) res publica ex decreto et collatione [decur.] ex SS $\overline{\text{II}} \overline{\text{CCCC}}$ n. fecerunt.]

[*Ib.*, vii, n. 207 (prov. procons.) :—ex HS II m. $\overline{\text{DCXXXII}}$ n. promississet, adjecta am(plus a) se pecunio fecit.]

CIL, ii, 1359 (Arunda, Baetica) : L. Junio L. f. Quir. Juniano II vir. ii, qui testamento suo caverat, sepulcrum sibi fieri ad *den.* M CC. Et voluntati patroni cum obtemperaturus esset L. Julius Auctinus lib. et heres ejus, petitus ab ordine Arund., ut potius statuas tam Juniani quam (filii) ejus Galli in foro poneret, quam(qua)m sumptu majore adgravari (se sensit, h)onestum et necessarium (duxit, vo)luntati ordinis obsecun(dando pare)re. Each of the two statues therefore cost more than 2400 sest.

3000—4000 sest. (£31 19s. to £42 12s.).

CIL, viii, 4601 = R., *Inscr. de l'Alg.* (Diana) : — — dutumvir sign. quod ii mil. n. promiser., adjectis HS $\overline{\text{II}}$ n. sua pec. fecit. etc.

[*Ib.*, 2527 = R. 62 (Lambaesis) : genio leg. III Aug. p. v. pro salute imp(eratoris) (Severi et Caracallae) NN signifer ex HS mil. n. de suo posuit.]

[*CIL*, ii, 1934 (Lacippo ? [Alechi] Baetica) : Fortunae Aug. sacrum. C. Marcius December ob honorem seviratus sui ex *den.* $\overline{\text{DCCL}}$, remissis sibi ab ordine *den.* D, de sua pecunia d. d. The sum remitted was the legal entrance-fee; 750 *den.* = 3000 sest.]

CIL, viii, 8318 = R. 2529 (Cuicul) : Imp. Caes. M. Aurelio Antonino Aug. (169 A.D.) — — NN. equo (p. ab i)mp. exornatus, etc. — statuam quam ex $\overline{\text{III}}$ n. ex liberalitate sua promisit, ampliata pecunia in basilica Julia quam a solo pecunia sua exstruxit, posuit idemque dedicavit.

Ib., 8319 = R. 2530 (*ibid.*) : Divo Vero fratri Caes. M. Aurelii Anto(nini), etc., as above.

Eph. ep. vii, n. 237 (Vallis, prov. proc.) : Serapi Aug. sacrum pro salute M. Aurelii Commodi — statuam quam — ex HS $\overline{\text{III}}$ mil. n. promisit, (ampliata) pecunia fecit.

CIL, viii, 924 (civit. Zuccharitana) : NN — qui septimo quoque anno statuam sibi poni ex HS $\overline{\text{III}}$ CCn. — jussit. See vol. ii, p. 297.

Eph. ep., vii, n. 792 (Sigus, in basi calcarea praegrandi) : Balidirs Aug. sancti patrii dei statuam quam NN ob honorem fl. perpetui ex SS $\overline{\text{II}} \overline{\text{CCC}}$ n. summae honorariae ejus honoris pollicitus est, adjectis at ea quantitate (*sic*) ex sua liberalitate M. n. et at basem $\overline{\text{CCCC}}$ n., ex $\overline{\text{III}}$ DC n. posuit idemque dedicavit.

Eph. ep., v, n. 683 (Thamugadi) : Victoriae Aug. sacrum NN aedil. p. i. d. inlata r. p. legitima aedilitatis statuam quam ex HS $\overline{\text{III}}$ n. pollicitus fuerat, ex HS $\overline{\text{III}}$ $\overline{\text{DCCCC}}$ posuit id. dedic. d. d.

4000-5000 sest. (£42 12s. to £53 5s.).

[CIL, ix, 2553 = IRN, 5166 (Fagifulae): T. Aelio Hadriano Antonino Aug. Pio — NN. ob honor. quinquen. de HS IIII m. n. ex d. d. cujus dedicat. epulum dedit etc. (140 A.D.).]

[CIL, viii, 4582 = R., 1719 (Diana): Victoriae Augustorum sac. — ex testamento NN. fl. p. p. ex HS IIII m. n.]

Ib., 1548 = Guérin, *Voyage dans la régence de Tunis*, ii, p. 145, n. 371 (Agbia) l. 7: Pro salute imp. Antonini Aug. Pii — patronus — statuam genii curiae ex HS IIII m. n. in curia posuit etc.

CIL, ii, 1936 (Lacippo? Baetica): C. Marcio Cephaloni res p. ex X M, quos caverat ob honorem flamoni, perceptis ab heredib. ponendam decrevit etc.

Ibid., 1425, cf. *Add.*, p. 701 (Sabora, Baetica): Victoriā Aug. NN. testamento fieri ponique jussit ex HS IIII. Huic dono NN her(es) XX (i.e. vigesimam) non deduxit et? alia? HS VI de? suo? dedit?

[Ib., viii, 4193 = R. 1446 (Verecunda): Genio populi NN ob honorem fl. pp. additis ad leg. summam HS II n. ex HS IV n. (ut pollicitus fuerat, NN et NN faciendum dedicandumque cura.)]

[Eph. ep., v, n. 757 (Lambaesis): Minerv. Aug. sacr. — ob honor. flam. perpet. — ex HS III milib. n. ampliata pecun. praeter legi[t] s. p.]

CIL, x, 6465 (Setia): ob quem [hon. quod in] statuam contulerunt, donavit SS IIII m. n. etc.

[Ib., xii, 1159 (Carpentorate): Genio coloniae NN et NN in hoc opus IIIIIviris HS n. IIII mil. d. s. p. d.]

Ib., viii, 4196 = R. 1428 (Verecunda): J.O.M. conservatori imp. Caes. (Caracallae, p. 212 A.D.) — NN. fl. pp. ob honore(m) flamoni perpetui — quod ex HS IIII n. promiserat ampliata summa faciendam dedicandamque curavit.

Ib., 4197 = R., 1429 (*ibidem*): Junoni Concordiae Augustae etc. — quod NN. — ex HS IIII (n.) promiserat — frater et — filius ejus ampliata summa faciend. dedicandamque curaverunt.

Ib., 4583 = R., 1727 (Diana): (V)ictoriae Parthic. (i)mp. Caesarum (Severi et Caracallae) — NN. aed. duumviru ob honorem duumviratus quam ex IIII mil. n. pollicitus (er)at, ampliata pecunia — dedit idemque dedicavit (198 A.D.).

Ib., viii, 76 (Biniana), cf. *Archäol. Ztg.*, 1872, N.F., iv, 104: Imp. Caes. M. Aurelio Commodo Antonino Felici Aug. etc. (186 A.D.) NN. flam. perp. super legitima honoris flam(onii) perpet. sui et HS duo milia nummorum patris ejus, decreto ordinis trans(l)ata, adjecta amplius pecunia fecit. 'The flamen has to pay 2000 sest. into the treasury of the city for taking over his flamine, and an equal sum for that of his father, but the senate permits him to erect a statue instead, and he adds voluntarily to the sum. *Translata* (referring to the changed application of the payment) stands in apposition to *legitima* and *duo milia*.' Mommsen.

Eph. epigr., vii, n. 381 (Lambaesis): Fortunae Aug. sacr. — promissa statua ex HS IIII m. n. ampliata pecunia fecit.

CIL, viii, 8300 (Cuicul): Concordiae Augustor. NN aed. statuam

quam ob honorem aed. super legitim. ex HS $\overline{\text{III}}$ mil. num. pollicitus est, ampliata pec. anno suo posuit dedicavit.

[Mommсен, *Inscr. Helv.*, 144 = Orelli, 350 sq. (Eburodunum) : ex HS n. $\overline{\text{III}}$ — heres — (p)onend. cura(vit et) dedic. adjectis HS n. CC ad. .]

Eph. ep., v, n. 822 (Zattara) : — anno suo statuam ex SS $\overline{\text{III}}$ mil. n. fecit amplius adjectis a se SS M CC $\overline{\text{n}}$. etc.

[*CIL*, viii, 4235 = R., 1451 (Verecunda) : — ob honorem aug(ura-tus) ex HS $\overline{\text{III}}$ CCCC n. ut pollicitus est, sua pecunia fecit. d. d.]

[*Ib.*, 2341 = R., 1531 (Thamugadi) : NN II vir q. desig. inlata reipublicae sum. leg. IIvir. promissis HS IIII ex HS IIIID n. posuit idemq. dedic. dec. d.]

5000–6000 sest. (£53 5s. to £63 17s. 6d.).

Ib., viii, 1400 (Thignica) : Mercurio Aug. sacrum NN — cum statuam ex HS $\overline{\text{III}}$ promississet, adjecta pecunia . . . ex HS $\overline{\text{V}}$ mil. posuit idemque dedicavit.

Ib., viii, 2350 = R., 1529 (Thamugadi) : (S)oli Aug. sacr. NN. Augus(ta)lis conlato (in) se a sanctissi(m)o ordine ho(n)ore ornamen-(tor)um decurio(nat)us statuam, (qua)m ex HS $\overline{\text{III}}$ pro(misi)t, ex HS $\overline{\text{V}}$ posu(it), (id)emque d.d.d.

Ib., 2362 = R., 1492 (Thamugadi) : Imp. Caes. — Antonino Aug. Pio p. p. NN ob honorem qq. inlatis (*sic*) rp. summa honoraria, ex HS $\overline{\text{V}}$ n. posuit idemque ded. d. d.

[*Ib.*, 2711 = R., 73 (Lambaesis) : M. Aurelio An(toni)no (*i.e.* Caracallae) NN. — ob honorem flamoni perpetui in se conlati pollicitus ex HS $\overline{\text{V}}$ n. ampliata pecunia posuit et d. d. praeter HS XII n. honoraria summa et eo amplius HS VIII n.r.p. inlotis etc.]

[*Ib.*, 4187 = R., 1449 (Verecunda) : Genio sanctissimo ordinis NN ob honorem fl. pp. — additis ad legitima[m : 2000 sest.] $\overline{\text{II}}$ CCCC $\overline{\text{n}}$. quae pollicitus erat, et amplius DC $\overline{\text{n}}$. ex $\overline{\text{V}}$ $\overline{\text{n}}$. faciend. dedic. curavit.]

Ib., 4579 = R., 1744 (Diana) : Mercurio Aug. sacrum — NN q. aedil. II viru statuam quam ob honorem ex HS $\overline{\text{V}}$ mil. $\overline{\text{n}}$. pollicitus est, posuit etc.

[*Ib.*, 4874 (Thubursicum Numid.) : Fortunae reduci Aug. sacrum NN miles cohort. X urbanae — ob honorem aedilitatis inlatis r. p. HS IIIII n. legitimis, amplius ex HS $\overline{\text{V}}$ $\overline{\text{n}}$. posuit idemque dedicavit.]

Ib., 9024 (Auzia, Mauret. Caesar.) : Victoriae Aug. L. Septimi Severi — NN aedilicium statuam quam ob honorem aedilitatis — super legitimam HS $\overline{\text{V}}$ n. summam [cum] bas[i posuit]. (*Pollicitus est* is absent; *summam* should probably stand before HS $\overline{\text{V}}$ n.)

[*Eph. ep.*, v, no. 760 (Lambaesis) : Victoriae Aug. NN — ob honorem dumviratus (*sic*) — sicut apud acta pollicitus est, ex HS $\overline{\text{V}}$ milibus nummum posuit etc.]

[*Ib.*, vii, no. 347 (Thamugadi) : M. Aurelio Caes. Imp. Antonini Aug. Pii filio NN ob honorem qq., inlata rp. sum. honoraria, ex HS $\overline{\text{V}}$ $\overline{\text{n}}$. posuit id. ded. d. d.]

[*Ib.*, vii, no. 773 (Thamugadi) : — ex sua liberalitate ex HS $\overline{\text{V}}$ n. donum dedit idemque dedicavit.]

CIL, viii, 1548 (Agbia) : — statuam Fortunae, cum ex HS V m. promississet ampliata pec. de s. p.

CIL, ii, 2150 (Baetica) : — heredes statuam quam is testamento ex HS $\overline{\text{MCC}}$ sibi poni jussit adjectis HS II posuerunt.

[Mommсен, *Inscr. Helv.*, 154 = Orelli 369 (Aventicum) : Deae Avent. NN. cur. colon. idemque all. cui incolae Aventicens. prim. omnium ob ejus erga se merita tabulam arg. p(ondo ?) L posuere, donum d. s. p. ex HS $\overline{\text{VCC}}$. L. d.d.d.]

Id., *ib.*, 138 = Orelli 348 (Eburodunum) : Mercurio Aug. NN. nomine suo et fratrum suorum ex HS $\overline{\text{n. IIII}}$ p. t. i. NN. heres ponend. curavit et eo amplius de suo adjecit HS n. MCCCC. A dextra intuentis : Dona veniunt ad ornamenta ejus et ex stipibus ponentur.

CIL, viii, 5299 = R., 2758 (Kalama) : Quod NN. — codicillis suis statuam (Nep)tuni in foro ex HS V poni jussisse(t), id heredes — ex HS $\overline{\text{VDCXL}}$ posuerunt idemque d.

6000–7000 sest. (£63 17s. 6d. to £74 10s. 6d.).

Id., 885 = Henzen, 5314 (pag. Mercurialis veteran. Medelitan.) : (J)uliae Domnae — Q. Silicii Victor et C. Tadius Fortunatus ob honorem flam. sui perpetui statuam cum base ex HS binis milib. n. legitimis, adjectis tertis ex decreto paganor. pagi Mercurialis etc. Apparently each gave 3000 sest., so that the statue cost 6000.

[*CIL*, ii, 1424 (Sabora, Baetica) : Jovi Optimo Max. Vibius Lucanus Uro testamento poni jussit ex HS $\overline{\text{VI}}$.]

CIL, ii, 1637 (Iliturgicola or Ipolcobulcola, Baetica) : . . is ? Fortuna ex testamento L. Flavi Proculi relicta, per curatorem operis L. Juni facta ex HS $\overline{\text{VI}}$ secundum sententiam NN. a(rb)i(t)ri (operis et) — (a)rbitrū doni totnis. Huic dono XX ab herede [deducta non est]. I think from the analogy of the other inscriptions, that this refers to a statue of Fortuna for 6000 sest., forming a part of the *donum*, and therefore that the restoration *basis Fortunae* is wrong.

[*CIL*, viii, 4577 = R., 1735 (Diana) : Jovi (Vic)tori — NN. — ob hon. duumvir. sui praet. leg. ex HS VI mil. n. ded. dedic.]

Id., 6948 = R., 1870 (Cirta) : Genio populi — NN. Divi M. Antonini statuam quam ob honorem triumviratus promisit, ex HS VI mil. n. sua pecunia posuit etc.

CIL, viii, 5295 = R., 2753 (Kalama) : Minervae Aug. — NN. ob honorem pontificatus ex HS VI c(entum ?) m(inus ?) n. faciendum dedicandamque curavit. Renier's solution is unsatisfactory, and with Mommsen to understand $\overline{\text{VI}}$ CM as sescenta milia is quite impossible. Perhaps the copy is erroneous.

[*Id.*, 5292 = R., 2754 (Kalama) : Herculi Aug. sacrum NN. IIII vir, amplius ad honorariam sum. cum HS III promississet, ex HS VI m. p. s. p. idemque dedic.]

[*Id.*, 8466 = R., 3268 (Sitifis) : Imp. Caes. (Antonino Pio) — NN. aed. ex HS VI n. quae in ornamentum civitatis ex liberalitate sua ob honorem aed. praeter legitimam summam promiserat d. d. q.]

[*Id.*, 8840 (Tupusuctu, Mauret. Sitif., bas. marmor.) : NN. decurioni adlecto secundum voluntatem testamenti ejus ex HS VI milib. patrono NN lib. — heresq. ejus p. d.]

Eph. epigr., vii, no. 247 (prov. procons.): — (a. 196) NN f.p. statuas equestres (dua)s ex HS XII n. quae NN pater ejus duplicata summa honoraria f. p. ex sua liberalitate promiserat, permissu ordinis po(suit).

CIL, viii, 8310 = R., 2549 (Cuicul): Victori(ae) Aug. sac. NN. — (statuam) qu(a)m ob) honorem auguratus sui (ex) HS VI (m. n.) s(u)per (legit)im(am) promiserat, ampliata pecunia cum(basi) posuit idemque dd.

Ib., 2353 = R., 1526 (Thamugadi): Victoriae Aug. sacr. L. Cestius Gallus fil. et heres L. Cesti Galli, fidejussoris Fl. Natalis pollicitoris hujus statuae, jussus ex decret. Fonte Frontiniani leg. Aug. pr. pr. c. v. (a. 160 sq.), adjectis ad HS III n. quanti tunc hanc statuam idem Fl. Natalis rp. positurum se pollicitus erat HS III XXXX n. (ex HS VI XXXX n. posuit idemque dedicavit.)

Ib., 4198 = R., 1450 (Verecunda): Minervae Aug. NN ob honorem pontificatus ex HS CXL n. faciendam dedicandamque curavit. 7000–8000 sest. (£74 10s. 6d. to £85 3s.).

[*CIL*, ii, 3390 (Acci, Tarraconensis): Ob honore(m) seviratu(s) ex HS VII de.]

Ib., viii, 1842 = R., 4259 (Theveste): Mercur. Aug. sacr. NN. ob honorem acd. statuam Mercuri cum suis ornamentis, quam ex HS V promiserat, (epulo) (dat)o dedicavit, inlatis reip. II HS legitimis, et amplius in pretium statuae impendit HS II.

Ib., 5298 = R., 2757 (Kalama): Neptuno Aug. NN. aedil. II vir statuam ob honorem II vir. promissam, HS V n. amplius adjectis (ad legiti)mam s(um)mam, VI CCC XXXX posuit et dedicavit.

8000–9000 sest. (£85 3s. to £95 18s.).

CIL, ii, 2060 (Vallis Singilis, Baetica): Postumia M. f. Aciliana Baxo poni statuam sibi testamento jussit ex HS VIII m. n.; item ornamenta etc. Cf. Hübner, *Hermes*, i, 355.

CIL, viii, 858 (Municip. Giufitanum): Apollini Aug. sacrum — hanc statuam secutus patris exemplum HS VIII milibus n. sua liberalitate, numerata prius a se reipublicae summa honoraria posuit.

Ib., 862 (*ib.*): Victoriae Aug. sacr. NN q. II viral. ob honorem aedilitatis intermissae et II viratus sui ex HS VIII mil. n., inlatis prius reip. summis honoraris, posuit etc.

Ib., 863 (*ib.*). The same, with a different name.

[*Ib.*, 8835 (Tupusuctu): Imp. Caes. L. Septimio Severo (a. 195) — NN secundum decretum ordinis ex summa honoris flamonis sui, adjecta praeterea ex sua liberalitate pecunia, ex HS VIII mil. constituit.]

[*Ib.*, 2354 = R., 1480 sq. (Thamugadi): Victoriae Parthicae Aug. sacr. Ex testamento M. Anni M. f. Quir. Martialis — a leg. III — missi honesta missione ab imp. Trajano — sing(ulas) HS VIII. XX p. R. min. (i.e. vigesima pop. Rom. minus) Annii M. lib. Protus Hilarus Eros adjectis a se HS III ponend. curaver. idemque dedicaver. d. d.]

[*Eph. epigr.*, v, no. 900 (civit. Celtianens., Numidia): Genio Celtianens. Aug. sacr. NN quo (i.e. quo loco) numinis ejus adjumentum senserit, ex HS VIII s. p. fecit idem d.]

Ib., vii, no. 757 (Thamugadi): Concordiae Auggg. dominorum nan. Imp. L. Septimi Severi et M. Aureli Antonini (Pii Fel. Aug. Parth. Max. Brit. Ger. — haec Getae nomine eraso posita sunt) et Juliae Aug. NN ob honorem fl. pp. statuas (4), quas ex SS XX $\bar{m}$ n. cum basib. praeter legitim. pollicitus est, ampliata pec. SS XXXV m. n. posuit etc.

Ib., v, no. 819 (Thagaste): — cui ordo pagi Mo statuam decrevit ex usuris *den.* II annis XX.

[*CIL*, xi, 1, 978 (Reg. Lepidum): — ioni conductori | . . . aerae *den.* M M CC (Potest fuisse statuae, ut conductor pro statua aerea accepisse videatur 8800 HS.)]

9000 sest. (£95 18s.).

CIL, viii, 4202 = R., 1430 (Verecunda): Victoriae Germanicae Aug. imp. (Caracallae) NN. ob honorem flamonis p. p. inla(ta) legitima HS II n. et condecursionibus sportulas duplas (*sic*) et curiis sing. HS CXX n., statuam quam ex HS VIII promiserat, faciend. dedicandamq. curavit.

10,000–11,000 sest. (£106 9s. to £117 2s.).

[*CIL*, viii, 4594 = R., 1726 (Diana): Imp. Caes. (Severo) NN. — ob honorem flam. (per)petui praeter leg. HS X mil. n. quae reip. intulit, ex HS X ampliata pecunia dedit ide)mque de.]

Ib., 4596 = R., 1729 (Diana): Divo Commodo fratri imp. (Severis — NN. fl. p. p. pollicitus ex HS III mil. n., inlatis reip. summi) honoraris et (?) fl. pp., ex HS X mil. n. ampliata pecunia dedit idemque dedicavit.

Above 12,000 sest. (£127 15s.).

[*Ib.*, 7001 = R., 1834 (Cirta): (Imp. Caes. — Caracallae) — ex HS XII mil. n. adj(ectis de suo . . . fecit ide)mque dedicavit.]

16,000 sest. (£170 7s.).

Ib., 2344 = R., 1506 (Thamugadi): Fortunae reduci Aug. — NN. statuam quam ob honorem aed. suae praeter legitimam pollicitus est, ex HS XVI n. posuit ludis editis et dedicavit.

20,000 sest. (£212 18s.).

CIL, v, 1, 4472 (Brixia) D. d. — — Mariano equo pub. — — Valerianus pater titul. usus test. in eam fac. leg. HS XII Eutyclus et Nicephorus libert. posuer. adjectis HS VIII.

[*CIL*, viii, 4192 (Verecunda): Genio patriae Aug. dedicante NN leg. Aug. pro praetore, quod NN testamento suo ex HS XX $\bar{n}$ fieri jussit, ordo Verecundensium faciendum curavit.]

25,000 sest. (£266).

CIL, xi, 1, 1946 (Perusia): — (Huic municipes e)t incolae in statuam HS XXV (contulerunt decurionesque titulum et i)n comitio ponendum censuer.

26,400 sest. (£281).

Eph. ep., v, no. 700 (Thamugadi): Anniae M. fil. Cara flaminica et Tranquilla statuam, quam testamento suo Annius Protus ex HS XXII legaverat, pecunia Proti et Anni Hilari patris sui comparatam, posuerunt et adjecta (*sic*) de suo aere [ex] HS III CCCC dedicaver. epulo curiar. dd.

28,000 sest. (£298).

CIL, viii, 1353 (Bisica, prov. procons.): — statuam (aeream ?)
— (municipibu)s suis de den(arium) VII (milibus) ob(tulit).

30,000 sest. (£319 8s.).

CIL, vi, 3, 23,149 (Roma in basi statuæ togatæ): P. Nummius
P. f. Tro. Bassus ex testament. HS XXX arbitr. Caeciliae uxoris.

100,000 sest. (£1,064 12s.).

[*CIL*, viii (4364) 4365 (Gibba, Numidia): Imp. C. L. Septimio
Severo — — (195 A.D.) — ex HS C n. curante Pomponio (F)austo
Aurel. f. (fl. ?) dd. Socraten (?) pro(curatore) Augg. nn. III (trium ?)
reg(ionum ?). If HS C n. is the correct reading this is hardly a
statue.]

VOL. III.

LV. BORROWING FROM THE *CONTROVERSIAE* OF THE ELDER SENECA IN THE *GESTA ROMANORUM*.¹

(Vol. III, p. 16 bottom.)

It seems not to have been observed by the earlier editors of the *Gesta Romanorum*, that Seneca's *Controversiae* are frequently drawn upon, indeed, as far as one can judge from Grässe's account of the sources, more than any other ancient source; although Seneca is expressly mentioned as an authority in cap. 134, *De innocenti morte Christi*: Seneca narrat, quod lex aliquando erat, quod quilibet miles in armis suis sepeliri deberet, et qui tantum defunctum armis spoliaret, morte moreretur etc. The relation is borrowed from *Controv.*, iv, 4. Grässe, who only thought of Seneca the philosopher, remarks (*Das älteste Märchen- und Legendenbuch des christlichen Mittelalters oder die Gesta Romanorum*, second ed., 1847, p. 272) that the passage is not to be found in Seneca, and describes the other borrowings from the *Controversiae* as cases of conscience invented by the author of the *Gesta*. I have noted the following: G.R., c. 2 (*Controv.*, i, 2); 3 (i, 3); 4 (i, 5); 5 (i, 6); 6 (ii, 2); 7 (ii, 4); 14 (vii, 4); 73 (iii, 1); 90 (vi, 3); 100 (i, 4); 134 (iv, 4). Also the invention of c. 117 seems based on a reminiscence of the invented laws of the *Controversiae*. As far as I have compared them, only the *themata* have been used, and not what Seneca relates of their treatment by the orators. A few examples may illustrate the mode of treatment.

Seneca, *Controv.*, i. 1.

Liberi parentes alant aut vinciantur. Duo fratres inter se dissidebant; alteri filius erat. Patruus in egestatem incidit, patre vetante adulescens illum aluit. Ob hoc abdicatus tacuit. Adoptatus a patruo est. Patruus accepta hereditate locuples factus est. Egere coepit pater. Alit illum. Abdicatur.

Gesta Romanorum (ed. Keller)
c. 2. De misericordia.

Titus regnavit, qui statuit pro lege sub poena mortis, quod filii parentes suos alerent. Accidit casus quod erant duo fratres ex uno patre: Unus filium habebat, et vidit avunculum suum egentem; statim secundum legem eum aluit contra voluntatem patris et ideo pater ejus a societate sua eum expulit. Verum tamen

hoc non obstante non dimisit quin avunculum suum egentem aleret et necessaria ei in omnibus dedit. Post haec avunculus ejus

¹ Cf. *Ind. lect. lib. acad. Alb. Regimont.*, MDCCCLXXI. Oesterley, who, without knowing this dissertation, has in his edition of the *Gesta Romanorum* (Berlin, 1872) demonstrated (p. 714ff.) the borrowings from Seneca's declamations, calls the latter (p. 251) 'a hitherto entirely unknown source of a number of the most characteristic stories in our collection.'

dives factus est et pater ejus coepit egere. Filius vero hoc videns patrem aliut prohibente avunculo et ideo a societate avunculi expulsus est dicensque (*sic*) ei : Carissime, tibi constat, quod aliquando egenus eram et contra voluntatem patris tui mihi necessaria in omnibus ministrasti, et ideo jam te in filium meum et haeredem accepi. Ingratus filius haereditatem non sequitur sed filius adoptatus, etc. (All the rest is original.)

Seneca, *Controv.*, i. 3.

Incesta de saxo dei ciatur. Incesta damnata, antequam deiceretur de saxo, invocavit Vestam. Vixit dejecta. Repetitur ad poenam.

G. R., c. 3. Justum iudicium.

Quidam imperator regnavit, qui statuit pro lege, quod si mulier sub viro adulterata esset, sine misericordia de alto monte praecipitaretur. Accidit casus quod quaedam mulier sub viro

suo erat adulterata, statim secundum legem de alto monte fuit praecipitata. Sed de monte tam suaviter descendit, quod in nullo laesa erat. Ducta est ad iudicium. Iudex videns, quod mortua non esset, sententiam dedit, iterum deberet praecipitari et mori. Ait mulier : Domine, si sic feceritis, contra legem agitis, quia lex vult quod nullus debet bis puniri pro uno delicto. Ego eram praecipitata quia semel adulterata, et deus me miraculose salvavit, ergo videtur quod iterato contra legem non debeo praecipitari. Ait iudex : Satis prudenter respondisti. Vade in pace ! Et sic salvata est mulier.

LVL THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EPIGRAMS OF MARTIAL AND STATIUS.

(Vol. III, p. 59.)

THE chronology of the epigrams of Martial and of the *Silvae* of Statius demands connected treatment, because some of the poems of the two were composed on the same occasions. The results of the investigation of the dates of composition of Martial's epigrams, which will be found in the introduction to my edition, pp. 50-67, are as follows :—¹

Liber spectaculorum 80, second enlarged edition under Domitian ?

XIII, XIV published	December 84/85
I, II "	85/86
III "	87/88
IV "	December 88
V "	autumn 89
VI "	summer or autumn 90
VII "	December 92
VIII "	middle of 93
IX "	middle or end of 94
X ¹ "	December 95
XI "	December 96
X and XI (anthology) published	97
X ² published	middle of 98
(departure of Martial from Rome).	
XII published	beginning of 102

¹ The section in the 5th edition, pp. 424-440 'Chronology of Martial's epigrams,' is here omitted.

Dau, *De M. Valerii Martialis libellorum ratione temporibusque. Pars I* (Rostochii, 1887) has raised several objections to these dates. He has tried to prove that the greater part of the poems in the *Liber spectaculorum* were composed under Domitian and refer to the triumphal shows after the Dacian war (therefore after 89), and further that the epigrams of Books XIII and XIV were written gradually between 84 and 92. I showed in my review of this dissertation in the *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 1889, no. 88, that both these assertions are entirely untenable. Dau then undertook to demonstrate the correctness of Schneidewin's supposition (ed. maj., p. 111 f.) that we possess Books I to VII in a second edition. The argument is principally based on the fact that in I, 2 the fourth forum, the forum Palladium, which was built by Domitian, is already mentioned, while there is no mention of four forums, instead of the three older ones, before x, 28, 51, and in a poem composed by Statius in 94/95 (*Silvae*, iv, 1, 14 sq.) the forum Palladium is called new, and the peace which the Janus dwelling in this forum was bidden by Domitian to conclude and maintain is, as Dau remarks on p. 62, the peace following the Sarmatian war (92). Dau thinks it so improbable that the building of the forum Palladium was already begun in 85/86, was afterwards suspended, and not taken up again with energy until 92/93, that he considers he can with certainty date the composition of Martial i, 2 in 93/94.

Now the history of architecture in all ages affords countless examples of buildings completed after long interruptions. It is well known that this was the case in the centre of ancient Rome. The forum Julium begun 54 B.C., which was dedicated while yet unfinished by Caesar in 46 B.C., was finished after his death by Augustus. Also the building of the forum of Augustus lasted a very long time (Richter, *Topogr. v. Rom.* in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch*, iii, 804 f.). It is therefore antecedently far from improbable that in 85/86 a beginning had already been made of the forum Palladium which was only finished by Nerva.

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that there is much to be said for the assumption of a second edition of the first seven books. The confident tone of the poet in i, 1, compared with the hesitating tone in i, 3, the announcement of a parchment edition in i, 2, which was to be bought of a different bookseller from the one who sold the elegant separate edition of i (117)—both these facts are to be explained most naturally on the supposition that i, 1 and 2 were added in a second edition, as also the fact that Martial sent a copy of the first seven books, corrected by his own hand, to Julius Martialis, who already possessed the sixth, and certainly also the rest (vii, 17; vii, 1). No proof to the contrary is afforded by viii, 3, 4: *teritior noster ubique liber*, which in view of Martial's preference for the singular with a plural signification (see my note on iv, 64, 16), is certainly to be rendered, 'my books are read everywhere'. Also the plural (*libelli*) is found in passages referred to the second edition, *viz.* i, 2, i; vii, 17, 5.

But if only one edition be assumed, these passages are by no means inexplicable. On the other hand, in the epigram i, 1, which stood beneath his portrait at the head of the volume (Crusius, *Rhein. Mus.*,

xliv, 454) Martial might very well boast of the applause which his poems had won as they circulated in small collections, and yet in i, 3 express his anxiety as to the reception which would be accorded to the complete book, now made public for the first time, and filled out as he thought (i, 16) with a good deal of indifferent and bad verse. A parchment edition does not necessarily imply a book of great length, it had a great advantage over the scroll editions which required the use of both hands, in the ease with which it could be held, and was thus specially adapted for travel (*me manus una capit*). Nor is it surprising that Martial, at the request of friends to whom he had presented copies from the book-shop, corrected them with his own hand, or sent new copies he had corrected.

The hypothesis of a second edition of the first seven books could only be proved by demonstrating that many of the epigrams were supplementary. But Dau has completely failed to prove this, as Gilbert has remarked in his review (*Wochenschr. f. klass. Philol.*, 1888, p. 1072). A second edition cannot therefore be regarded as proved, although one may regard it as more or less probable, according to the weight one attaches to the arguments based on i, 1, 2 and vii, 17. But if the edition in which we possess these seven books, is a second, it only differs from the first, so far as we can judge, by the addition of the two epigrams i, 1 and 2. Apart from these, none of my dates will be affected by the assumption.

Dau has also failed in his attempt (p. 86) to support by the help of i, 111, the theory of Borghesi and Stobbe, based on ii, 93, that ii appeared before i. If Martial gives Regulus a book, it is, I admit, most natural to suppose it is a work of his own, but that it is not, as everywhere else, designated as such, is enough to arouse doubt, which is much increased by observing that Martial describes the book as an appropriate present in view of the achievements (*merita*) of Regulus, and the fame of his wisdom, although elsewhere he refers with great modesty to his own '*nugae*'. From the manner in which Martial speaks of the present, I should be inclined to think of such a book as Cicero's *Orator* or *Brutus*.

As a test of the correctness of my dates, we may use the contemporary poems in the *Silvae*. The following refer to the same objects, persons or events.

Mart., vi, 21	Stat., <i>Silv.</i> , i, 2.	Marriage of Stella and Violentilla.
" vi, 42	" " i, 5.	Baths of Etruscus. ¹
" vi, 28 sq.	" " ii, 1.	Death of Glaucias, freedman of Ateidius Melior.
" vii, 21-23	" " ii, 7.	Birthday of Lucanus.
" vii, 40	" " iii, 3.	Death of the father of Claudius Etruscus.
" ix (11-13), 16, 17, 36	" " iii, 4.	Dedication by Flavius Earinus of his hair to Æsculapius at Pergamus.
" ix, 43 sq.	" " iv, 6.	The Lysippic Hercules of Novius Vindex.

¹ The poem by Statius was composed or revised after the composition of Martial's

As Statius, *Silv.*, iv, 1, refers to Domitian's seventeenth consulate (95), not only the first three books of the *Silvae*, but also books vi-viii of Martial, which were published at the same time, must have appeared before this year; we know in fact that Martial viii was published in 93. It must be admitted that this correspondence in the order of the poems of Martial and Statius is by no means necessary, for as will be seen below Statius sometimes left his poems unpublished for a considerable time, so that there is in some cases a much greater difference between the dates of their composition and publication than with Martial.

Martial's sixth book, not published before the summer of 90, contains poems written from the autumn of 89 up to this date, so the composition of the above mentioned poems of Stat., *Silv.*, i, falls within the same period. As Stobbe (*Philol.*, 26, 57 f.) has shown, no poem in this book contains a trace of composition after the Dacian triumph (end of 89), an assumption which is not even probable for a single poem in the book, with the exception of i, 5, corresponding to Martial, vi, 42, which was possibly composed in the year 90. *Silvae*, i, 1, on the erection of the colossal equestrian statue of Domitian,¹ was probably written about the time of the triumph, or indeed earlier, most likely before the death of Julia, which occurred at the end of 89. For among the ghosts of the deceased relatives which hover by night around this statue, hers is not found. In line 95 sqq.: *Ibit in amplexus natus fraterque paterque et soror*—if Julia were already dead, she would hardly have been left unmentioned. The sister is the elder, Domitilla, who had already died before Vespasian's accession (Eckhel, vi, 349), the son, who was born to Domitia in 73, the year of Domitian's second consulate (Sueton, *Domit.*, c. 3) was already mentioned as dead by Martial in iv, 3 (October, 88): *Quis siccis lascivit aquis et ab aethere ludit?* *Suspitor* has *pueri Caesaris esse nives*; also Silius Italicus mentions him in his poem which was already (Martial, iv, 4) partly, if not entirely written, *Punica*, iii, 627 sqq.: *sidereum . . . natum*. Eckhel has wrongly referred Martial, vi, 3 to this boy. Kerckhoff dates the poem after the death of Julia (who, he says, is called Domitian's sister in l. 98!), but his objections (pp. 6-8) are not serious; it does not follow from the words of Statius, that the relatives, whose ghosts hover in the air are all *divi*. Flavia Domitilla was not such. The poem on the marriage of Stella and Violentilla was written about the time of the triumph, for Venus (174-181) promises the bridegroom among other forthcoming honours that the emperor '*purpureos habitus juvenique curule Indulgebit ebur Dacasque (en gloria major!) Exuvias laurosque dabit celebrare recentes*'. The celebration of these games is nowhere mentioned (for those given by Stella to celebrate the Sarmatian triumph cf. Martial, viii, 78, 4: *Hyperborei celebrator Stella triumphi*). The recent celebration of the Secular Games (Sept. ? 88) is alluded to in

epigram. (See n. on vol. ii, p. 190, l. 8.) That this could only have been done after the publication of the latter is maintained without sufficient reason by Kerckhoff, *Duae quæst. Papin.*, 1884, p. 11 sq.

¹ Martial, viii, 44, 7 (colossus Augusti!) does not refer to this statue, as I assumed in my edition, but to the colossal statue of Augustus on the Palatine (see vol. ii, p. 301).

Stat., *Silv.*, i, 4, 17: *Nec tantum induerint fatis nova saecula crimen Aut instaurati peccaverit ara Terenti*; also l. 96: *neque enim frustra mihi nuper honora Carmina patricii pueri sonuistis in ostro*. (Nohl, *Quaest. Stat.*, 1871, p. 11.) Probably therefore we must also place in the year 88 the wanton nocturnal festival which Domitian gave on the 1st of December (i, 6), and this date is corroborated by the allusion in Martial, v, 49, 8: *Hic error tibi profuit Decembri. Tum cum prandia misit imperator Cum panariolis tribus redisti*. None of the grounds on which Kerckhoff (p. 12 sq.) assigns the poem to the year 83 are valid.

Now even if all the poems in *Silvae* i, except perhaps 5, were composed before the end of 89, the publication must have taken place considerably later, at the earliest towards the end of 91. For as *Silvae* iii probably did not appear before 94 (see below), and iv and v followed at intervals of about one year, it is not likely that the intervals were very much longer in the cases of the first two books, especially as Statius, as I have remarked, is known to have published his poems in some cases a good while after their composition. Also the death of Rutilius Gallicus (*Silv.*, i, *praef.*) is, as will be shown, to be assigned at the earliest to the year 91, or preferably to 92.

Of the poems in the second book of the *Silvae*, which was published more probably in 93 than in 92, ii, i was written immediately after the death of Glaucias, the freedman of Atedius Melior (festinanter *praef.*) and therefore before the appearance of Martial's sixth book (summer or autumn 90), which contains two poems (28 sq.) on the same event (Nohl, *Quaest. Stat.*, p. 14 n.); while *Silv.*, ii, 2 was not written before the late summer or autumn of the same year. An invitation had brought the poet to Sorrento (*Silv.*, ii, 2, 6):

Huc me post patrii laetum quinquennia lustrī,
quum stadio jam pigra quies, canusque sederet
pulvis, ad Ambracias conversa gymnade frondes,
trans gentile fretum placidi facundia Polli
detulit.

Line 6 shows that Statius had been present at the *Augustalia*¹ at Naples (held in August, vol. ii, p. 118) undoubtedly in the year 90, in which fell the 23rd celebration of this *agon* (*Italica*). Franz, *CIG*, iii, 733.

The third book contains the poem (iii, 2) on the journey of Maecius Celer, composed, as Nohl, *op. cit.*, p. 16 f., has observed, on the evidence of lines 40 and 142, before the completion of the *Thebais*, which was published towards the end of 91 (see n. on vol. iii, p. 65, l. 30); further the elegy on the death of the father of Etruscus (iii, 3, corresponding to Martial vii, 40), which must have happened before the publication of Martial vii (Dec. 92), and after Martial vi (autumn 92). But as Statius in this poem speaks of the Sarmatian war, from which Domitian did not return till 93, as already ended (169: *quae* [*clementia*] *Marcomanos post horrida bella vagosque Sauromatas Latio non est dignata triumpho*), Stobbe (*Philol.*, xxvi,

¹ Kerckhoff (p. 14) remarks truly that he had received no prize; *laetis* is one of the favourite words of Statius (p. 53).

55) referred this passage to the unsuccessful expedition of the year 89 against the Marcomanni (Dio, lxxvii, 7), to whom the Sarmatians had sent auxiliaries, and thereby given a pretext for the war of 92; whereas I assumed that Statius added these verses in a revision of the text early in 93 (cf. Nohl, p. 16). But as Kerckhoff, p. 17, remarks, it is most probable that the father of Etruscus did not die till December 92 (vol. i, p. 52), and that Statius composed the poem in January 93. In the same year he must have written the poem on the hair of Flavius Earinus (iii, 4, corresponding with Martial, ix, 16, 17, 36), after the appearance of Martial viii in the middle of the year. The book cannot therefore have been published before the closing months of 93. But probably it did not appear till the second half of 94, for the *agon Capitolinus* in which Statius was defeated is probably that of this year; *Silv.*, iii, 5 (ad Claudiam uxorem), 31: tu quum Capitolia nostrae Infitiata lyrae, saevum ingratumque dolebas mecum victa Jovem; especially as this event is mentioned after the prize which he won in the *agon Albanus*, and may have given occasion to the resolve of Statius, mentioned in this poem, to leave Rome. In this poem Statius adduces further motives (the advantages of Naples and its environs) for his resolve, which in the preface he had attributed to his desire for the company of Pollius Felix, and if we accept the above date, it will be the latest poem in the book. Kerckhoff, p. 18; so also Nohl, *Quaest. St.*, who considers however that Statius was defeated in the year 86 (p. 26).

The fourth book, addressed to Vitorius Marcellus, was published by Statius after his removal to Naples (*praef.*). The first three poems are devoted to the glorification of Domitian: iv, 1 (xvii consulatus Imp. Aug. Germanici Domitiani on the 1st of Jan. 95); iv, 2 Eucharisticon ad Imp. Aug. Germanicum D. (probably, as Kerckhoff remarks, p. 19, written before his failure in the *agon Capitolinus*, after which Statius would hardly have written l. 62 'saepe coronatis iteris quinquennia lustris', a view agreeing with the supposition that the dining-hall here described is the same one that is praised in Martial, viii, 39, published in the middle of 93); iv, 3, via Domitiana. The construction of this road from Sinuessa to Puteoli, took place, according to Dio, lxxvii, 13, in the year in which Flavius Clemens was executed, i.e. in 95. In the dedication to Vitorius Marcellus he says of it: cujus beneficio tu quoque maturius epistolam eam accipies, quam tibi in hoc libro a Neapoli scribo (iv, 4, written in the summer). The poem on the Hercules of Novius Vindex, iv, 6, need not necessarily be of the same date as Martial's epigram (ix, 43) on the same subject, but is probably one of the earlier poems in the book, as well as iv, 9 (Risus Saturnalicus ad Plotium Grypum, cf. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, 1512; *praef.*: Hendecasyllabos, quos Saturnalibus una [therefore probably in Rome in December, 94—so too Nohl, p. 19] risimus, huic volumini inserui). The book appeared then in the course of the year 95, not earlier than summer.

The fifth book seems not to have been published by Statius, who left it unfinished (Nohl, p. 22; Baehrens, *Stat.*, i, p. 125; Kerckhoff, p. 24). The first poem to Abascantus (with the fragment of a preface in the form of a letter, referring to this poem, and not to

the whole book, Kerckhoff, p. 21) seems to have been composed before the poet's removal to Naples (end of 94); for I think it is only while he was still in Rome, and intended to remain there, that Statius could have written to Abascantus: *quam vis propiorem usum amicitiae tuae jam pridem cuperem* (Kerckhoff, p. 21). This agrees with the fact that the *templum gentis Flaviae* is first mentioned in Martial, ix (published middle or end of 94), i, 3, 34, and in Statius, *Silvae*, iv, 3, 18, where it is spoken of as lately finished (240: *Illius, aeternae modo qui Sacraia genti condidit*). The second poem, in which Statius alludes to a forthcoming recitation of his *Achilleis* (160 sqq.) is of about the same date as iv, 4 (94: *Troja quidem magnusque mihi temptatur Achilles*) and iv, 7 (23: *primis meus ecce metis Haeret Achilles*). See Kerckhoff, p. 21 sq. The third poem, the elegy on his father, who died not long after the eruption of Vesuvius, was begun three months after his death (l. 29), and is already mentioned in iii, 3, 39 sq.; it was revised later, it is in this enlarged form that we possess it (Kerckhoff, p. 22). There is no evidence that Statius survived Domitian (d. 18 Sept. 96); the fourth poem, in which he laments that sleep has fled him for seven nights, may have been written in his last illness; the fifth (Epicedion in *puerum suum*) he may have left unfinished. The edition of his poetic remains by his friends probably took place soon after his death (Kerckhoff, p. 23 sq.).

Synchronistic survey of the epigrams of Martial and the *Silvae* of Statius.

MARTIAL.
V published autumn 89.
VI published summer or autumn 90.
VII published December 92.
VIII published middle of 93.
IX published middle or end of 94.
X¹ published December 95.
XI published December 96.

STATIUS.
I written before the end of 89, and probably published 92.
II written at least in part 90, probably published 93.
III written 91-93, published (summer or) autumn 94.
IV written 94 and 95, published summer or autumn 95.
V written 94-96?, published perhaps 96 or a little later.

LVII. THE PATRONS AND FRIENDS OF STATIUS.¹ (Vol. III, p. 60.)

OF the patrons of Statius, C. Rutilius Gallicus is the one about whom we are best informed, the chief source of our knowledge being *Silv.*, iv, 1. But the allusions in this poem to his official career are so obscure that the attempts to elucidate it differ widely. The first was made by H. F. Stobbe (d. 1872) in a detailed paper, printed in the first edition of this work, 1871, iii, pp. 404-409, the chief results of which are as follows.

Rutilius Gallicus was at the time of his illness (after the Secular Festival of 88, l. 17 f.) during Domitian's absence in the Dacian War in the year 89 (ll. 91-93) rather more than 60 years old (l. 53), consequently he was born not later than the beginning of 29 A.D.;

¹ The section on the patrons and friends of Martial (fifth German edition, pp. 445-451) is here omitted.

according to l. 68 (*genus ipse suis*) he was probably a knight. If his military services are enumerated in ll. 72-79 in chronological order, he served first in Galatia, then nine years in Pamphylia, Pannonia¹ and Armenia; the last of these services being in the expedition of Corbulo, whose capture of Artaxata in April, 59 is alluded to (l. 79: *patiens Latii jam pontis Araxes*). Having returned to Rome, and having received the distinction of the *latus clavus*, he became praetor or *inter praetorios adlectus* (l. 80: *gemini fasces*), and *legatus pro praetore* to the proconsul of Asia, holding this office for two years, 62-64 (l. 80). Lines 83-88 may refer either to the command of the *legio III Aug.* in Numidia, or to the proconsulate of Africa. The former may have been held by Gallicus (before the consulate) in the years 64-66 or 74-76 (perhaps also 71-73); the latter not later than 76-77. There followed, l. 89 f., a governorship on the Rhine, and the capture of Veleda. If Gallicus had been from 64-66 *leg. leg. III Aug.*, he may have been the immediate successor in Lower Germany of Petilius Cerialis, who was transferred to Britain in 71; if he had been proconsul of Africa he cannot have gone to the Rhine before the end of 70, and the capture of Veleda would have to be placed in the last year of Vespasian's reign. Under Domitian Gallicus was, certainly in the year 89, urban prefect (ll. 5, 9, 16, 91-93). From the preface to the first book of the *Silvae* we learn that he had died before its publication. He died late in 91 or 92, for a fragment of the *fasti* of a priestly college (the *sodales Augustales*; ² Gruter, 300, 1 = *CIL*, vi, 1984) mentions him in the 27th *decuria* as co-opted in the year 68 in the place of the Emperor Nero, but in 92 mentions Tettienus Serenus as his successor. The vacancy created by his death can hardly have remained more than a few months.

A second attempt to construct the biography of Gallicus was made by E. Desjardins without knowing Stobbe's work on the subject (*Nécessité des connaissances épigraphiques pour l'intelligence de certains textes classiques*, in *Revue de philologie de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*, Janvier, 1877, pp. 7-24), in which he arrived at the following results. Gallicus, born in the year 27 at Augusta Taurinorum (l. 58 ff.), was about the year 45 *xvir silitibus iudicandis* (l. 71 f.), from 47-58 legionary tribune in the provinces mentioned in ll. 77-79, and probably present at the capture of Artaxata in 59. During this time *inter quaestorios* and then *inter tribunicios adlectus*, he became praetor and then legate of the proconsul of Asia (l. 89 ff.), and thereupon twice consul. In the year 84 he took part as *comes* of the emperor in Domitian's war against the Catti (l. 89 f.), and in the same year as legate in the Dacian war (ll. 90-93). In 85 he became urban prefect, and fell ill in 87, on the occasion of his recovery in the same year Statius composed his poem.

I have already in another place (*De C. Rutilio Gallico: Progy. Acad. Alb. Regimont.*, 1880, iii) drawn attention to some serious errors and misconceptions in this article. Desjardins is most un-

¹ Borghesi, *Opusculi*, v, 300, supposed that Gallicus had served in Pannonia towards the end of the reign of Claudius.

² H. Dessau, *De fastis sacerdotibus qui vulgo auguribus attribuntur*, in *Epist. epigr.*, iii, pp. 74-76.

happy in his treatment of lines 89-93. He translates *depositam Dacis perentibus urbem*: 'les Daces écrasés abandonnant leur ville'. The words really mean, as J. F. Gronov had already perceived, 'the city of Rome entrusted to Gallicus (as urban prefect) at the time of the destruction of the Dacians'. Further, to explain the mention of Veleda (who is known from Tac., *Germ.*, c. 8 to have been in Rome under Vespasian) in connexion with the war against the Catti in the year 84 (to which he refers l. 89: *Arctoas acies Rhenumque rebellem*), Desjardins assumes that by Veleda (a prophetess of the Bructeri) is to be understood Ganna a prophetess of the Catti or Senones, as a second Veleda! He says this although in a passage quoted in part by himself, Dio, lxxvii, 5, it is expressly stated that Ganna was in Rome with Domitian not as a prisoner, but as an envoy, and was honourably dismissed! Further, that 'togae virtus' (l. 71) does not refer to the decemvirate, which could not possibly be mentioned in a brief biographical summary, but to the achievements of Gallicus as an advocate. (The toga is known to have been a distinctive dress of advocates, see vol. i, p. 163, l. 3 and n.) Finally, Desjardins strangely transfers Domitian's Secular Festival to the year 87.

The results of an investigation by H. Nohl, which he kindly communicated to me (see pp. 453-456 of the 5th edition) are as follows.

C. Rutilius Gallicus of Augusta Taurinorum (l. 58), where two inscriptions which mention his second consulate (*CIL*, v, 6988, 6989),¹ and the base of an honorary statue of his wife (6990) have been found, was born not later than 28, for the words 'senecta) his senis vixdum orsa excedere lustris' (l. 53), which Statius wrote between the latter part of 89 and 92 (see above, pp. 301-2), could only apply to a man of the age of 61 to, at the most, 64. He began his career as an advocate (71). As he was not of noble birth, Gallicus probably owed his admission into the college of the *Sodales Augustales* in the year 68 (see above, p. 305) to the fact that he had already held the consulship (Tac., *Hist.*, i, 77; *Agric.*, c. 9), and owed the latter to his proved ability in the service of the state. Nohl understands 'geminos fasces magnaue iterata—Jura Asiae (l. 80) as referring to the proconsulate of Asia and the right of the proconsuls there to have twelve fasces (Mommsen, *StR*, i², 366, 6). This office was held by Silius Italicus (consul 68) in 77/78 (Borghesi, *Œuvres*, iii, 289), and if Gallicus was consul before him, he was also proconsul before him. If he held the latter office from 75 to 77, he would have been consul about 65 (in accordance with the usual ten years' interval in the years from 14 to 80, Waddington, *Fastes des prov. Asiat.*, p. 659), praetor about 55 (ll. 76-80), and his birth would have taken place about the year 25.

Nohl thinks the description of his military service too grandiloquent to suit the position of a subordinate officer, and therefore assumes that Gallicus was in Galatia as legionary legate, then nine years in Pamphylia, and then after his consulship (65 as *suffectus*) *leg. Aug. pr. pr.* in Pannonia (78), the governors of which are always of consular rank, and then (79) in a province bordering on Armenia,

¹ On a fragment of an inscription wrongly referred to Gallicus, see O. Hirschfeld, *Zu den Silvae des Statius*, in *Wiener Studien*, iii, 1881, pp. 269-274.

probably Cappadocia, which had previously been governed by procurators, but from Vespasian's time by consulars (Suetonius, *Vespas.*, c. 8; Tac., *Hist.*, ii, 8; Marquardt, *StV*, i², 367, 6). Gallicus would then have been one of the first of the consular legates there.

Then followed the proconsulate of Asia 75-77, which Gallicus held after Eprius Marcellus (71-74), and before Silius Italicus, and after that the second consulate (l. 82: sed revocant fasti majorque curulis Nec permissa semel, as Nohl reads for *promissa*); then an extraordinary mission (l. 85: qui mandaverat) to Africa, which was so successful that he could send rich tribute to Rome without war. Presumably his mission was connected with Vespasian's project of increasing the contributions of the provinces (Suetonius, *Vespas.*, c. 16; cf. Dio, cxvi, 8), and we may follow Mommsen (on *CIL*, v, 6989) in supposing that he was *leg. Aug. pr. ad census accipiendos*. He seems to have taken his wife Minicia Paetina with him, for the people of Leptis afterwards erected a statue to her at Turin (*CIL*, v, 6990).

Then Gallicus was *leg. Aug. pr. pr. prov. Germaniae inferioris*. The capture of Veleda (l. 89: Arctoas acies Rhenumque rebellem Captivaeque preces Velledae), is put by Stobbe under Vespasian (although the words of Tacitus, *Germ.*, c. 8: vidimus sub divo Vespasiano Veleadam, may be taken to mean that like Ganna she was in Rome as an envoy). Nohl, however, places this event in the reign of Titus, because otherwise both the African and German legations would fall in the two or three years between the second consulate of Gallicus and the death of Vespasian, and Gallicus would have been quite inactive during the remaining ten years. He obtained the urban *praefectura* not long before his illness (l. 90 sqq.; in l. 92 Nohl emends *lectu* to *lectus*).¹ His predecessor in this dignity was perhaps Pegasus (Juv., iv, 77), and with greater probability T. Aurelius Fulvus can be named as his successor. *Vit. Antonin.*, c. 1: avus ejus T. Aurelius Fulvus per honores diversos ad secundum consulatum et praefecturam urbis pervenit; he was cos. ii in 89, so he very probably became urban prefect soon after. Gallicus seems to have had no children, as Statius would hardly have left them unmentioned.

An examination of Nohl's conclusions by O. Hirschfeld, which he has kindly communicated to me, shows that for the most part they are untenable, and that Stobbe (and Desjardins in part) had already hit the mark in all essentials. The advocateship² of Gallicus was immediately followed by numerous campaigns (l. 72: mox innumerus exercita castris . . . jurata manus), which are evidently dealt with in detail in the following lines (ll. 74-79). That Gallicus was an equestrian officer for about ten years (the same period for which Trajan, a senator's son, was tribune) is no more surprising than that a poet like Statius used grandiloquent language about his patron's

¹ But undoubtedly we must read *lectu* here with Hirschfeld (*Wiener Studien*, iii, 1881, p. 272). I cannot, however, accept his emendation *Fortuna non adspirante for admirante*.

² In this capacity Gallicus distinguished himself again at a later date (l. 10 sqq.), so that Statius (l. 22 sqq.) celebrates him 'as a teacher and pattern of eloquence and judicial wisdom': Hirschfeld, *loc. cit.*, who reads in l. 24, *certumque* (for *centumque*) *dedisti Iudicium montemque viris*. I understand the passage, 'You who have given judgment and insight to the centumviral court (by your convincing speeches as advocate)'.³

service, especially if, as appears to be the case, the later military performances of Gallicus were insignificant, or even unfortunate, so that it was better to make no allusion to them. The 'gemini fasces' in l. 80 cannot be twelve, and cannot possibly mean anything but the urban praetorship (Mommsen, *StR*, i², 384, 2); 'iterata jura Asiae' cannot refer to the proconsulate, which 'terque quaterque' (l. 81) suits even less than 'iterata', but must mean such a post as that of *legatus proconsulis*, which might last as well one year as four, and which would give him judicial powers. (Cf. also *StR*, ii², p. 257 f., where 'Stobbe' should be read for 'Hirschfeld'.) That this post was praetorian is shown by l. 82: *sed revocant fasti m a j o r i q u e curulis*, which can only mean the consulate, the higher office as compared with the praetorship. In l. 83 *nec p r o m i s s a s e m e l* must be right, and as Borghesi (*Œuvres*, ix, p. 274) considers, must allude to the designation for the second consulship, which Gallicus probably obtained, as was usual, after the *præfectura*, in the course of the year 89 (so also Borghesi). I consider that Mommsen, with whom Nohl agrees, has correctly explained the African mission (p. 307 above, and *Wiener Studien*, iii, 1881, p. 269). Statius has evidently adhered to the chronological order in describing this career, and that being so the military services mentioned in l. 76 sqq. can only be equestrian. I follow Stobbe and Desjardins in referring l. 79 to the capture of Artaxata in the year 59. Whether Gallicus was then quaestor is doubtful; it is most natural to assume an *allectio inter tribunicios*, followed by the appointment to the urban praetorship. That the period after the consulate is summarily treated, is, as I have said, probably due to the fact that it contained no specially brilliant successes.

Maecius (edd. wrongly Metius) Celer, in Statius, *Silv.*, iii, 2 (not to be confused with the Celer mentioned in Martial, vii, 52 as *legat. Aug. pr. pr.*, or legate of such an official), had, as Stobbe remarks, according to l. 124, performed his military service as *trib. mil. latyclavius* in a Syrian legion,¹ and at the time when the poem was written had obtained the command of a Syrian legion (*praef. 1*: *juvenem a sacratissimo imperatore missum ad legionem Syriacam*). But if Stobbe assumed on the ground of l. 105: *Eoa signa Palaestinae cohortes*, that he had been *leg. Aug. pr. pr.* in Judaea, he was, as Nohl observes, not justified in the assumption, because Statius elsewhere uses *Palaestinus* for *Syriacus* (ii, 1, 160; v, 1, 213), and, what is more important, Statius only mentions one legion, which he would certainly not have done, if his patron had been governor. 'Majora daturus' (of the emperor, l. 127) seems to allude to the consulate, as the legates of legions were as a rule already praetorians. According to Stobbe the identification with L. Rosc. Ael. Maec. Celer, *cos. suff.* 100 is impossible, as the latter was *trib. mil. leg. ix* in Britain and Germany, and never commanded a legion afterwards (Henzen-Orelli, 3569 = 4952). The patron of Statius may, however, be the same as M. Maecius Celer, *cos. suff.* in April 101 (Henzen, *Acta fr. Arval.*, p. cxliii).

¹ In l. 124 (ed. Baehrens): *Notus adhuc tantum majoris m u n e r e clavi* (odd. *summe*) *lumine* should be read; cf. iv, 5, 42: *contentus artae lumine purpureae*. Quintilian, viii, 23. Nohl.

Plotius Grypus (not Gryphus) was also of senatorial rank, *Silv. praef.*, iv: majoris gradus juvenis, iv, 9, 17 ff.: priusquam Tē Germanicus arbitrum sequenti Annonae dedit omnibusque late Praefecit stationibus viarum. The Plotius Grypus, consul in 88, who is mentioned as an Arval in the Arval table (Henzen, *Scavi*, p. 43), cannot, as Mommsen and Henzen assumed, be the man celebrated by Statius, but was perhaps his father or brother, as Hirschfeld has observed in *Göttinger gel. Anz.*, 1869, 1512. He understands (*Philol.*, xxix, 29, 40) by the offices mentioned by Statius 'the superintendence of the supplies (*annona*) and quarters (*stationes*) for a particular campaign, probably the last Dacian (more probably the Sarmatian) under Domitian'. Cf. Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 101, 2, and Mommsen, *StR*, ii³, 2, 1031, 2.

Vettius Crispinus, son of Vettius Bolanus (consul c. 67 or 68, cf. Waddington, *Asie mineure*, p. 704) received at the age of sixteen (*Silv.*, v, 2, 12) from Domitian the legionary tribunate, l. 173: en ingens reserat tibi limen honorum Caesar at Ausonii committit munia ferri; 177: cuique sacer primum tradit Germanicus ensem; cf. 8 sqq., 125 sqq. (Mommsen, *StR*, i³, 434 f.). He had already appeared as defendant in an action for adultery, l. 99 sqq., and was a *Satius*, 130 sqq. (Marquardt, *StV*, iii³, 427, 13). Cf. Teuffel, *RLG*⁴, 326, 11.

Manilius (so the codd. in the title of i, 3, edd. wrongly *Manlius*) Vopiscus, vir eruditissimus et qui praecipue vindicabat a situ literas fugientes (*Silv.*, *praef.* i), was the owner of the splendid *villa Tiburtina* (*Silv.*, i, 3), and certainly a relative of Manilius Vopiscus, consul in 114. Orelli 3787. [He himself seems not to have entered the public service; cf. i, 3, 22; 108, etc. Nohl.] On the frequent confusion between the names Manlius and Manilius cf. *StRE*, iv, 1481. [The cos. 114 was perhaps a grandson of the cos. suff. 60 at the time of the Neronian comet (cf. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 22); in Seneca, *Qu. nat.*, vii, 28: Paterculo et Vopisco. Stobbe.]

Flavius Ursus was, perhaps, as Teuffel *RLG*⁴, 326, 10, supposes, a son of Ursus who advised Domitian to divorce Domitia, and at Julia's request became consul in 84 (Dio, lxxvii, 3, 4). These intimate relations with the imperial house support the conjecture that he belonged to the Flavian gens. The Ursus mentioned by Statius was still young (ii, *praef.*: juvenem candidissimum et sine jactura desidia doctissimum) and seems to have held as yet no office, otherwise Statius would hardly have ignored the fact. He had, however, already appeared as an orator, ii, 6, 95, was rich and the owner of estates on Vesuvius, near Pollentia, in Lucania, on the right bank of the Tiber, in Crete, Cyprus and elsewhere (*ib.*, 60-68).

Vitorius (not Victorius) Marcellus, the friend of Quintilian, *Stat.*, *Silv.*, iv, *praef.*; iv, 4; cf. Nohl, *Zwei Freunde des Statius*, in *Hermes*, xii, 517 f., and Mommsen, *Vitorius Marcellus*, in *Hermes*, xiii, 428-430. He was probably, as Mommsen has shown, the son of a knight (his son Geta is called in Statius, *Silv.*, iv, 4, 75, *Stemmata materno felix, virtute paterna*), and after his praetorship he had obtained the superintendence of the Via Latina (*ib.*, 59), and the prospect of the command of a legion (61). He had married a lady of the family of Hosidius Geta, and his son Geta (Quintilian, i, pr.

6; Stat., l. 71: *parvoque exempla parabis magna Getae*) is the Arval, C. Vitorius Hosidius Geta, repeatedly mentioned in the *Acta* of 118-120). The Gallus mentioned by Statius (ll. 20-26) was not, as was formerly erroneously assumed, a son but a friend of Vitorius Marcellus.

Vibius Maximus (Martial, xi, 106), whose name, falsely spelt *Vinius* and *Vivius* in the Statius MSS., has been restored by Nohl (*Hermes*, xii, 517), belonged to the equestrian order. His father had held a command in the Sarmatian war (*Silv.*, iv, 7, 49-53), and he himself had been *praef. alae* in the East (l. 45). When *Silv.*, iv, 7 was composed, he was in Dalmatia, not, as Hirschfeld (*VG*, p. 85 n.) supposed, as *proc. avar. Delmat.*, but as Nohl proves from a military diploma of 93, as *praef. coh. iii Alpinorum*. In the year 104 he was, as is shown by an inscription on the column of Memnon (Nohl, *ibid.*), prefect of Egypt. [He also had literary tastes; he epitomized Sallust and Livy (*Silv.*, iv, 7, 55). Statius addressed a letter to him on the publication of the *Thebais* (iv, *praef.*, 7, 25-28), and perhaps he is the Maximus who admired Catullus (Martial i, 7). Nohl.]

Septimius Severus was also a knight, iv, 5, 41: *inter pignora curiae Contentus arcto lumine purpurae* (*praef.*: *inter ornatissimos secundi ordinis*), an orator and poet (Teuffel, *RLG*⁴, 326, 9), and the owner of three estates near Veii, Cures, and in the territory of the Hernici (54-57). No mention is made of his holding any office.

Novius (Nohl, *Qu. Stat.*, p. 45)¹ Vindex is praised by Statius for the purity of his morals, and for his fidelity towards a certain Vestinus, who, it seems, had then (94/95) died in the prime of life, and belonged to a noble family (iv, 6, 94: *scit adhuc florente sub aevo Par magnis Vestinus avis*). Probably, however, he is the man mentioned by Martial, iv, 73.

Pollius Felix, a rich Puteolan, lived in retirement at his villa near Sorrento (*Silv.*, ii, 2; iii, *praef.*; iii, 1); his wife was Polla, his son-in-law the Neapolitan Julius Menecrates.

LVIII. THE CHRONOLOGY OF JUVENAL'S LIFE AND SATIRES.

(Vol. III, p. 67 ff.)

THE statement, formerly very common, that Borghesi in his treatise *Sull' età di Giovenale* (1847, *Œuvres*, v, 49-76) placed the birth of Juvenal in the year 47, is, as far as I can ascertain, erroneous. So far as I know, Borghesi has nowhere expressly said it. The conclusion was merely drawn, because he had proved that Juvenal wrote his last book, in part at least, in the year 127. This year was then assumed to be that of his death, and as the ancient biographies unanimously state that he lived to be eighty, his birth was assigned to the year 47. Perhaps this was also Borghesi's view. Others put his death a few years later, and his birth about 50.

Borghesi's date for the composition of the 13th satire is quite certain; according to l. 17 it was written sixty years after the consulate of Fonteius. Of the four consuls named Fonteius Capito named in the *Fasti* (A.U.C. 721, 765, 812, 820) only the last three

¹ Baehrens: *novii ita A. novi C. Novii* edd.; but like Markland he writes Nonius.

are in question. Now Borghesi has shown that if a year was indicated by the name of only one consul, it was always the one whose name stands first in the *Fasti*. This is only the case with the name of that Fonteius who was consul in the year 820 = 67 A.D.

Now I thought that in the passage in question in the 13th satire I recognized an indication of Juvenal's birth-year. The poet comforts his friend Calvinus, who is troubled because a faithless friend has repudiated a sum of money given him in trust; the loss, says Juvenal, is not great, and one must not be so distressed at an everyday occurrence. Then he continues, l. 13 :

Tu quamvis levium minimam exiguamque malorum
particulam vix ferre potes, spumantibus ardens
visceribus, sacrum tibi quod non reddat amicus
depositum. stupet haec, qui jam post terga reliquit
sexaginta annos, Fonteio consule natus :
an nihil in melius tot rerum proficit usus ?

I still think, as before, that this passage, punctuated as above, may in itself very well be understood thus : ' one who (like myself) has already seen sixty years (and so has only too often had similar experiences) is astonished at such passionate grief over so ordinary a disappointment '.¹ But as O. Hirschfeld has pointed out to me, the poet's astonishment at the excessive grief of Calvinus would be no sufficient reason for appealing to his own sixty years' experience, while an admonition to his friend to take to heart the lessons of *his* experience, would be entirely appropriate. It is therefore most natural to refer l. 17 to Calvinus, and to place a mark of interrogation after *natus*.

All the same I am inclined to think that Juvenal has at the same time indicated the date of his own birth, because of the dating with the consul's name. For the date of one's own birth is familiar to every one, and falls naturally from the tongue, but not the date of another's birth. Juvenal would have called Calvinus a man of 60, but hardly one born in the year of Fonteius. But I admit that the argument is not convincing.

J. Dürr (*Das Leben Juvenals. Progr. d. Gymn. zu Ulm*, 1888) has edited a *Vita* from a Barberini Juvenal MS. of the fifteenth century, compiled ' in a very fanciful and arbitrary way ' with the help of the satires and some generally accessible sources (especially Jerome's Chronicle). It begins as follows : Junius Juvenalis Aquinas Junio Juvenale patre, matre vero Septumuleia ex Aquinati municipio, Claudio Nerone et L. Antistio consulibus (55 A.D.) natus est. Sororem habuit Septumuleiam, quae Fuscino nupsit. As this alleged brother-in-law of Juvenal is taken from *Sat.*, 14, 1, the suspicion arises that the latter's mother and sister owe their origin to the author's fancy. But also the statement as to the year of Juvenal's birth is suspicious, not only from the whole character of the compilation, but in particular because the writer of the notice found in the *vitae* ii and iii (in Jahn, in vii transferred to another place) that

¹ Cf. my review of Schwabe, *Juvenals Geburtsjahr*, in Burian's *Jahresb.*, xiv, 1886, 2, pp. 204-206. Merivale (Lewis in his edition of Juvenal, vol. II, p. 338) interpreted the passage in the same way.

Juvenal was born 'temporibus Claudii Neronis'. If now, in order to appear better informed than the old biographer, he wished to give Juvenal's birth-year, the most obvious thing to do was to choose a date when Nero was one of the consuls. It certainly cannot be maintained that their transference of the date of Juvenal's birth to the time of Claudius by an unknown humanist is of greater authority than the dating of it under Nero in the old *Vitæ*, which may very well derive it from the trustworthy ancient source.

In any case all the credible statements regarding Juvenal's life and writings, and all the data obtained with certainty or probability by Borghesi can be harmonized with the conjecture that he was born in the year 67. I consider the assertion of the old *Vitæ* (iv and vii in Jahn excepted), 'ad mediam fere ætatem declamavit' to be unquestionable, on account of the addition 'animi magis causa quam ut scholæ se aut foro præpararet' for no occasion or object can be imagined for inventing such a motive. 'Media ætas' (Phædr., *Fab.*, ii, 12; Plaut., *Aul.*, ii, 1, 37; Apuleius, *Met.*, v, 15: jam medium cursum ætatis agere, rara interspersa canitie; v, 16: nunc ætate media candenti canitie lucidus) may well mean the whole fifth decade of life. In no case would Juvenal, if he was born in 67, have applied himself to satire before 107. Those who dated his birth about 47 had to assume that some of his satires were composed under Domitian. It is true some scholars were formerly inclined to assume this of the 2nd and 3rd satires, as Heinrich and Synnerberg (*De temporibus vitæ carminumque D. Junii Juvenalis rite constituendis*, p. 59 ss.), or of the 1st and 2nd, as Lewis, ed. Juvenal, 1882/83. There is, however, not only not the least valid ground for it, but everything points to the conclusion that it was the freedom of speech which began with the death of Domitian, that called Juvenal's satirical poetry into life, being as it was a necessary condition for it.

A rough determination of the time of composition and publication of the first two books is afforded, as Borghesi has remarked, by the passage 6, 398 ss. in which the newsmongering woman is described:

Instantem regi Armenio Parthoque cometen
prima videt, famam rûmoresque illa recentis
exciplt ad portas, quosdam facit, isse Niphaten
210 in populos, magnoque illic cuncta arva teneri
diluvió, nutare urbes, subsidere terras,
quocumque in trivio, cuicumque est obvia, narrat.

Borghesi referred the events mentioned in ll. 409-411 to the great earthquake which in the year 115 destroyed Antioch, and l. 407 to Trajan's campaign in Armenia and Parthia. This conjecture is confirmed by the fact that the comet here mentioned was actually visible in Rome in this year.¹

In the hope of gaining the desired chronological certainty through an astronomical datum, I applied to my colleague Eduard Luther (d. 1887), director of the Königsberg observatory, with the question whether the comet to which Juvenal alludes could be identified, and

¹ Cf. *Progr. Acad. Alb. Regimont.* 1872, v: *De cometa à Juvenale in Satira sexta commemorato.*

learned from him that our knowledge of the comets between the years 611 B.C. and 1000 A.D. mainly depends on the astronomical observations of the Chinese, which are so accurate, that it has even been possible to calculate the orbits of the comets which they have recorded. From 98 to 117 A.D. five comets were observed by Chinese astronomers, in the years 102, 104, 110, 115 and 117, but these were not all visible in Rome. Of these only that of the year 115 can be taken into consideration, because it is the only one which could have been said to threaten the kings of Parthia and Armenia, who were then at war with Trajan. I am indebted to Luther for the following information on this comet. 'Biot in the *Additions to the Connaissance des temps pour l'an 1846* reports that the Chinese encyclopædia of Ma Twan Lin mentions an extraordinary star which was seen in the west on the 16th of November, 115, stood on November 21 south of α and β Aquarii and went to α Muscae and η Pleiadum. This comet (for that such it was is shown by its movement) culminated in November about 4 p.m. 36° above the Roman horizon. It set there at about 9.30, and can therefore have been seen in Rome'. As a fact then the Chinese, about whose proceedings the newsmonger pretended to be informed, did something at the time when Juvenal wrote his 6th satire, which enables us to date its composition exactly.

The earthquake which destroyed Antioch did not, as Clinton assumed, take place in the spring of 115, but as Gutschmid (*Zu Dierauers Geschichte Trajans*, in Büdinger's *Untersuchungen zur Römischen Kaisergeschichte*, i, 157 and 167 f.) has at least made very probable, on December 13. Trajan's Armenian campaign was already ended before September 114 (p. 163 f.), but he did not start from Antioch till the spring of 116, and entered Ctesiphon as conqueror in the summer. The comet seen in Rome in November 115 could therefore only have been connected with the war with the Parthian king, and not with that with the king of Armenia, but presumably Juvenal was not exactly informed about the chronology of the events in the east. The 6th satire must therefore have been written in the course of the year 116 or 117.

Weidner, who in his 2nd edition of Juvenal (1889) dates its composition in the year 111 or not much later (p. xvi), identifies the comet with that of 110 (note to 6, 407). I am obliged to my colleague, F. Peters, the present director of the Königsberg Observatory, for the following information about this comet. 'In the very trustworthy work of Williams, *Observations of Comets from B.C. 611 to A.D. 1640, extracted from the Chinese Annals* (1671) is to be found a notice, agreeing with that of Biot in the *Connaissance des temps pour l'an 1846*, according to which in January 110 a bright comet appeared in the constellation of Eridanus, which must certainly also have been visible in Rome'. This cannot, however, have been the one meant by Juvenal. For firstly Trajan's departure from Rome for the Oriental campaign took place, not as Weidner says in 112, but towards the end of 113 or 114 (vol. i, xiii, A.D. 113 and n.), secondly the juxtaposition as sensational novelties of two events separated by almost six years is improbable, if not inconceivable, whereas it would be natural if both had just occurred.

It follows from all this with complete certainty that the emperor on whom alone, according to Juvenal's 7th satire, the hopes of poetry rest, is, as Borghesi (*Œuvres*, v, 511) supposed, Hadrian, who had just ascended the throne, as he was in fact the first emperor since Claudius who took a serious interest in literature.¹ The passage in Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 47, which K. F. Hermann (*De Juv. sat. vii temporibus*), O. Ribbeck (*Juv.*, p. x), Teuffel (*RLG*⁴, 330, 2) and others cite as evidence that Juvenal meant Trajan, by no means proves it. For the '*studia*', of which Pliny says that under Trajan they '*spiritum et sanguinem et patriam receperunt*', are the studies of philosophy and eloquence, persecuted and suppressed by Domitian, as Pliny expressly says, '*quem honorem dicendi magistris, quam dignationem sapientiae doctoribus habes!*' Also the expressions of Pliny in his letters, cited by Teuffel, 330, 2, on the revival of *studia*, *Epp.*, i, 10, 1; iii, 18, 5, etc., refer to the same sciences, and to the writing of history. But in times of tyranny poetry always provided a safe refuge, it had flourished under Domitian with a brilliance not forgotten in after times, and it owed nothing to the change of rulers.

But evidently Juvenal, who had completed his 7th satire before Trajan's death, added as an afterthought the introduction (at least ll. 1-21) addressed to the new emperor. This is most clearly revealed by the fact that there is no connexion between the introduction and the real subject of the poem. In the former it is said that a hope is offered by the emperor for noble intellectual efforts, the only hope, it is true, but instead of continuing '*hitherto we had no such hope*', the condition of all who choose literary or learned professions, especially poets, historians, rhetoricians and grammarians, is pictured as still desperate and comfortless. Even in a poet whose works display such structural weakness as Juvenal's one expects at least at the conclusion an allusion to the better future which has dawned. But of this there is no trace, only the past is praised, the age of a Maecenas, a Fabius and a Cotta, and it is praised as an age that cannot be expected to return. Then he says, genius received the reward of merit (ll. 94-97), as if the poet had quite forgotten that he had announced a prospect of the same reward for the present.

But if one were ready to admit the possibility of such extreme carelessness, there is another difficulty which could not be removed by such a supposition. The satire deals with the sad condition of all authors and scholars, but the introduction speaks exclusively of the hopes aroused in *poets* by the emperor's interest in their efforts. It is true that the general expression *studia* is used which singularly occurs nowhere else in Juvenal), but in each case it undoubtedly refers to poetical efforts.

1. Et spes et ratio studiorum in Caesare tantum.
solus enim tristes hac tempestate Camenas
respexit, cum jam celebres notique poetae
balneolum Gabii, Romae conducere furnos
temptarent etc.

¹ This, as I noticed later, was also K. O. Müller's view. He observes in his review of *Franchii Examen criticum D. Junii Juvenalis vitae* (1820), 'We know that Juvenal wrote his seventh satire in Rome in 871' (*Kl. Schr.*, i, 549).

17. Nemo tamen studiis, indignum ferre laborem
cogetur posthac, nectit quicunque canoris
eloquium vocale modis laurumque momordit.
hoc agite, o juvenes ! circumspicit et stimulat vos
materiamque sibi ducis indulgentia quaerit.¹

It is only the poets, then, who according to this introduction can reckon on the emperor's favour, and the youths are only incited to poetry, not to literary or learned efforts in general. Then, after expatiating (ll. 22-35) on the hopeless prospects of poetry without the protection and encouragement of the emperor, the author passes on with a strange transition (*accipe nunc artes*, l. 36) to another very lengthy description (36-97) of the sad lot of poets, adding some considerations on the other learned professions.

The first book of the *Satires* (1-5) was then published between 107 and 116, the second (6) 116-117, and the third 118-121, for in the latter year Hadrian started on his great travels through the provinces, and Juvenal would certainly publish the book which was in a sense addressed to him while he was still in Rome. Now as the second book is only separated from the third by a short interval, we can scarcely assume a much longer one between the first and second, consequently we shall put the publication of the first book nearer 116 than 107. It is also not unlikely that in the applause which Juvenal gained at the beginning (*vit. ii*: *magna frequentia magnoque successu bis ac ter auditus est*) he found an incentive to continue without long delay poetical productions which had been so favourably received. The five satires of the first book, the first of which was undoubtedly composed last as an introduction, contain no indications from which more can be gathered than that the book appeared under Trajan, which is quite natural, as Juvenal was principally thinking of the age before Trajan when he wrote it. If then the first book was published about 114 (as long before the second as the second before the third), Juvenal will have turned to the writing of satire about 112, as the composition of five satires would require a considerable time. The most natural meaning of 'media aetas' in which he then was, would be forty-five, which again brings us to 67 as the year of his birth.

That the fifth book was published soon after the year 127 is shown not only by 13, 17, but also by 15, 27 (*nuper consule Junco Gesta*). A military diploma, found in Sardinia, and dated 11 October, 127 (*CIL*, iii, p. 874, no. xxxi), shows that Aemilius Juncus and Julius Severus, under whom the *SC juncianum* was issued (Marcian, *D.*, xl, 5, 51, § 8; Ulpian, *ib.*, 28, § 4) were then consuls. From the 'nuper' in 15, 27, one must date the publication of the fifth book not earlier than 128, and consequently that of the fourth some time between 121 and 128.

I now come to the question of Juvenal's banishment. From the unanimous testimony of the biographies, and of Suidas, Malalas and Apollinaris Sidonius (Teuffel, *RLG*², 331, 2), we have no reason to doubt its real occurrence, but as to place and time we have nothing but conjecture. Nothing can be inferred from the fact

¹ A reminiscence of Statius, *Silv.*, v, 2, 125: *Ergo aere nam magni ducis indulgentia pulsat.*

that none of the books is separated from the preceding by a long interval. The first three were undoubtedly composed in Rome, the last two might have been written there or in exile (*Vit. iv.* in exilio ampliavit satyras et pleraque mutavit; cf. also the *Vita* edited by Rühl from a *cod. Harl.* in the *N. Jahrb. f. Philol.*, 1874, p. 808 f.). Martial's three epigrams, vii, 24, 91, and xii, 18, only show that in the years 92 and 101/2, when they were written, Juvenal was in Rome. They therefore by no means conflict with K. F. Hermann's conjecture (*praef. ad Juv.*), that Juvenal was banished by Domitian in the last four years of his reign. I am however now inclined to think with Vahlen (*Juvenal und Paris*, in *Sitzungsber. d. Berliner Acad.*, 1883, pp. 1176-1192; cf. my review in *Bursians Jahresh.*, xiv, p. 206 f.) that *Sat. 7*, 88-92 which was not inserted after the rest, but was part of the original poem, gave occasion for the invention of the cause of the banishment. That the dancer who is said to have applied these lines to himself is called Paris in the *Vitae* is evidently due to the fact that Juvenal had himself mentioned the latter a little before the passage ('esurit, intactam Paridi nisi vendit Agauen'); in *Vit. ii* indeed it is said that the lines referred to the poet Statius, who is also mentioned in the context. It may be added that if the banishment took the form of an appointment as prefect of a cohort on some distant frontier of the empire, it cannot, as Hermann (*praef. ad Juv.* 4) remarked, have taken place shortly before Juvenal's death, as some of the *Vitae* affirm; for a man nearly eighty years of age could hardly have been appointed to so important a post.

Now Borghesi has made the very plausible conjecture (*Œuvres*, v, 513-516; cf. above, p. 69), that Crispinus was prefect of the Praetorium under Domitian, as colleague of Cornelius Fuscus, and brought about this banishment of Juvenal, as indeed such military appointments were made through the prefects. Juvenal's passionate hatred of Crispinus would thus be most naturally explained. That Borghesi's conjecture conflicts with none of the existing data had been already remarked.

The 4th satire, which begins with the announcement that it will deal with Crispinus, consists of two heterogeneous pieces, most clumsily patched together. Only the first 27 lines correspond to the announcement, but in the story of the council which Domitian summoned on the Albanum, Crispinus is indeed once mentioned (l. 108 ff.), but he has not even a subordinate part to play. Perhaps Juvenal had written these twenty-seven lines as an introduction to a satire on Crispinus which remained unfinished; ¹ and in order not to throw them away he placed them, careless about the composition and even about the coherence of his poems, at the head of a satire in which at any rate Crispinus was mentioned, and which dealt with the extravagances of the luxury of the table, which seem to have been specially laid to the charge of Crispinus. Lines 28-36 were then inserted as a link, but serve this purpose very badly; for one expects a description of a gluttonous banquet of Domitian's, and not of a ludicrous consultation on the preparation of a dish.

¹ So Lewis, *Juvenal*, ii, p. 110: This is perhaps a draft introduction to an intended satire never completed.

Perhaps originally Juvenal had no intention of prefixing an introduction to the tale which begins at l. 37, at any rate it needs none.

The place of Juvenal's banishment is as uncertain as the time. Of the *Vitae*, iii mentions none, i, ii, iv, vii and that edited by Rühl mention Egypt or its furthest frontier, according to v and vi Juvenal was sent 'contra Scotos', in schol. i, i and xiv, 38 the place of exile is called Hoasis or Hoasa, in Suidas and Malalas it is the Pentapolis in Libya. Presumably therefore in the common source of all these accounts no place was mentioned, but it was only said that Juvenal received the prefecture of a cohort on a distant frontier. All the statements as to place are therefore alike untrustworthy; without doubt it was the 15th satire that suggested the mention of Egypt.

Nor does the inscription of Aquinum give any help towards the determination of the place of exile. It reads (*IRN*, 4312 = *CIL*, x, 5382): (Cere)ri sacrum | (D. Ju)nius Juvenalis (trib.) coh. (I) Del matarum | Ilvir quinq. flamen | Divi Vespasiani | vovit dedicavitque sua pec. The cohort here mentioned was stationed in Britain in 124 (Hübner, *D. röm. Heer in Britannien*, in *Hermes*, xvi, 566). It may be assumed with certainty that the military service, and the tenure of municipal offices and of the flaminiate belonged to Juvenal's earlier life.

Vitae i, iv, v, vi, vii and that edited by Rühl make Juvenal die in exile, ii and iii in Rome, iv says that he was very old under Antoninus Pius, i, ii and iii that he died at the age of eighty, or in his eighty-first year. The number of years seems to be taken from the good and ancient source of the *Vitae*, as a reason can hardly be found for its invention. If, as we may assume, it is correct, Juvenal died in the year 147.

If he finished the fifth book about 128, or nearly twenty years before his death, he certainly published it himself, and this edition doubtless contained the 16th satire as a complete poem. Its present incompleteness is to be most simply explained by supposing that one or more leaves have been lost at the end of the original manuscript; for as O. Ribbeck (*Symbola Philol. Bonnens.*, p. 26 ss.; *Der echte und der unechte Juvenal*, p. 175 ff.) and Bücheler (*Rhein. Mus.*, Bd. xxix, 1874, pp. 636-638) have remarked, the original manuscript had thirty lines to the page, from which it results that the last line of our present text was also the last line on a page.

If not only there is no objection to the view that Juvenal was born in the year 67, but also the approximately settled date of his 'media aetas' and of the beginning of his satire-writing lead to the same result, the conjecture is at least as justified as any other. The following dates may then be given for his life and writings.

Juvenal entered military service at the earliest ..	84
Held municipal offices at the earliest	92
Was in Rome	92
Was banished between	92 and 96 ?
Was in Rome	101 1/2
Applied himself there to rhetoric till about	112
Published Book I of the Satires between	112 and 116
" " II " "	116 " 118
" " III " "	118 " 121

Published Book IV of the Satires between	121 and 127
" " V " " " " " "	128 or later
Died " " " " " " " " " "	147

LIX. ON THE PERSONAL NAMES IN JUVENAL.¹

(Vol. III, p. 67 ff.)

THE first question that arises in an examination of the personal names in Juvenal is whether and how far the names which occur both in his works and Martial's are to be referred to the same persons. This can only be done with certainty in cases where the identity can be proved from other sources ; for in regard to personal names the practice of the two poets is entirely different. Although Martial probably always had in his mind's eye real, and indeed living representatives of the vices and follies which he derided and reprobated, yet, as he repeatedly assures us, he never named them by their real names, but always with fictitious or arbitrarily chosen names ; and as the choice of these names was determined mainly by the requirements of metre or euphony, and only very rarely by their signification, he has not hesitated to use the same name to designate the most various persons and types. Cf. my edition, Part I, pp. 21-23.

While Martial then gives the same name now to this person, now to that, Juvenal always designates the same person by a name. This fact alone warns us to be cautious in attempting to identify one of his characters with a homonym in Martial; and in fact it often proves impossible. The Naevolus of Juvenal's 9th satire has no resemblance to any Naevolus in Martial; no more has the fat advocate Matho of Juv., I, 32, a bad speaker II, 34, who became bankrupt 7, 32, with any of the persons whom Martial calls Matho. So we may not follow Borghesi (*Œuvres*, v, 509 ss.) in recognizing the Paullus mentioned in Juvenal, 7, 143 in one of Martial's epigrams in which the same name occurs; for this name is assigned by Martial now to this figure, now to that, and even where it is the name of a real person, his identity with the Paullus of Juvenal cannot be assumed (cf. Mommsen, *Ind. Plinian.*, s. Velius Paullus).

The constant use of the same name for the same person is in itself enough to suggest that Juvenal only introduces real persons into his satires, and calls them by their real names, an assumption which is entirely confirmed by my inquiry (*De nominibus personarum in Juvenalis satiris*, *Program. Acad. Alb. Regimont.*, 1872, iv). I did not learn till later that this was also Borghesi's view (*Œuvres*, v, 533 : *ama generalmente di usarne dei veri o almeno dei conosciuti*). I regard his conjecture as very probable, that the Atticus mentioned in 12, 1 (*Atticus eximie si cenat, lautus habetur*) is Tiberius Claudius Atticus, the father of the sophist Herodes Atticus. Perhaps it would be possible to identify some of the few other persons of whom Juvenal speaks respectfully, especially those to whom he addressed some of his satires, as Postumus 6, 21, Ponticus 8, 1, Corvinus 12, 1, Calvinus 13, 5, Fuscinus 14, 1, Volusius Bithynicus 15, 1, Gallus 16, 1. The possibility cannot be denied, that in exceptional cases

.¹ Cf. my programme, *De nominibus personarum in Juvenalis satiris*, Acad. Alb. Regimont., 1872, iv.

Juvenal used arbitrarily chosen names, but it cannot be proved in a single case. The name Censennia for a rich lady (6, 136) might be chosen on account of its signification, but it is certainly the real name of the person in question.

As Juvenal carefully avoided attacking or exposing under their real names persons who might injure him (1, 170 ss.), he could only make three classes of persons the objects of his ridicule, contempt, or condemnation, *viz.* persons who were dead, judicially condemned or of humble rank. And in fact among the persons disrespectfully mentioned by him, there is not one who cannot be proved or assumed to belong to one of these three classes.

All the persons of the age of Domitian, occurring in Juvenal, who are also mentioned by Martial, were either already dead or could not longer hurt him. They are Domitian's favourite Crispinus (Mart., vii, 99; viii, 48; Juv. 1, 27; 4, 1 ss.; cf. above, p. 69), the mime Latinus (Mart., i, 4; ix, 28 cet.; Juv., 1, 36; 4, 53; cf. vol. i, p. 60); the female mime Thymele (Mart., i, 5, 5; Juv., 1, 36; 6, 66; 8, 197), the dancer Paris (Mart., xi, 13; Juv., 6, 87; cf. vol. ii, p. 114), the citharists Pollio (Mart., iv, 61, 9; Juv., 5, 387; cf. above, p. 265), and Glaphyrus (Mart., iv, 5; Juv., 6, 77; cf. above, p. 261); the buffoon Gabba (Mart., i, 42; x, 101; Juv., 5, 3; cf. vol. i, p. 85); the informers Baebius Massa and Mettius Carus (Mommsen, *Ind. Plinian.*) whom Martial did not venture to attack earlier than in a book which appeared under Trajan (xii, 25, 29; Juv., 1, 35 s.); the jurist Chius Aufidius (Mart., v, 61; Juv., 9, 25; cf. Teuffel, *RLG*⁴, 328, 1). On the other hand the Sura of Mart., i, 49, 40 is not the Palfurius Sura of Juv., 4, 53, but the famous fellow-countryman of Licinianus, Licinius Sura, who was born in Hispania Tarraconensis.

Juvenal's fondness for reminiscences of the age of Domitian and of well-known personages of that time¹ lends support to a new explanation of the passage 12, 43. He says there of Catullus who when in danger of shipwreck, orders part of the cargo to be thrown overboard to lighten the ship:

Ille nec argentum dubitabat mittere, lances
Parthenio factas, urnae cratera capacem
et dignum sitiente Pholo vel conjuge Fusci.

According to the scholiast, Parthenius was the goldsmith who made the bowls. Sillig (*Catal. artif.*, p. 480) thinks the name fictitious. R. Rochette (*Lettre à M. Schorn*, p. 376) suggests identity with the 'C. Octavius Parthenion argentarius' mentioned in the inscription Gruter, 639, 5; Heinrich supposes the poet refers to an artist of Samos, which was originally called Parthenia. The last two conjectures need no refutation, and a fictitious name would be quite senseless here, where only the name of a universally known and recognized artist could indicate the value of the bowls. Besides, the following lines: multum Caelati, biberat quo callidus emptor Olynthi, deal expressly with artistically worked vessels; but here apparently only those gigantic silver vessels are alluded to, which were objects of luxury at that time (see vol. ii, p. 208). I have

See above, p. 316.

therefore little doubt that the bowls were made for Parthenius, the well-known chamberlain and murderer of Domitian (vol. i, p. 57 f.). It may be taken for granted that he was very rich, and it is just the names of imperial freedmen that Juvenal often uses for types of extreme riches:—1, 109: *possideo plus Pallante et Liciniis*; 14, 305: *praedives . . . Licinus . . . attonitus pro Electro signisque suis Phrygiaque columna Atque ebore et lata testudine*; 16, 329: *divitiae Narcissi*; 14, 91: *ut spado vincebat Capitolia nostra Posides*. It is also known that the value of an object was increased if it had belonged to a famous person (vol. ii, p. 331 f.), and that the subsequent owners were fond of drawing attention to the fact.

Of the criminals mentioned by Juvenal, whose condemnation had made them innocuous, the one who probably stood nearest to the poet's time was Marius Priscus (1, 49; 8, 120), who had been condemned in 99/100 for extortion in the province of Africa, of which he was governor (Mommsen, *Ind. Plinian.*) The others presumably all belong to an earlier period. Thus Cossutianus Capito mentioned in 8, 91 ff. as a plunderer of the province of Cilicia, had been condemned by the senate in the year 58 (Tac., *A.*, xiii, 33, with Nipperdey's note). The period of Numitor, mentioned in the same passage, who met with the same fate for the same offence, is unknown. The poisoner Pontia, 6, 638 (Martial, ii, 34), as the scholiast asserts, after the death of her husband (Drymion according to Valla), was convicted of the murder of her two sons, severed her veins after a luxurious dinner, and died dancing, being devoted to that art. She was (also according to the scholiast) the daughter of a certain P. Petronius, condemned by Nero for conspiracy, probably Petronius Priscus, who in the year 65 was banished to an island in the Aegean for his share in the conspiracy of Piso (Tac., xv, 71). Her death might therefore have occurred under Nero, or equally well under one of the following emperors. The Calpurnia who is stigmatized in 3, 133 (*alter enim quantum in legione tribuni Accipijunt donat Calpurnae*) was, according to a notice of the scholiast which appears to be quite trustworthy, the sister of a praetor, and committed suicide under Claudius, because her incest with her brother was divulged. Similarly the vicious women, against whom Juvenal makes Creticus declaim, Procula, Pollitta, Fabulla, Carfinia (*damnetur si vis etiam, Carfinia, talem Non sumet dampata togam*, Juv., 2, 67-70), as well as the others who are characterized as adulteresses or wantons, must be considered real persons, whose names were known to everybody through their condemnation. Their number need cause no surprise, as Domitian enforced the *lex Julia de adulteriis* with great severity.¹ In two cases the retention of the same name in two widely separated satires, shows that a real person is spoken of. Maura who scoffed at the temple of Pudicitia (6, 308) is evidently the same as she of whom it is said in 10, 224: *quot longa viros absorbeat uno Maura die*. The Catulla of 2, 49 is found again in 10, 323: *sive est haec. Oppia, sive Catulla deterior*. If in these two cases the repeated characterization leaves

¹ The identification of the Hispo mentioned in 2, 50 with M. Appuleius Proculus Tl. Caepio Hispo, cos. des. 103 or 104, procons. prov. Asiae (Mommsen, *Ind. Plin.*), although suggested by Borghesi (*Evetres*, v, 311), is extremely improbable.

no doubt as to identity, it is possible that in another case there were two distinct persons; the Hispulla who loves a tragedian 6, 74, may be the fat Hispulla who weighs as much as a bull 12, 11, or she may be another person. Juvenal also mentions two Pollios, the celebrated *Altharcedus*, 5, 387 (Martial, iv, 61, 9), and the prodigal *Crepereius Pollio*, who seeks a loan in vain, although he offers thrice the usual interest, 9, 6, and after losing his equestrian rank, is at last forced to go begging, 9, 43. In this case the mention of the gentile name excludes the idea of a fictitious or arbitrarily chosen name, and the same is true of *Pacuvius Hister*, the legacy-hunter, 12, 111, 125, 128; also a second *Hister* is evidently to be considered a real person, as he is mentioned as already dead in 2, 58: *notum est cur solo tabulas impleverit Hister Liberto, dederit vivus cur multa puellae*.

Juvenal had no occasion to introduce under other than their real names persons of subordinate social position, or indeed any whose displeasure would be indifferent to him. We have therefore every reason to regard as real the names of such persons as the *præco Machæra*, 7, 9, the rhetorician *Vettius*, 7, 180, the pleaders *Paullus*, *Gellius* and *Basilus*, 7, 142-145, 10, 212 etc., and the gladiators (*Euryalus*, 6, 81, *Sergius*, 6, 105, 112); all the more as many of the persons of this class are known from other sources as contemporaries of Juvenal. Those who also occur in Martial have been already mentioned. We know further *Demetrius*, the actor (Juv., 3, 93; vol. ii, p. 96 f.), and *Archigenes*, the physician (Juv., 6, 236; 8, 97; 14, 258; *Suidas*: ἐν τῷ Ἰππικῷ τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐν [Eudocia πρῶ], *Sprengel, Geschichte der Medicin*, ii, 104). In the 13th satire, which was composed in 127, a physician is described (l. 125) as a pupil of *Philippus*, who again was a pupil of *Archigenes* (*Sprengel*, ii, 112 ff.), but this perfectly agrees with the supposition that Juvenal wished to name that medical school, which at the moment enjoyed the highest reputation. Without doubt also *Heliodorus* the physician, 6, 373, and *Lyde* the fat medical woman, 2, 141, and *Themiso* the physician, 10, 221, were personages well known to the town. As the last-mentioned named himself after a famous predecessor, the *methodicus* *Themiso* (*Sprengel*, ii, 28), so perhaps the charioteer *Lacerta* (7, 113; note on vol. ii, p. 22, l. 26) and the runner *Ladas* (13, 97; see above p. 261), and according to the custom of the day assumed or received the names of famous masters of the same arts. Other town characters whom Juvenal could mention by their real names without hesitation are the drunken wife of *Fuscus* 12, 45, *Procula* the female dwarf 3, 203, *Rutila* the bearded woman 10, 294, and *Corbulo* the strong man 3, 251. Also *Hamillus*, the schoolmaster who abused the boys entrusted to him 10, 224, was no doubt known to the town, and probably no longer dangerous. If Martial in choosing this rare name for a man who wished to acquire a similar reputation, vii, 62, thought of the same person, which is not impossible, then Juvenal as in other cases was speaking of a character of the age of Domitian as of a contemporary.

LX. CHRONOLOGICAL NOTES ON GELLIUS.¹

(Vol. III, p. 80.)

THE only treatise known to me in which an attempt is made to fix exact dates for the life and works of Gellius is Bähr's article *Gellius* in Ersch and Gruber's Encyclopædia. The dates there given require, however, correction and completion.

When Gellius went to school (in scholis fui, xvi, 1, ad grammaticos itavi, vii, 6) Terentius Scaurus (divi Hadriani temporibus grammaticus vel nobilissimus, xi, 15, probably Hadrian's teacher, *Vit. L. Veri*, c. 2) was apparently already dead, for Gellius, not understanding a passage in one of his books, asked Sulpicius Apollinaris, whose pupil, he tells us, he was; xiii, 18: adulescens (xx, 6: adulescentulus) sectabatur discendi gratia, hominem nostrae memoriae doctissimum. This alone reminds us that the youth of Gellius did not fall in the reign of Hadrian (whom he always calls *Divus*), but in that of Antoninus Pius.

He seems to have attached himself in his seventeenth and eighteenth years to Sulpicius Apollinaris; xviii, 4: cum jam adulescentulus praetextam et puerilem togam mutasset magistrosque tunc sibi ipse exploratiores quaereret. The *toga virilis* was assumed between the fifteenth and seventeenth years (Marquardt, *Prl.*, i², 123-131). Adulescens Romae, cum etiamtum ad grammaticos itarem, audiavi Apollinarem Sulpicium, quem in primis sectabar . . . Erucio Claro, praefecto urbi, dicere etc. vii, 6. Erucius Clarus (cf. Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 9; Fronto, ed. Naber, p. 6) was consul for the second time in 146, but the dates of his first consulate and urban prefecture (Gell., xiii, 18: qui praefectus urbi et bis consul fuit) are unknown.

In the same years he received instruction from the rhetoricians Antonius Julianus and T. Castricius, the latter of whom ('noster' in Fronto, *Ad am.*, ii, 2, ed. N., p. 190), according to Gellius, xiii, 22, vir a D. Hadriano in mores atque litteras spectatus, Romae locum principem habuit declamandi ac docendi, and was (xix, 9) docendis publice juvenibus magister. Gellius describes himself as an 'adulescentulus' at the time when he spent his summer vacation at Puteoli with this teacher and his fellow-scholars (xviii, 9). He had also already associated with Fronto; xviii, 8: Adulescentulus Romae priusquam Athenas concederem, quando erat a magistris auditionibusque obeundis otium, ad Frontonem Cornelium visendi gratia pergebam. His association with the poet Annianus (xi, 7; ix, 10, who was accustomed to hold a vintage festival on his estate in the Faliscan territory, xx, 8) seems also to belong to this time; for Annianus was old enough to have heard Valerius Probus, who is known to have flourished under Nero, but was probably still living under Domitian (Martial, iii, 2, 12—c. 87 A.D.; Jahn, *Proll. ad Pers.*, p. cxxxvii). It is uncertain whether at this time he was already acquainted with Julius Paullus (homo in memoria nostra doctissimus, i, 22; v, 4; xvi, 10). This 'vir bonus et rerum literarumque impense doctus' invited Gellius to his little property in the Vatican district, together with the Numidian Julius Celsinus, xix, 7, who was also Fronto's friend, xix, 10.

¹ Cf. my 'programm,' *De Auli Gellii vitae temporibus*, *Acad. Ab. Regimont.*, 1869, iv,

If Gellius began his course of instruction with Sulpicius Apollinaris about in his eighteenth year he probably continued it with him and his other teachers for about seven years. For immediately after the completion of his grammatical and rhetorical studies he was appointed a judge, and so was led to legal studies. xiii, 2, 1: quo primum tempore a praetore lectus in iudices sum . . . libros utriusque linguae, de officio iudicis scriptos, acquisivi, ut homo adulescens, a poetarum fabulis et a rhetorum epilogis ad judicandas lites vocatus (xiv, 1, 1: a praetoribus lectus in iudices sum, ut judicia quae appellantur privata susciperem. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 538, 4). xiii, 13: cum ex angulis secretisque librorum et magistrorum in medium jam hominum et in lucem fori prodidissem, quaesitum esse memini in plerisque Romae stationibus jus publice docentium aut respondentium etc. Now it is true that Suetonius says, in *August.*, c. 32: iudices a tricensimo (so *codd.*: the conjecture of Cujacius *vicensimo*, based on the passage from Ulpian quoted below, is inadmissible) aetatis anno adlegit, *i.e.* quinquennio maturius quam solebant (Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 537, 5). But Suetonius is not speaking of the legally eligible age, but of that actually observed (quam solebant). At the age of thirty or more Gellius could not call himself 'adulescens', nor is it credible that he attended the school of rhetoric up to that age (see vol. i, p. 161). It must therefore be assumed that the legal age required for jurors, mentioned by Ulpian (*Digg.*, xlii, 1, 57: quidem consulebant an valeret sententia a minore viginti quinque annis iudice data etc.), was already at this time in force in Rome, and that Gellius was appointed as soon as he reached it.

For the elucidation of legal questions Gellius also applied to grammarians, one of whom addresses him as 'adulescens' (xx, 10), and to Favorinus, quem in eo tempore Romae plurimum sectabar (xiv, 2, 11). To the years immediately following belongs all that Gellius relates about his intercourse with Favorinus (cf. Hertz, *Ind. lect. aest. Vratisl.*, 1869), viz. a visit to Fronto, ii, 26, meeting with the grammarian Domitius Insanus xviii, 7, a walk by the baths of Titus iii, 1, another in the forum of Trajan xiii, 25, an excursion to Ostia xviii, 1, a visit to Antium xvii, 10.

Now as two conversations, in which Favorinus takes part, and which evidently belong to the same period, take place before the imperial palace, in a group which is waiting for the beginning of the *salutatio Caesaris* (iv, 1, 1 and xx, 1, 1, where the jurist S. Caecilius discourses), this intercourse of Gellius with Favorinus must have taken place before 161, in which year Antoninus Pius died, and two emperors ascended the throne, so that from that time onward one could hardly speak without further specification of a *salutatio Caesaris*.

Sulpicius Apollinaris was still living, when Gellius was a judge; for 'cum Romae a consulibus iudex extra ordinem datus . . . essem' (xii, 13, 1) he applied to him about the meaning of the words *intra Kalendas*. To the same time probably belongs the conversation xix, 13: Stabant forte una in vestibulo Palatii fabulantes Fronto Cornelius et Festus Postumius (an orator from Numidia, cf. Fronto, *Ad amic.*, ii, 10, ed. Naber, p. 200) et Apollinaris Sulpicius etc. But Apollinaris must have died soon after, in any case

several years before 163. For the later emperor Pertinax (born 126) was first his pupil and then his successor, *Vit. Pert.*, c. 1: post quem idem Pertinax grammaticæ professor est; where 'post quem' can hardly mean anything but 'after his death'. As Pertinax was not successful with his school, he applied for the office of a centurion, and obtained it. He served as prefect of a cohort in Syria, and afterwards distinguished himself in the Parthian war. Between his succession to the headship of the school, and the outbreak of the Parthian war in 163 a considerable interval must have elapsed. The dialectical studies of Gellius (xvi, 8, where he speaks of a book found in the library of the temple of Peace) may also perhaps be assigned to the period of his legal studies.

The journey of Gellius to Greece and his residence there certainly followed the period when he was a judge and studied the law. But he must have been in Athens before 165, or at the latest in that year, for Peregrinus Proteus, whom he saw (xii, 11) and heard (viii, 3) in Athens, died in 165. Now in referring to his sojourn here, Gellius speaks of himself (though indirectly) as 'juvenis', as regularly as he calls himself 'adulescens' in the preceding period. He calls his fellow-students in Athens 'juvenes' in ii, 21, vii, 10, xii, 5. In such a writer as Gellius this difference in expression cannot be accidental, but must mark a definite period of life. Now as Varro, according to Censorinus, *De Die Nat.*, c. 14, regarded the thirtieth year as the boundary between *adulescentia* and *juventus*,¹ it is extremely probable that Gellius followed this usage in writing of his own age, and had consequently passed this limit at the time of his residence in Athens.² If then Gellius' departure from Rome took place between 160 and 164, and he had just attained the age of thirty, his birth may be roughly dated between 130 and 134. It may be added that there is nowhere any indication that the accession of the two Augusti (161 A.D.) had taken place when Gellius left Rome. All this agrees very well with the conclusion already reached that he was at school soon after 137, so the date 140 to which his birth is assigned by Bähr (*op. cit.*, 48^b) is too late.

The further statements which Gellius makes with regard to his Greek journey provide no chronological data. Herodes Atticus (born c. 101, consul 143) to whom, as Bähr conjectures, Gellius was perhaps recommended by Favorinus, is mentioned as a consular in i, 2. Prominent among the instructors of Gellius in Athens was the Platonist Calvisius Taurus of Berytus, vii, 10: memoria nostra in disciplina Platonica celebratus, who had also taught Herodes (Philostratus, *Vitt. Soph.*, ii, 1, 34), and who according to Jerome flourished about 146 (Taurus clarus habetur), so that he was now an old man.

I find no warrant for the assumption that Gellius stayed two years at Athens, for, as Bähr (*op. cit.*, p. 45) remarks, all the seasons and events mentioned can very well find room in one year. Gellius

¹ So Augustine, *Conf.*, vii, 1, 1, says of his thirty-first year: Jam mortua erat adulescentia mea male nefanda, et itum in juventutem.

² He has, it is true, followed the general custom, which we find as early as Tacitus (*Vogel, De Nocturnis Atticarum A. Gellii compositionibus. Schriften für M. Hertz*, 1888, p. 7, 1), of calling the pupils in a school of rhetoric 'juvenes' without respect to their age (xix, 9: docendis publice juvenibus magister, see above, p. 322), but when he speaks of himself, he expresses himself more accurately.

alludes to excursions to Eleusis viii, 3, Aegina ii, 21, Delphi xii, 5, Patrae xviii, 9; the summer ii, 21, and its extreme heat xviii, 10, the very hot autumn 1, 2, the celebration of the Pythian games (in September, Bähr, 44^b) xii, 5, the winter xvii, 8, and its long nights *Praef.*, 4, the Saturnalia xviii, 2 and 13. He speaks thrice of the return journey: xix, 1 (stormy crossing from Cassiope to Brundisium), ix, 4, xvi, 6 (landing at Brundisium).

Of his later years Gellius hardly speaks at all. We gather from the preface that he married and had children (*Praef.*, 1). For the conjecture that in his later years he again settled at Athens, perhaps for the education of his children, and there elaborated his *Noctes Atticae*, I can find no foundation in the passage *Praef.*, 4: Sed quoniam longinquis per hiemem noctibus in agro sicut dixi terrae Atticae commentationes hasce ludere ac facere exorsus sumus; on the contrary I think that Gellius speaks here of the first outlines and notes (illis annotationibus pristinis) which he had made as a student and arranged and completed in his later years. That these notes were in part embodied in the later work in their original form, is shown by xviii, 2, 7, where he says that various questions were discussed 'nuper' at the Saturnalia at Athens, while an earlier passage leaves no doubt that this festival took place while Gellius was a student, 2: conveniebamus autem ad eandem cenam complusculi, qui Romani in Graeciam veneramus, quique easdem auditiones eosdemque doctores colebamus. This use of *nuper*, I admit, makes it impossible to assign with certainty the events which are distinguished as having happened 'nuper' to the time of the final composition of the work, for the sections in question might have been written several years earlier and inserted unaltered. xiii, 31: laudabat venditabatque se nuper quispiam in libraria sedens homo ineptus. xv, 4: in sermonibus nuper fuit seniorum hominum et eruditorum etc. ii, 24: legi adeo nuper in Capitonis Ateii conjectaneis. iiii, 3, 7: nos quoque ipsi nuperrime, cum legeremus Fretum etc. But it is equally possible that these passages were all or in part written during the actual composition of the book, and therefore that the events related happened shortly before. For that Gellius wrote his book, not in Attica, but in or near Rome, seems to me to follow clearly from the use of the present tense in the following passage, xi, 3: Quando ab arbitris negotisque otium est et motandi corporis gratia aut spatiamur aut vec-tamur, quaerere nonnumquam apud memet ipsum soleo res ejusmodi, parvas quidem minutasque—velut est ut forte nuper in Praenestino recessu vespertina ambulatione solus ambulans considerabam etc. It was perhaps during this stay in the country that the *opicus* asked the question about the title of Plutarch's treatise *περί πολυπραγμοσύνης*, which is also said to have happened 'nuper', xi, 16, 2; although of course Gellius may have met with *opici* in Rome. So then most of the stories of little happenings in Rome, introduced with *nuper*, probably belong to the time when the *Noctes Atticae* was composed. Also xvi, 10, 1: otium erat quodam die Romae in foro a negotiis etc., will refer to this time. It is striking that in this book written in a fairly advanced age Gellius relates so extremely little of his later years. We do not learn of what kind

(apart from *arbitria* and the management of his property) the business was, from which he had to steal time for his literary work (*Praef.*, 12: per omnia semper negotiorum intervalla, in quibus furari otium potui). At this time he spent his leisure on his estate at Praeneste.

He says, *Praef.*, 22: volumina commentariorum ad hunc diem viginti jam facta sunt. Quantum autem vitae mihi deinceps deum voluntate erit quantumque a tuenda re familiari procurandoque cultu liberorum meorum dabitur otium, ea omnia subsiciva et subsecundaria tempora ad colligendas hujusmodi memoriarum delectatiunculas conferam. Progredietur ergo numerus librorum, diis bene juvantibus cum ipsius vitae, quantuliquique fuerint, progressibus, neque longiora mihi dari spatia vivendi volo quam dum ero ad hanc quoque facultatem scribendi commentandique idoneus. Now as Gellius never published a continuation of his work, he seems not to have survived its completion for long. But it is clear he could only speak as he does after passing the prime of life. If then his birth is to be dated 130-134, the writing of his book cannot be placed between 150 and 160, but in the last years of Marcus Aurelius, or under Commodus, indeed Gellius may very well have written under Pertinax, like himself a pupil of Sulpicius Apollinaris, and may have outlived him. If, as Vogel, *loc. cit.*, remarks, the absence of any mention of the writings of Fronto suggests that he was dead when Gellius wrote, this agrees with the conjecture that he died about 180. It is also possible that, as Vogel also remarks (pp. 11-13), Gellius was surprised by death before he could put the finishing touches to his book, and especially bring the later sections into harmony with the earlier.

The following dates may, as a result of this inquiry, be regarded as probable—

Gellius is born	.. .. .	c. between 130 and 134
Assumes the <i>toga virilis</i>	.. .. .	" " 145 " 150
Begins to study under Sulpicius Apollinaris.	.. .. .	" " 146 " 151
Associates with Fronto (Erucius Clarus urban prefect)	.. .. .	at the same time.
Is appointed a judge	.. .. .	between 155 and 159
Attaches himself to Favorinus	.. .. .	at the same time.
(About the same time Sulpicius Apollinaris dies, and Pertinax (b. 126) succeeds to his school.)		
Travels to Greece	.. .. .	c. between 160 and 164
Completes the <i>Noctes Atticae</i> and writes the preface	.. .. .	c. between 175 and ?

A date given by F. Rühl (*Die Verbreitung des Justinus im Mittelalter*, p. 31 ff.) which came to my knowledge after writing the above, agrees very well with my conclusions. The book *De viris illustribus quo tempore scripserunt*, written by Radulphus de Diceto about 1210, and preserved in MS. in the British Museum, contains the following notice among others which appear to be drawn from a lost chronicle: Agellius scribit anno C.LXIX. This presumably refers to some event of that year mentioned by Gellius, but what it was I have not as yet been able to discover.

NOTES

The references are given (except in the case of the Chronological Table) by page and line, a catch-word being added in each case. If a graduated and numbered slip is used, it should be kept in the same position with the number 1 against the first line on the page, even where there is a blank space in the page. Thus in vol. 1, p. 33, the first line of § 1 counts as 9.

VOL. I

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

The years in the second column do not indicate the dates of the events mentioned, but merely the position on the pages of the notices commented on.

PAGE	B.C.	
viii	13	Agrippa's Commentaries (the chief source of Pliny's <i>Nat. Hist.</i> , especially iii-vi) are dated about this time because the survey of the Roman Empire is said to have been executed, in four parts, in the years 44-19 B.C. (Marquardt, <i>StV</i> , II ³ , 210).
	4	Read 'Birth of Christ, according to Cassiodorus and Clement of Alexandria. Julius Africanus dates it in the night between 3 and 2 B.C. and all the dates given by other early authors are merely variants of his.' Ideler dates the birth of Christ 7 B.C. Cf. also Mommsen, <i>RGDA</i> ² , pp. 172-177.
	A.D.	
ix	9	Defeat of Varus. See Zangemeister, <i>Westd. Ztschr.</i> , 1887, 239; Asbach in <i>Bonner Jahrb.</i> , lxxxv (1888), p. 37 ff.
	19	Strabo. Zippel, <i>Röm. Herrschaft in Illyrien</i> , pp. 273-275; Lullies, <i>Kenntniss der Griechen und Römer vom Pamir-Hochlande</i> etc. 1887, p. 13.
x	37	Tiberius dies on March 16. Cf. <i>Acta fratrum Arvalium</i> .
	40	Embassy of Alexandrian Jews in Rome. Cf. Sperling, <i>Der Grammatiker Apio und sein Verhältniss zum Judenthum</i> , pp. 10 and 12.
xi	68	Revolt of Vindex and Galba. Mommsen in <i>Hermes</i> , xiii, 95, 2.

PAGE	A.D.	
	68-69	Vespasian proclaimed Emperor, July 3. Cham- balu, <i>Flaviana</i> , in <i>Philologus</i> , xlv (1885), 502- 507.
	71	c. 70-75. <i>Periplus Maris Erythraei</i> . Cf. Dill- mann, <i>Zur Frage über die Abfassungszeit des</i> <i>Peripl. m. Er.</i> , in <i>Monatsberichte der Berliner</i> <i>Akad.</i> , 1879, p. 419 ff.
	73-74	Vespasian and Titus Censors. Mommsen, <i>StR</i> , ii ³ , 338, 1.
xii	78	Plutarch born about 46. Clinton, <i>Fast. Rom.</i> , ad an. 98.
	79-81	Titus. Cf. O. A. Hoffmann, <i>De imp. Titi temporibus</i> (Marburg 1883), pp. 1-4.
	81-82	The Capitol rebuilt. Jordan, <i>Topogr.</i> , ii, 1, 29.
	88	Plutarch (88-89) gives lectures on philosophy. This was during the revolt of Saturninus. Cf. <i>Aemil. Paul.</i> , 25; Bergk in <i>Bonner Jahrb.</i> , 1876, p. 141, 4.
	89	Dacian Triumph. Cf. Asbach, <i>Kriege der Flav-</i> <i>ischen Kaiser an der Nordgrenze des Reichs</i> , in <i>Bonner Jahrb.</i> , lxxxi (1886), p. 32 n.
	96	Wall built to protect Decumate Lands. Momms- sen, <i>RG</i> , v, 138 ff.
	98	Tacitus writes the <i>Agricola</i> and <i>Germania</i> . Cf. Hirschfeld, in <i>Ztschr. f. Oesterr. Gymn.</i> , xxviii (1877), p. 815 f.; Asbach, <i>Entstehung der</i> <i>Germania des Tacitus</i> , in <i>Bonner Jahrb.</i> , 1880, p. 1 ff. He was consul designate at the time, <i>ibid.</i> , 1882 (lxxii), p. 20, 1.
xiii	101	Trajan leaves Rome end of March. Henzen, <i>Acta fratrum Arvalium</i> , p. cxl.
	102	Juvenal. F. Dürr, <i>Das Leben Juvenals</i> , 1888.
	105-107	Second Dacian War. Mommsen, in <i>Hermes</i> , iii, 130 f. and <i>CIL</i> , iii, on no. 550.
	113	Trajan goes to the East in October. According to Mommsen, <i>RG</i> , v, 398-400, not till towards the end of 114.
	115	Plutarch's <i>Lives</i> , in part before Trajan's victories in Parthia; Clinton, <i>Fast. Rom.</i> , ad an. 113.
	116	Trajan marches to the Persian Gulf. Cf. Gut- schmid, <i>Untersuchungen über die Geschichte des</i> <i>Königreichs Osroene</i> , in <i>Mém. de l'acad. de St.</i> <i>Pétersbourg</i> , T. xxxv, 1, p. 27.
	118	Hadrian (beginning of August) in Rome. Cf. F. Dürr, <i>Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian</i> , in <i>Abhandlungen des archäol.-epigr. Seminars zu</i> <i>Wien</i> , hgg. v. Benndorf u. Hirschfeld, ii (1881).
	118	Suetonius born c. 77. Mommsen, <i>Hermes</i> , iii, 43.
	126-7	Hadrian in Rome. Cf. Dürr, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 59; Radet, <i>Lettres de l'emp. Hadrien</i> , in <i>Bull. de</i> <i>corr. Hellén.</i> , xi, 1887, p. 114.

PAGE	A.D.	
	128-9	Hadrian in Africa. <i>CIL</i> , viii, p. 287. The revolts of the Moors and Britons (<i>Vit. Hadr.</i> , 5 and 12) probably before 128, according to Juvenal, 14, 196.
xiv	131-2	Hadrian in Judaea until 134. Dürr, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 65 ff.
	134	Hadrian returns to Rome before May 5. <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 33.
	142	Aristides. Cf. Baumgart, <i>Aristides</i> , pp. 10-12.
	147	Apuleius writes at Rome the <i>Metamorphoses</i> . Cf. Rohde, in <i>Rhein. Mus.</i> , xliii, 1888, p. 471.
	165	Lucian, writing 155-180. Cf. Croiset, <i>Vie et œuvres de L.</i> He dates the <i>Nigrinus</i> soon after 150 (p. 44), the death of Peregrinus 169 (p. 36), the treatise <i>Adversus indoctum</i> soon after (p. 76), the <i>Demonax</i> (according to Waddington, <i>Fastes d. prov. d'Asie</i> , 152) soon after 180 (p. 80 sq.). Cf. also Rohde, <i>Der griechische Roman</i> , 190, 1.
	166	The chronology from 162 to 166 follows Gutschmid, <i>Geschichte Irans</i> , 148-150.
	"	Marcomanni, etc., invade. Mommsen, <i>RG</i> , v, 280.
	167-8	Lucian's <i>Peregrinus Proteus</i> , and <i>On the Writing of History</i> , 165. Croiset, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 47.
	169	Justin Martyr dies 165-6. Keim, <i>Rom. u. d. Christenthum</i> , p. 583.
	175	Revolt of Avidius Cassius. Cf. Napp, <i>De rebus imp. M. Aurel. Ant. in Oriente gestis</i> (Bonn, 1879), p. 42 ff. against Lebas-Waddington, p. 514.
xv	177-8	Pausanias' fifth book 174-5. Cf. Hertzberg, <i>Geschichte Griechenlands</i> , ii, 428. His tenth book 179-80; see chap. 34, also Barnabei, <i>Notizie de' scavi</i> , Dec., 1887. Marcus Aurelius' <i>Meditations</i> , 172-174: cf. Sievers, <i>StRE</i> , 12. Celsus' <i>Ἀληθῆς λόγος</i> , 177-180: cf. Keim, <i>Rom. u. d. Christenthum</i> , p. 392*.
	178-9	Invasion of the Costoboci. Cf. Pausanias, x, 34, 5; Appendix viii, p. 36; Barnabei, <i>Notizie de' scavi</i> , Dec., 1887.
	195	Tertullian (c. 145-220). Cf. Aubé, <i>Les chrétiens dans l'emp. Rom.</i> , 180-249, pp. 212, 230.
	202	Abgar ix. Cf. Gutschmid, <i>Mém. de l'acad. de St. Pétersbourg</i> , xxxv, 1, p. 35 f.
	203	Severus' Arch and the Septizonium. Jordan, <i>Forma Urbis</i> , p. 7.
xvi	205	Plautianus dies, January 22. Bormann, <i>BdI</i> , 1867, pp. 217-219.
	210	Restoration of the Wall of Antoninus Pius: Mommsen, <i>RG</i> , v, 170, 1. Lowering of the currency: Hultsch, <i>Metrologie</i> ², 312.

PAGE	A.D.	
	217	Dedication of Thermae of Caracalla; Jordan, <i>Forma Urbis</i> , p. 7.
	218-222	Read 'Cassius Dio, Consul for the second time 229, still engaged on his <i>History</i> , 230-234'. Mommsen, <i>RG</i> , v, 419, 1.
xvii	227	Artaxerxes. For 'Persia' read 'Persis'. For the double era of the Sassanids (224 and 227) see Gutschmid, <i>Geschichte Irans</i> , p. 162 ff. and Mommsen, <i>RG</i> , v, 419, 1.
	238	The dates of this year after Seeck, <i>Haloandersche Subscriptionem u. Chronologie des Jahres</i> 238, in <i>Rhein. Mus.</i> , xli (1886), p. 168, and Ranke, <i>Weltgeschichte</i> , iii, 1, 405, 1. Cf. Emil Müller, <i>Gordianus</i> , in Ersch and Gruber's <i>Encyklopädie</i> , Sect. I, Bd. 74, 324, 35. Ranke dates the election of Maximus and Balbinus 2 April, the death of Maximin in the middle of April, and the deaths of Maximus and Balbinus 10 July.
xvii	244-249	Origen writes <i>Against Celsus</i> 248; dies 253. Aubé, <i>op. cit.</i> , pp. 442 and 456.
	259-60	Valerian captured by Sapor, between 29 August, 259 and 28 August, 260; Mommsen, <i>RG</i> , v, 430, 1.
	264	Odenathus recaptures Nisibis and Carrhae. <i>ibid.</i> , v, 434.
xviii	268-270	Herennius Dexippus, author of a history up to 271. He was <i>agonothetes</i> at the Panathenaea of 262-3, and in 267 defeated the Heruli, who had plundered Athens. Cf. Dittenberger, <i>Die Attische Panathenaidendria</i> (Comment. Mommsen, pp. 245-523).
	270	Egypt reconquered by Probus. Mommsen, <i>RG</i> , v, 439.
	272	War with Zenobia. Lebas-Waddington, p. 606; Mommsen, <i>RG</i> , v, 441, 2.
xix	361-3	Original of <i>Expositio totius mundi et gentium</i> 350-353. Riese, <i>Geographi latini minores</i> , p. xxx.
xx	392-5	Symmachus (about 340-402). Seeck, <i>De Symmachi vita</i> (S.q.s., p. xxx sqq.).
	395-423	Ammianus Marcellinus (330-400). Book xxii of the <i>Roman History</i> was written before the destruction of the Serapeum at Alexandria in 391. Cf. Mommsen, in <i>Hermes</i> , xvi, 630, 4.
xxi	452	Zosimus, <i>History from Augustus to 410</i> . Mendelssohn, <i>De Zosimi aetate</i> , in <i>Rhein. Mus.</i> , xlii (1887), pp. 525-531.
	473	Apollinaris Sidonius (430/33-479), <i>praef. urb. in Rome</i> 468. Mommsen, <i>Praef. in Sidon.</i> , in <i>Monum. Germ. Auct. antiq.</i> , viii (pp. li-liii the dates of his poems and letters).

PAGE	A.D.	
	476	Cassiodorus (480-573). <i>Variorum</i> II. xii, 508-537. Cf. Tanzi, <i>Studj sulla cronologia di Cassiodoro</i> , 1886.
492-525		Tribonian edits the <i>Pandects</i> and the <i>Codex Justinianus</i> . The former had the force of law from 30 Dec., 529, and the latter from 29 Dec., 534.

I. THE CITY OF ROME

- 1, 2. wall. According to Beloch, *Bevölkerung der griechisch-röm. Welt*, p. 392, it had an area of 426 hectares (1053 sq. miles).
- 1, 7. mire. Helbig, *Die Italiiker in der Poebene*, p. 63.
- 1, 11. houses. Livy, v, 55; Tac., *A.*, xv, 43. Jordan, *Topographie*, i, 1, 483 ff.
- 1, 13. Pyrrhus. Pliny, *H. N.*, xvi, 36. Jordan, *ibid.*, 533 (but see Nissen, *Pompejan. Studien*, p. 24).
- 1, 16. fires. Nissen, *Ital. Landeskunde*, i, 434.
- 1, 18 Forum. Becker, *Topogr.*, 295; perhaps during a thorough reform of the Forum by Gaius Maenius; Jordan, i, 2, p. 379 f.
- 1, 22 ugliness. Livy, xl, 5.
- 1, 28 Gracchus. Jordan, i, 2, p. 383 f.
- 1, 32 sale-rooms. *Ibid.*, p. 433.
- 1, 34 columns. Jordan, i, 1, p. 17.
- 2, 2 War. Nissen, *Pompej. Studien*, p. 473.
- 2, 5 boundary. Jordan, i, 1, p. 319.
- 2, 6 Sulla. Vol. II, p. 185.
- 2, 11 Capua. Cic., *D. l. agr.*, 2, 31, 86; *Phil.*, 12, 3, 7.
- 2, 11 plain. Cic., *D. l. agr.*, 2, 35, 96.
- 2, 12 capital. Stat., *S.*, iii, 5, 76.
- 2, 13 anyhow. Livy, v, 55.
- 2, 20 palaces. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxvi, 100.
- 2, 20 Cicero. *Ad Quirites p. red.*, c. 1; *Verr.*, ii, 5, 48, 127. Cf. *Nid.*, iii, 9, 21.
- 2, 24 Athens. Plutarch, *Comparat. Periclis c. Fab. Max.*, c. 3, 7.
- 2, 25 Rome. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 28.
- 2, 29 interest. Dio, li, 21.
- 2, 33 Carrara. Jordan, *op. cit.*, p. 16 ff.
- 2, 36 widenings. *Ibid.*, 486 f.
- 2, 41 buildings. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxvi, 110.
- 3, 1 Piso's. Drumann, *G. R.*, ii, 80, 13 or ii, 90, 27?
- 3, 2 eternity. Plutarch, *Apophth. Rom. Caes. Aug.*, 15.
- 3, 7, 8 Sixtus V. Hübner, *Sixtus V.*, ii, 134.
- 3, 12 stone. Troels Lund, *D. tägl. Leben in Skandinavien während des 16. Jahrhunderts*, p. 104 f.
- 3, 13 Paris. Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV*, ch. 37.
- 3, 15 Moscow. Brückner, *Beitr. z. Culturgesch. Russlands im 17. Jahrhundert*, 299.

- 3, 22 Germany. Vehse, *Gesch. d. Höfe*, 33, 174 f. *Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, 15.
- 3, 23 Warsaw. F. v. d. Brüggen, *Polens Auflösung*, p. 235 f.
- 3, 28 building. Justi, *Winckelmann*, i, 29. Büsching, *Neue Erd-beschr.*, iii^o, 2, 989-1002.
- 3, 29 War. According to official reports which I obtained in 1873 from the then mayor of Berlin, A. Hobrecht, from 1763 to 1786 439 new houses were built in Berlin, 912 wooden houses were rebuilt in stone, and 1,203 repaired and improved. (In the same time the population, reduced by the Seven Years' War to 98,000, rose to 113,766.) The value of property insured against fire rose between 1760 and 1785 from 10½ to about 19 million thalers.
- 3, 32 marble. Sueton., *August.*, c. 28.
- 3, 39 collapse. Seneca, *Controvers.*, lib. ii, 9, ed. Bursian, p. 121.
- 4, 1 Rome. The estimate adopted by Jordan, *op. cit.*, p. 488) of the houses destroyed (132 *domus*, 4,000 *insulae*), in the correspondence between Seneca and St. Paul, I believe to be a poor fabrication of an obviously very ignorant forger. The Great Fire of London, which broke out on September 2, 1666, and raged five days and nights, destroyed more than 13,000 houses, 89 churches, and many public buildings. Stern, *Milton*, ii, 54 (after Lappenberg).
- 4, 8. arcaded. Tac., *A.*, xv, 38 and 43.
- 4, 10. ruins. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 8.
- 4, 11. repaired. Orelli, 742 = *CIL*, vi, 1, 931.
- 4, 16. windows. Juv., 6, 31. Cp. 3, 269. Stat., *Silv.*, iv, 4, 14.
- 4, 19. great. Pliny, *H. N.*, iii, 67.
- 4, 21. paces. Jordan, *Topographie*, ii, 85 ff.; *Cod. Paris*, 8319; Mommsen, *Abhandlungen d. Sächs. Ges. Ph. hist. Kl.*, ii, p. 273 f., and *Itinerar. Alexandri* in Pseudo-Callisth., *Hist. Gr. fr.* vol. v, ed. Didot, i, 34. (The estimate of 8072 paces for Antioch is certainly too little. Cf. O. Mueller, *Antiqq. Antioch.*, p. 68. The larger houses there according to Libanius were usually 3 storeys high: *ib.*, p. 112, 10. Liban., *Or.*, i, p. 347. Reiske; one of 5 storeys in Theophanes, *Chronogr.* ed. Bonn, p. 265 *ad ann.* 518).
- 4, 27. city. Aristid., *Or.*, xiv, p. 199, J. Cf. Waddington, *Mém. de l'Inst.*, 1867, p. 253.
- 4, 27. storeys. Vitruv., *De archit.*, ii, 8.
- 4, 32. width. Pöhlmann, p. 94.
- 4, 37. Trajan. Strabo, v, 3, p. 235. Aur. Vict., *Epit.*, c. 13.
- 4, 41. Martial. Martial, i, 117, 7.
- 5, 3. Berlin. Pöhlmann, p. 95.
- 5, 4. Rome. Jordan, *Topogr.*, i, 1, p. 493 f.
- 5, 8. Iugarius. Jordan, i, 2, 468.
- 5, 8. Tyre. Strabo, xvi, p. 757 C.
- 5, 10. position. Pöhlmann, p. 99, 7. Allusions to lodgings on the third floor in Martial, i, 117, 7, and Juvenal, 3, 199, prove nothing as to the height of the houses in Rome. Four to five floors in Naples, Philostrat., *Imagg. prooem.*, three to four in ancient Babylon, Herodot., i, 180; six in Carthage, Applan., viii,

- 12, and eight in Motya in Sicily, Diodor., xiv, 51. The highest houses were in Constantinople, where it was permitted to build to a height of 100 ft. (i.e., 10-12 floors). Pöhlmann, p. 93 f.
- 5, 12. Via Lata. Jordan, i, 1, 494. Preller, *op. cit.*, pp. 133 and 136. Becker, *Topogr.*, i, 590 and 595.
- 5, 29. streets. Jordan, *Topogr.*, i, 1, 492.
- 6, 1. Pompeii. Jordan, *Forma urbis*, p. 46^b. Tab. xxi ss.
- 6, 13. Domitian. Martial, vii, 61.
- 6, 18. fire. Herodian, vii, 12, 5. Cf. V. Maximini, c. 20. Maxim. et Balbin., c. 9.
- 6, 21. balconies. Amm. Marc., xxvii, 9, 10.
- 6, 22. curtains. Digg., xliii, 8, 2, § 6. Cf. the view of a house in the so-called house of Livia. Rev. archéol., xxii (1870), pl. 20. G. Perrot, *Mém. archéol.*, p. iii ss.
- 6, 26. praise. Claudian, *De cons. Stilich.*, iii, 131.
- 6, 28. Jerusalem. Gregorovius, *Gesch. d. St. R.*, i², 275.
- 6, 34. polluted. Mueller, *Hist. Gr. fr.*, iii, 663.
- 7, 1. centre. Aristid., *Or.*, xiv, p. 198 f.
- 7, 7. life. Strabo, v, 3, 12, p. 239 C.
- 7, 8. bounded. The legal boundary of Rome was the first milestone (from the Servian wall). The real boundary was determined by the end of the houses and streets. The latter was always fixed at any given time, though often changed as the town extended. Mommsen, *StR*, ii², 2, 1035, 1-4.
- 7, 13. gables. Cf. the vivid description of the triple zone of villas which surrounded Rome, and reached to the seventh and eighth milestones of the Via Appia and Via Nomentana. Lanciani, *La villa Castrimenesse di Q. Voconio Pollione*, in *Bull. comun.*, 1884, p. 143.
- 7, 27. Strabo. Strabo, v, 3, p. 236 C. (written after 747. Cf. Becker, *Topogr.*, i, 542 a. 1144).
- 7, 36. columns. Lanciani, *I portici della regione ix*, in *AdI*, 1883, p. 18 sqq.
- 7, 39. wall. Jordan, *Topographie*, i, 214 ff.
- 8, 4. collapses. *Ibid.*, p. 441 ff.
- 8, 9. temple. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxvi, 121 sqq.
- 8, 12. beautify. Cf. e.g., Chr. Hülsen, *Das Septizonium des Septimius Severus*, Winckelmanns progr. d. Arch. Ges., 1886 (restoration in Tab. 4).
- 8, 20. buildings. Ammian., xvi, 10, 13.
- 9, 10. basilicas. G. Dehio, *Die kirchliche Baukunst d. Abendlandes*, i, 76.
- 9, 26. square. Jordan, *Topogr.*, i, 2, pp. 455-467.
- 9, 31. city. The statistical part of the description of the *regiones* is based on an older document, drawn up about at the time of Vespasian's survey of the city, and carelessly edited in the age of Constantine. Richter, *Topographie von Rom*, in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch*, iii, 915.
- 10, 7. Hills. Jordan, ii, 143 f. and pp. 1-178. Cf. Martial, iv, 64, 11 sqq. and the note by Dehio in my edition of Martial, ii, 543 f.
- 10, 15. paintings. R. Rochette, *Peintures antiques*, p. 61 s.
- 10, 17. century. Ambrose, *Epp.*, 18, 3.

- 10, 24. bronze. Vol. ii, p. 301.
 10, 31. valleys. Lanciani, *I portici della regione ix*, in *AdI*, 1883, p. 16.
 10, 33. twittered. Rutil. Namat., *It.*, i, 111.
 10, 37. destroyed. Pliny, *H. N.*, xvii, 5. On the lotus-tree cf. Appendix I.
 10, 39. odorous. Becker-Göll, ii, 286. Pliny, *H. N.*, xv, 47.
 10, 40. Tiber. Stat., *Silv.*, iv, 4, 7.
 10, 41. open. Preller, *StRE*, vi, 511 (Roma).
 11, 2. walks. See the description of the *porticus Pompeji* and of the *hecatostylon* in Becker, *Topogr.*, i, p. 214.
 11, 3. Livia. G. Gatti, *Il portico di Livia, nella terza regione di Roma*, *Bull. com. d. R.*, 1886, pp. 270-272 with pl. viii.
 11, 6. shadow. Pliny, *H. N.*, xiv, 11. Cf. Becker, *Topogr.*, i, 543, n. 1142.
 11, 17. gardens. Gordiani, c. 32. Cf. also the list of Roman gardens in Jordan, *Forma urbis*, p. 43^a; and Hirschfeld, *VG*, 24, 1.
 11, 23. arches. Bauer, *Wasserversorgung Roms*, *Viertelsjahrschr. f. Volksw. und Culturgesch.*, lii, p. 68.
 11, 27. purified. Rutil. Namat., *It.*, i, 97-106.
 11, 33. earth. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxvi, 123.
 11, 35. water. Galen, xvii b., 159.
 11, 38. metres. Pöhlmann, p. 143; Frontin., *De aquis*, ii, 78 and 87.
 12, 2. visitor. Jordan, *Topogr.*, i, 460.
 12, 15. Egeria. Cf. Preller, *R.R.*, p. 109 f. and Jordan, *Topogr.*, ii, 48-66. His opinion on the *munera* in Frontin., i, 13 may be combined with Hirschfeld's (though differing, *VG*, 167, 1), if we assume that the expression *munera* was gradually extended from the splendid buildings with which the liberality of the emperors and great men had endowed Rome (Ovid, *A. a.*, i, 69; Vellei., ii, 130; Martial, *Sp.*, 2, 7; vii, 34, 9; dona, viii, 65, 7; x, 28, 5; *CIL*, 2466, l. 16; *munificus ad munera ornatus municipi facienda*, cf. l. 10) to any splendid buildings, so that fountains and handsome basins were colloquially called *munera* in contradistinction to public waterworks for useful purposes (*opera*). Cf. also Bauer, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
 12, 29. atmosphere. Jordan, *Topogr.*, i, 1, 459 f.
 12, 37. reservoirs. Pöhlmann, pp. 146-148. Strabo, v, 3, 8, p. 235.
 13, 2. earth. Pliny, *H. N.*, iii, 54.
 13, 2. merchandise. *Id.*, xi, 240. Cf. Plutarch, *De fortuna Rom.*, 12 (325 D.) and Galen, xiv, 23.
 13, 11. provinces. Cf. Pöhlmann, p. 14 f.
 13, 13. Aventine. Vol. ii, p. 190.
 13, 14. Rome. Aristid., *Or.*, p. 200, 10 sqq.
 13, 22. world. One must also especially remember the supply of natural products such as grain, oil and wine from Sicily, Spain, Africa, Egypt, etc., and the magazines (*horrea*) under the direction of the corn-prefect. The broken pieces of the clay vessels in which these products arrived gradually formed the *Monte Testaccio*. De Rossi, *Le horrea sotto L'Aventino e la statio annonae urbis Romae*, *AdI*, 1885, p. 223 sqq., esp. pp. 226-228.

The inscriptions on potsherds from the Monte Testaccio which can be dated range from 140 to 255 A.D. *Ibid.*, p. 854.

13. 41. letter. Aristid., *loc. cit.*, p. 207; *Vit. Anton. Pii*, c. 7.
14. 2. Caligula. Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.*, 570 M.
14. 8. feasts. Juvenal, 6, 398; Martial, ix, 36.
14. 8. freak. Cf. Appendix II.
14. 16. turned. P. Annius Florus (Jahn, *Juli Flori epit.*, p. xli).
14. 18. opportunities. Cf. Appendix iii.
14. 20. Gazetteer. Hirschfeld, *VG*, i, 187-189.
14. 24. Thermae. Galen., xix, 21 (the word ἀκουστήρια is also missing in the Paris Stephanus) and x, 909 (κατὰ τὸ Τραιανοῦ γυμνάσιον). The passage in the epitaph on a grammarian (Passionei, *Iscr.*, p. 115, 56 = *CIL*, vi, 9446) Trajani querent (quaerent) atria (me), tota Roma flebit, refers perhaps to the Thermae of Trajan. De Rossi, *Bull. d. arch. cr.*, iv, 87, refers it to the *Forum Trajanum* (cf. Jordan, *Topogr.*, i, 2, 458, 28), and the editors of the *CIL* to the *bibliotheca Ulpia*. According to Martial, iv, 53, scholars apparently frequented also the temple of Minerva (probably on the Forum erected by Domitian) and the so-called 'new temple' of Augustus on the Palatine, where Tiberius had installed a library.
14. 32. Diodorus. Dionys. Hal., *A. R.*, i, 7; Diodor., i, 4.
14. 40. splendour. Martial, ii, 48, 8; vii, 34, 4; Stat., *S.*, i, 5, 62.
15. 4. Gazetteer. Jordan, *Topogr.*, ii, 252. *Forma urbis.*, p. 42.
15. 10. Seneca. Seneca, *Ad Helv.*, 6, 2.
15. 15. cataract. Sen., *Clem.*, i, 6, 1.
15. 16. incident. Jonas, *De ord. libr. Senecae*, p. 40.
15. 19. weaker. Tac., *A.*, xii, 43.
15. 24. death. *Chronograph.*, a, 354.
15. 27. killed. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 26.
15. 30. died. Gruter, 895, 10.
15. 35. fusion. Cic., *De petit. cons.*, 14, 54.
15. 39. Lucan. Lucan, vii, 405.
15. 41. Herodian. Herodian, vii, 7, 1.
16. 4. Rome. Ammian., xvi, 10, 5.
16. 5. city. Sen., *Ad Helv.*, 6, 2.
16. 5. hub. P. Ann. Florus (Jahn, *l.c.*). Cf. Martial, viii, 4, 1.
16. 5. inn. ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῇ κοσμοπόλει, *CIG*, 5923, n. 18.
16. 8. world. Galen, xviii, a, 347. Athen., i, 20 B. Similarly Montchrétien (1615): Paris pas une cité mais une nation: pas une nation mais un monde, and Riehl who calls the great towns of the present day encyclopaedias of civilization. Pöhlmann, p. 17, 7 and 8.
16. 13. Alani. Martial, vii, 30.
16. 15. Ovid. Ovid, *A. a.*, i, 173.
16. 19. Aethiopians. Martial, *Spect.*, i.
16. 22. vice. Sen., *loc. cit.*
16. 27. security. Martial, iii, 38, 14.
16. 30. gabble. *Id.*, iv, 5.
16. 32. elephants. Cf. Seneca, *Epp.*, 85, 41; Martial, viii, 74, also *Programm der Acad. Alb. Regim.*, 1860, vi, p. 5.
16. 34. Life Guards. Marquardt, *StV*, ii², 487 ff. Mommsen, *StR*, ii², 808 f.

- 16, 36. Isis. Appian, *B. C.*, iv, 47. Cf. Marquardt, *StV*, iiii, 81.
 16, 37. Nubian. Philostrate, *Vitt. Soph.*, i, 8. On 'Ινδός = Nubian, cf. Letronne, *Mém. de l'ac. des inscr.*, ix, 158; x, 235.
 16, 40. crowd. Mommsen, *RGDA*², p. 135 seqq.; *CIG*, 6342 C., 6559; Jerome, *ad Ol. CCI.*: Tiberius multos reges ad se per blanditiam evocatos numquam remisit: Orelli, 510 (epitaph of a Costobocan princeps). In a *columbarium* on the *via Latina* (Lenormant, *N. Rh. M.*, xxi, 224: 'Ἡδύκος Εὐδόκου ἀρεσβεινῆς Φαναγορείων κατὰ Βόσπορον, Ἀσπροῦργος Βωμάσου υἱός, ἐμπνεύς Σαρματῶν, Βωσπορανός. *CIG*, vi, 1797-1801 (reges regumque conjuges et filii). Hülsen, *Ischriz. d'Artabasdes*, vol. i, 1884, pp. 204-207. On the epitaph of an *Abgaros* (son of L. Aelius Septimius Abgar ix, king of Osroene 179-214), and on the epitaph dedicated to Abgar Phrahates filius rex principis Orrhenorum (Abgar xi, 242-244) by his consort Hodda (Muratori, ii, 655, 1 = *CIL*, vi, 1797). Cf. Gutschmid, *Untersuchungen üb. d. Gesch. d. Königreichs Osroene in Mém. de l'ac. de St. Pétersb.*, vii Série, T. xxxv, 1 (1887), pp. 42 and 45. On Herodians in Rome see Schürer, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, 216 ff.
 16, 41. world. Dio C., ix, 33.
 17, 12. way. *RGDA*², with Mommsen's commentary. Cf. Appendix iv on this paragraph.
 17, 19. more. Cf. Appendix v.
 17, 27. prices. Juven., 3, 165 seqq.; Martial, iv, 66.
 17, 33. carriages. Cf. Appendix vi.
 18, 9. profits. All admirably elaborated by Pöhlmann, pp. 78-89 and 105-108 (the profit of the house-owners: ex insulis fundisque tricies soldum, Mart., iv, 37, that of the tenant [*D.*, xix, 2, 30] 30 per cent., that of the subtenant [*D.*, xix, 2, 7] 20 per cent.).
 18, 12. house-rents. Diod., 31, 18 (τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἐν Πώμῃ μεθῶν).
 18, 13. Italy. Drumann, *RG*, i, 400, note 33.
 18, 16. homes. Dio, xlviii, 9.
 18, 17. claims. Vellei. Patern., ii, 10, 1; but cf. vol. ii, 186.
 18, 21. Rome. Juven., 3, 223 sqq.
 18, 24. poor. Martial, x, 96.
 18, 24. nothing. Juven., 3, 183.
 18, 37. ring. Martial, ii, 57.
 19, 3. Circus. Juven., 11, 46-55; cf. 3, 168-189 and 7, 129-149.
 19, 8. orgies. Tac., *A.*, xvi, 5; Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 14, 4; ii, 13; Martial, xi, 16.
 19, 14. hills. Horace, *Epp.*, ii, 2, 72-85.
 19, 19. milk. Calpurn., *Ecl.*, iv, 25.
 19, 19. alphabet. Mart., xii, 57; xiv, 223; ix, 29.
 19, 20. workshops. Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.*, iii, 6, 4, 9 (not referring to Rome).
 19, 22. weight. Seneca, *Epp.*, 90, 9.
 19, 24. trampling. Juv., 3, 245 sqq.; Seneca, *De ira*, iii, 6, 4.
 19, 25. pickpockets. Diggs, xlvii, 11, 7; Cujac., *Obs.*, x, 27.
 19, 34. glass. Martial, xii, 57; cf. Becker-Göll, i, 83; Jahn on Pers., i, 88.
 19, 34. jugglers. Petron., c. 47: ego putabam petauristarios

intrasse et porcos, sicut in circulis mos est, portenta aliqua facturos.

- 19, 37. craft. Martial, i, 41, 7; Manil., v, 390 sqq. Galen, xi, 143.
 19, 37. pedlars. Digg., xiv, 3, 5, § 4.
 19, 38. sausages. Martial, i, 41.
 19, 40. lung. Id., vi, 64, 18; Manil., Astr., iv, 184.
 19, 41. wares. As at Baiae, Seneca, Epp., 56, 2.
 20, 7. streets. Juv., 3, 236 sqq. On the driving of carriages in the city cf. Appendix vi.
 20, 9. Julia. Seneca, Benef., vi, 32, 1; Juv., 6, 306 sqq.
 20, 10. serenades. Interpr. ad Horat., C., i, 25. Jahn on Pers., 5, 166.
 20, 13. unlit. For all the following see Juv., 3, 268-314. The supposition of Al. Capannari (*Dei vigili Sebaciari e delle Sebaciaria da essi constitute*, in Bull. com. d. R., 1886, pp. 127-147), that the *sebaciaria* of the *vigiles* refer to an illumination of the streets (by means of torches on the house-walls) instituted between 210 and 215, and that soldiers of the *vigiles* (detailed monthly for this service) attended to it, is very uncertain.
 20, 16. pyre. Martial, viii, 75, 9. Cf. Marquardt, Privatl., i², 343 f.
 20, 21. burglaries. Paulus, Digg., i, 15, 3, 1; cognoscit praefectus vigillum de incendiariis effractoribus furibus raptoribus receptoribus. Mommsen, StR, ii², 2, 1058, 1.
 20, 25. insecurity. Pliny, H. N., xix, 59. Cf. Preller, Regionen, p. 104.
 20, 28. bells. Dio, C., liv, 4.
 20, 30. Venus. Tibullus, i, 2, 25.
 20, 31. bandit. Juven., 13, 145.
 20, 35. slave. Martial, viii, 75, 6.
 20, 41. joke. Casaubon on Sueton., Otho, 2, and Liban., Περὶ τῶν Νέρωνος. Also on Nero's nocturnal escapades Tac., A., xiii, 25; Sueton., Nero, 26; Dio, lxi, sq.; Pliny, H. N., xiii, 126; Vit. L. Veri, 4.
 21, 3. pavement. Juv., loc. cit.; Gaius, Digg., xlv, 7, 5, § 5. CIL, iii, 1, 2083 (Salonae), v. 6: Tegula nam Romae Proculum prolapsa peremit.
 21, 7. capital. As in modern Constantinople; Moltke, Briefe aus der Türkei, p. 89; cf. generally Preller, RdStR, p. 89 ff. and Gell., N. A., xv, 1, 2.
 21, 20. walls. Pöhlmann, p. 111. Pliny, H. N., xxxvi, 171. Cf. Vitruv., ii, 8, 1.
 21, 23. crackling. Sen., Epp., 90, 43.
 21, 28. heads. Juv., 3, 193. Cf. Senec., De ira, iii, 35. Digg., xv, 3, 3, 8.
 21, 30. beggars. Plut., Crass., 2; Catull., 23, 9. The two kinds of accident are often associated, e.g., Seneca, Controv., ii, 9; ib., Clem., i, 26, 5; Benef., iv, 6, 2; Consol. ad Marc., 22, 3; Epp., 103, 1; Benef., v, 18, 2; vii, 31, 5; Epp., 13, 11; 30, 4; Pliny, H. N., xxxvi, 106. Downfall only, Sen., Tranq. an., 11, 7. Baudrilart, Hist. de luxe, i, 334, speaks of the decayed state of the houses in Persia, and says that in Teheran alone in the winter of 1874 nearly 150 people were killed by falls of houses.

R.L.M.

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- 21, 31. Strabo. Strabo, v, 3, 7, p. 235 C; xiv, 4, 4, p. 670 C. Cf. also Sen., *Controv.*, ii, 9.
- 21, 32. dread. Juven., 3, 7.
- 21, 34. conditions. Firmic. Mat., *De math.*, iv, 4, 3: alii tectorum cadentium ruina premuntur.
- 21, 36. collapse. Symmach., *Epp.*, vi, 37.
- 22, 2. flames. Cf. vol. i, p. 6.
- 22, 6. wreckages. Frontin., *De ag.*, i, 18.
- 22, 8. extinguishing. Jordan, *Topogr.*, i, 460.
- 22, 9. slight. Dio, lv, 26 sqq.
- 22, 13. damage. Tac., *A.*, iv, 64; Suet., *Tib.*, 48; Tac., *A.*, vi, 45; Dio, lviii, 26.
- 22, 14. Caligula. Sueton., *Cal.*, c. 16.
- 22, 24. resurrected. *Id.*, *Nero*, c. 38; Tac., *A.*, xv, 41.
- 22, 25. Titus. Dio, lxvi, 24; Sueton., *Tit.*, 8.
- 22, 28. flames. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxv, 3; xxxvi, 110.
- 22, 32. Venus. Martial, v, 7; Jordan, *Topogr.*, i, 491, 11.
- 22, 33. Pius. *Anton. P.*, c. 9.
- 22, 41. devised. Gell., xv, 1, 2.
- 23, 5. nourishment. Dio, lxii, 24. Herodian., i, 4, 2 sqq.; Euseb. *Chron.*, 191 A.D.
- 23, 8. Galen's. Galen, xiii, 362; xv, 24.
- 23, 10. replacement. Jordan, *Forma urbis*, p. 8 sq.
- 23, 14. fire. Cf. vol. i, p. 6. On the fires before Augustus and after 238 see Jordan, *Topogr.*, i, 482 f.
- 23, 17. earthquakes. Dio, lv, 22; lvii, 14; Tac., *A.*, xii, 43; Euseb., *Chron.*, a. 59; Suet., *Galba*, c. 18. In the year 191: Herodian, i, 14, 217; Dio, lxxvii, 25; *Excerpt. ex chronico Horosii*, a. 429, 443, 492, 501, 502. De Rossi, *Bull. di arch. crist.*, v, p. 20 sqq., 74, 75. Orelli, 14 = *CIL*, vi, 1, 716. Cf. the list of earthquakes in Italy from 461 B.C. to 394 A.D. in Nissen, *Ital. Landeskunde*, i, 285 f.
- 23, 21. experience. Pliny, *H. N.*, iii, 54; Lucret., i, 281 sqq. Cf. Preller, *Berichte der Sächs. Gesell. d. W.*, vol. ii, p. 136, *Rom und der Tiber*, pp. 5-38, 134-151.
- 23, 28. torrents. Moltke, *Wanderungen um Rom*, in *Deutsche Rundsch.*, v (March, 1879), p. 387.
- 23, 31. consulars. Mommsen in *Hermes*, iii, 47. Hirschfeld, *VG* 153.
- 23, 32. Senate. Tac., *A.*, i, 79.
- 23, 35. Claudius. Henzen, 5098 = *CIL*, xiv, 85.
- 23, 38. in use. *CIL*, xiv, 88, with note.
- 23, 40. devastation. Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 17.
- 24, 12. Plutarch. Plutarch, *Otho*, c. 4. Cf. *M. Antonin.*, c. 8.
- 24, 14. corn. Gregor. Tur., *Hist. Franc.*, x, 1.
- 24, 22. inundations. Nissen, *Ital. Landeskunde*, i, 323.
- 24, 24. Augustus. Horace, *C.*, i, 2, 13? Dio, liii, 20, 33; liv, 1, 25; lv, 22.
- 24, 28. collapses. Cassiodor., *Chron.*
- 24, 28. Tiberius. Dio, lvii, 14; Tac., *A.*, i, 76; Dio, lviii, 26.
- 24, 36. buildings. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 86; Plutarch., *Otho*, c. 4. Sueton., *Otho*, c. 8.

- 24, 38. inundation. Aur. Vict., *Epit.*, 13, 12; Martial, x, 85; Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 17 (*CIL*, vi, 964); *Hadr.*, c. 21; *Ant. P.*, c. 9; *M. Anton.*, c. 8; Dio, lxxviii, 25 (217); Ammian., xxix, 6, 18 (371). Cf. also Jordan, *Topogr.*, i, 128, 17 and Nissen, *op. cit.*, p. 324.
- 25, 4. corn-lands. Marquardt, *StV*, ii^a, 233 f.
- 25, 5. export. Rodbertus, *Z. Gesch. d. Röm. Tributsleuern*, in Hildebrand's *Jahrb. f. Nat.-Oek.*, viii, 418 f., n. 60. Cf. vol. xiv, 371, n. 11.
- 25, 7. Africa. Marquardt, *op. cit.* Cf. Joseph., *B. J.*, ii, 16, 5, and the excursus on the population of Rome in Appendix v.
- 25, 13. effect. O. Hirschfeld, *Die Getreideverwaltung in der Röm. Kaiserzeit*, in *Philologus*, xxix, 22 f.
- 25, 16. Commodus. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
- 25, 22. position. *Ibid.*, p. 75 f.
- 25, 27. provinces. Tac., *A.*, vi, 13.
- 25, 29. Egypt. Pliny, *Paneg.*, 30.
- 25, 30. cities. *M. Antonin.*, c. 11.
- 25, 31. supply. Hirschfeld, p. 24, whose emendation 'Bassiani' instead of 'Trajani' in *Elag.*, c. 27 is convincing.
- 25, 39. river. *Ibid.*, p. 7, n. 10; Tac., *A.*, xv, 18.
- 26, 4. people. Dio, lxxxii, 13; *Commod.*, c. 14.
- 26, 9. denarii. Euseb., *Chron.*, a. 8.
- 26, 9. unprecedented. In London the highest prices of corn from 1764 to 1826 amounted to only three times, in 1826 to only twice the lowest rates of the same period. Pöhlmann, p. 73, 1.
- 26, 14. rising. Dio, lv, 22, 26, 27, 31. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 42.
- 26, 16. corndalers. Tac., *A.*, ii, 87.
- 26, 19. riotous. *Id.*, vi, 13.
- 26, 23. Ostia. Aurel. Vict., *Caes.*, c. 4. Cf. Reimar. on Dio, lx, 11.
- 26, 25. hand. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 18; Tac., *A.*, xii, 43; Euseb., *Chron.*, 52.
- 26, 32. sand. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 45.
- 26, 35. insecurity. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 86.
- 26, 38. scarcity. *Hadrian*, c. 21; *Anton. P.*, c. 8 sqq.; *M. Antonin.*, c. 8; Dio, lxxii, 13; Herodian., i, 12, 3.
- 26, 41. Praefects. Pöhlmann, p. 72.
- 27, 4. mouths. Libanius, ed. R., i, 329, 14; οὐδενώποτε τὸν ἔξενον ἡραγκάσθημεν ἀδικῆσαι . . . καὶ τοὶ τὸ παράδειγμα τῆς Ῥώμης ἔχοντες, ἥτην τῶν ἀναγκῶν σπάνιν, ἥλκα δὲ τοῦτο συμπέσει, τῇ τῶν ἔξενων ἐλάσει πρὸς ἀφθονίαν μεθίστησιν. *Cod. Theodos.*, xiv, 3 (397): ne (corporati) tempore famis ceterorum peregrinorum more urbe expellantur. Such an expulsion in Ambrose, *De offic. ministr.*, iii, 7, 49.
- 27, 6. unhealthiness. Cf. Schweigler, *RG*, i, p. 454, 7; Gerlach-Bachofen, *RG*, i, 1, 43 ff.; *Beschr. Roms*, i, p. 82 ff.
- 27, 8. malaria. Tommasi-Crudeli, *Die Malaria von Rom und die alte Drainage der römischen Hügel*, German trl. by Schuster, 1882. Varro had some conception of the malaria bacilli: *R.r.*, i, 12: si qua erunt loca palustria—crescunt animalia quaedam minuta, quae non possunt oculi consequi, et per aera

in corpus—per os et nares perveniunt atque efficiunt difficiles morbos.

- 27, 12. houses. Tommasi-Crudeli, *Alcune riflessioni sul clima dell' antica Roma*, in *Mittheil. d. Archäolog. Inst. Röm., Abth.* ii (1887), p. 79, thinks that by it 'dentro la città di Roma la malaria fosse ridotta a minime porzioni'.
- 27, 15. relief. Ammian. Marcellin., xiv, 6, 23.
- 27, 15. fever. Preller, *RM*³, ii, 240.
- 27, 17. Galen. Galen, xvii a, 121. Cf. Cael. Aurelian., *De morb. acut.*, ii, 10.
- 27, 23. Hippocrates. *Id.*, xviii a, 347.
- 27, 29. complexion. Martial, x, 12.
- 27, 32. relief. Horace, *C.*, iii, 19, 12; cf. *Epp.*, i, 17, 6; Seneca, *Epp.*, 104, 6.
- 27, 32. Frontinus. See vol. i, p. 11.
- 27, 33. supply. According to R. Kobert, *Über den Zustand der Arzneikunde vor 18 Jahrhunderten* (p. 28 ff.), the misuse of lead in utensils and vessels for cooking and keeping food and drink, and still more the use of lead pipes for the water-supply (against which Vitruvius, viii, 7, protests) 'must have made lead-poisoning as frequent a malady in imperial Rome as tuberculosis and venereal disease together are at the present day'. It is really difficult to believe that the Romans, who in many respects were hygienically in advance of the moderns, should have laboured for centuries at enormous expense at their own poisoning, without being aware of it; all the more so as we see by Vitruvius' warning that the danger of leaden water-pipes was a subject of discussion. My colleague Lossen says the solubility of lead depends upon the quality of the water. Organic substances in decomposition specially promote its solubility. (Michaelis, *Ausführl. Lehrb. d. anorg. Chemie*, iii⁵, 1168.) The Romans would hardly have brought water saturated with such pernicious substances into their towns. If the aqueducts conveyed only hard water, the danger of poisoning by the leaden pipes was certainly exceedingly small.
- 27, 39. plagues. Dio, liii, 33; liv, 1.
- 28, 3. Libitina. Tac., *A.*, xvi, 13; Sueton., *Nero*, c. 39.
- 28, 9. 79 A.D. Probably Sueton., *Tif.*, 8 and Dio, lxvi, 23 mean the same disease as Eusebius, though Tillemont makes two of it.
- 28, 12. *ephemerides*. Euseb., *Chron.*
- 28, 13. ages. Ulpian gives a table of the probable duration of life at the different ages between 20 and 70 years: *D.*, xxxv, 2, 68. Cf. Hildebrand, *Bevölkerungsstatistik im alten Rom*, in *Jahrbb.*, vi, 91. Also the statement in Euseb., *H. eccl.*, vii, 21, 5, that in Alexandria under Gallienus in consequence of the plague the number of inhabitants from 14 to 80 years amounted to no more than the previous number of those from 14 to 70, presupposes exact statistical records.
- 28, 14. Palermo. This is the estimate of the population given by Adr. Balbi, *Abrégé de géographie*, Paris, 1834.
- 28, 16. 1803. Reuchlin, *Gesch. Italiens*, i, 264 ff. At the time of

- the plague in London, May, 1625, to March, 1626, there died in 20 weeks 40,000 people (out of about 600,000), and from the 11th to the 18th of August 4463. Stern, *Milton*, i, 61.
- 28, 19. Ionia. Waddington, *Vie du rhéteur Aristide* in *Mém. de l'Ac.*, xxvi, 250.
- 28, 23. Rhine. Ammian., xxiii, 6, 24.
- 28, 27. perished. Oros., vii, 15.
- 28, 28. Rome. Clinton, *Fasti Rom.*, a. 167.
- 28, 30. Marcus. *M. Antonin.*, c. 13.
- 28, 35. plague. Hecker, *De peste Antoniana*, pp. 25-29.
- 28, 35. small-pox. Krause, *Über das Alter der Menschenpocken*; cf. A. Hirsch, *Hdb. der geographischen Pathologie*, i, 193 (who inclines to the same opinion).
- 28, 36. years. Galen, *Method. med.*, v, 12 ed. K., x, 360: κατὰ τὸν μέγαν τοῦτον λοιμὸν, ὃν εἶη ποτὲ παύσασθαι (written after 180; cf. Ackermann, *Hist. litt. in Galen*, ed. K. 1, p. cxxvi), 5567 (Bedaïum, prope Seeon).
- 28, 39. ravages. *M. Antonin.*, c. 28., *CIL*, iii, 1, A.D. 182: per luem vita functi.
- 29, 1. day. Dio, lxxii, 14. Herodian, i, 12. *Hadrian.*, c. 21: fuerunt ejus temporibus fames, pestilentia, terrae motus. Plague of 250-262 (in which 5000 persons died daily, *Gallien.*, c. 5) and 270: Tillemont, *Hist. des emp.*, iii. Plague in Byzantium where daily 10,000 persons and more perished: Procop., *B. Pers.*, ii, 23.
- 29, 6. Rome. Cf. Appendix vii.
- 29, 7. town. Varro, *R.r.*, iii, 1, 4. Cf. W. Cowper, *Poems*, 1800 vol. ii, p. 41.

II. THE COURT.

- 30, 20. ruler. Claudian, *IV cons. Honor.*, 296-302.
- 30, 27. shifted. *M. Antonin.*, *Comment.*, x, 27.
- 31, 2. failure. *Ib.*, iv, 32.
- 31, 3. present. *Ib.*, iv, 33 and 48.
- 31, 7. contemporaries. A number of such passages in Gronov *Diatrise in Statium*, p. 242.
- 31, 16. requisite. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 45; *ib.*, 46.
- 31, 18. monarch's. Herodian, i, 2, 4.
- 31, 27. punishment. Tac., *A.*, iii, 56; Aurel. Vict., *Epit.*, 9, 6.
- 31, 29. Pertinax. *Pertin.*, c. 8.
- 31, 33. wife. *Alex. Sev.*, c. 41.
- 31, 41. beginnings. Sueton., *De clar. rhetor.*, c. 1.
- 32, 4. athletes. Plutarch, *Conjug. praec.*, § 17.
- 32, 6. science. Herodian, i, 2, 4.
- 32, 10. mock-philosophers. Dio, lxxi, 35.
- 32, 13. throngs. *E.g.*, *Bis accus.*, 6.
- 32, 16. Lucian's. Lucian, *Adv. indoct.*, 22.
- 32, 26. theriac. Galen, *D. antid.*, i, ed. K., xiv, p. 24 sqq.
- 32, 32. garlic. Plin., *N. H.*, xix, 90, 91; xiv, 16; xix, 108.
- 33, 27. resistance. Cf. Mazarin's system of depressing the nobility, keeping them out of office, and replacing them by people of humble extraction (*Mémoires du Duc de Saint Simon*).

33. 35. freedom. Tac., *German.*, c. 25.
 33. 39. page. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 76.
 34. 27. Claudius. Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 286 f. His opinion that the financial administration was centralized at this time is disputed by Mommsen *StR*, ii², 2, 1001, 1.
 34. 35. knights. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 58; but cf. Appendix i.
 35. 2. Grievances. Sueton., *Domitian.*, c. 7.
 35. 13. State. Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 291 ff.
 35. 25. Maecenas. Dio, lii, 25.
 36. 2. State. Cf. Boecking, *Not. dign.*, ii, 1, 294* sqq.; Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 194. Eunuchs were first introduced into Arabia by the Ommayyades in imitation of the Persian and Byzantine courts; Kremer, *Culturgesch. d. Orients*, ii, 108.
 36. 13. guards. Tac., *A.*, xv, 58.
 36. 16. Orientals. Herodian, iii, 8, 11.
 36. 19. Greeks. Cic., *Ad Qu. Fr.*, i, 5, 16.
 36. 20. Caesar. Read 'Cicero'.
 36. 24. Juvenal. Juv., 10, 174; Tac., *A.*, v, 10.
 36. 30. shameless. Juv., 3, 57-114; Tac., *H.*, iii, 47: *desidiām licentiamque Graecorum*. For the antipathy between Greeks and Romans in the imperial age see Finlay, *Greece under the Romans*, 1857, pp. 78 ff; Rohde, *Griech. Roman*, 298, 1.
 36. 33. Philostratus. Philostrat., *Vitt. soph.*, i, 21, 5.
 36. 37. Rome. Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. iv, p. 357.
 36. 38. Syrians. Herodian, iii, 11, 8; ii, 10, 7; ii, 7, 9; Dio, lxxvii, 6 and 10; Eunap., *Vitt. Soph.*, 178. See also O. Mueller, *Antiquitt. Antioch.*, p. 31 sqq.
 37. 2. dealing. Suid., s. *Ἀγυρριάειν*. Cf. Varges, *D. stat. Aegypti*, p. 22 sqq.
 37. 2. Alexandrians. Caesar, *Bell. Alexandr.*, c. 3.
 37. 4. gibes. Intpp., Martial, iv, 42; Stat., *Silv.*, ii, 1, 72; Quintilian, i, 2, 7; Dio Chrys., *Or.*, xxxii, p. 360, 4 and 393, 30; Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.*, 569 sq.
 37. 6. shamelessness. Cic., *Pro Rabir. Post.*, 12, 34; Seneca, *Consol. ad Helv.*, c. 19, 6; Dio, xxxix, 58.
 37. 6. Egyptians. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 31; *Vit. Saturnin.*, c. 7.
 37. 8. thralldom. Herodian, i, 17.
 37. 8. luxurious. Juv., 15, 45. (Strabo, xvii, 1, 17, p. 801 Casaub.)
 37. 9. rack. Ammian., xxii, 16, 23.
 37. 10. hot-tempered. Curtius, iv, 5; Plutarch, *De Is. et Osir.*; Dio, li, 17; Ammian., *loc. cit.* and xxii, 11, 4; v. *Saturnin.*, c. 7.
 37. 10. quarrels. Ammian., xxii, 16, 23; xxii, 6, 1; Dio Chrys., *op. cit.*, p. 366, 4; Philo, *In Flacc.*, p. 519 M.s.
 37. 12. envious. Philo, *In Flacc.*, p. 521 M.
 37. 13. reticent. Caesar, *Bell. Alexandr.*, c. 24, 4.
 37. 13. obstinate. Ammian., *loc. cit.*
 37. 16. restraint. Juv., *Sat.*, 15; Plutarch, *l.c.*; Tac., *Hist.*, i, 11.
 37. 20. gibe. A. v. Kremer, *Aegypten*, i, 56 f.
 37. 37. story. Cf. Appendix ii.
 38. 9. Paul's. Bernhardt, *Gesch. Russlands*, ii, 2, 375.
 38. 22. freedmen. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 69.
 38. 24. Licinus. Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 282, 1.

- 38, 34. tomb. Teuffel in *StRE*, iv, p. 1081 f.; Mayor on Juvenal, i, 109.
- 38, 37. Herod. Josephus, *A. J.*, xvii, 6, 1; *B. J.*, i, 32, 7.
- 39, 2. Tacitus. Tac., *A.*, iv, 7.
- 39, 5. freedman. Dio, lviii, 19; cf. Marquardt, *StV*, i², 442, 1.
- 39, 6. Agrippa. Josephus, *A. J.*, xviii, 6, 1.
- 39, 8. Thallus. Josephus, *ib.*, 6, 4 *in f.*
- 39, 10. Euhodus. Josephus, *ib.*, 6, 8; perhaps identical with the Euhodus mentioned in Tac., *A.*, xi, 37 (48 A.D.), perhaps also with the one in Grut., 611, 12. . . . Euhodi Divi Aug. l. libertae vixit annos xiii etc. On a leaden pipe, quoted by Mommsen, *IRN*, 6829, 9 (aliena): cura Euhodae (sic) Aug. lib. proc. (but according to Lanciani, *Acque e acqued.*, p. 234, 154, this was almost certainly a freedman of Domitian's). Scribonius Largus, c. 162, p. 89, ed. Rhode, mentions an Anthero (sic) Tiberii libertus supra hereditates. Atimetus Pamphili Ti. Caesaris Aug. l. l. Anterotianus, *Anthol. lat.*, ed. Meyer, 1274 = *CIL*, vi, 2, 12,652.
- 39, 12. tables. Pliny, *H. N.*, xiii, 94.
- 39, 17. Callistus. Senec., *Epp.*, 47, 9.
- 39, 19. wealth. Joseph., *A. J.*, xix, 1, 10.
- 39, 22. Domitius. Dio, lix, 19; cf. Zonar., ii, 6 with Dio, lix, 25.
- 39, 25. emperor. Tac., *A.*, xi, 29; Dio, lix, 29.
- 39, 27. Claudius. Dio, lx, 19.
- 39, 30. least. Seneca, *Lud.*, 6.
- 39, 31. Empire. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 286.
- 39, 35. sentences. Sueton., *Claud.*, 29; Dio, lx, 17.
- 40, 1. servants. Sueton., *Claud.* c. 27 sq. Seneca, *Lud.*, 13, 5; Grut., 595, 2 = *CIL*, vi, 9016: Securitati sacr. Julia Phoebe sibi et Ti. Claudio Nardo et Arphocrae (sic) Aug. libertis procurator. conjugibus suis.
- 40, 4. Claudius. Probably for the same reason foreigners tried at all times to be received into the domestic service of the emperor, and certainly often enough obtained such posts by bribery. So Liban., ed. R., i, 565, 17: *μὴ γὰρ δὴ τοῖς ἀργοῖς καὶ φαγεῖν ἀγαθοῖς καταφυγῇ, τῶν διακόνων βασιλείῳ καὶ κληθῆναι καὶ νομοσῆναι, καὶ ταχὺ τὸ χρυσίον ἐπιδεῖ τὴν ἐγγράφην.*
- 40, 5. plane-tree. Pliny, *H. N.*, xii, 12.
- 40, 7. Nero's. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 37.
- 40, 7. Polycletus. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 37; ii, 95; Dio, lxxiii, 12; Pliny, *Epp.*, vi, 31.
- 40, 15. slave. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 39.
- 40, 16. Helius. *Id.*, xiii, 1.
- 40, 24. worse. Dio, lxxiii, 12, cf. 18 sq.; Suet., *Nero*, c. 23; Tac., *Hist.*, i, 37: Polycliti et Vatini et Helii (so Nipperdey, after Lipsius; the MS. reads aegialii, as in Suid. s.v. *μελεδωνός* the name is corrupted to *Αἰλιανός*).
- 40, 27. Pelago. Tac., *A.*, xi, 59.
- 40, 31. Epaphroditus. Cf. Appendix i.
- 40, 35. Patrobius. Plut., *Galba*, c. 17; Dio, lxiv, 2; *StRE*, v, 1243.
- 40, 37. Halotus. Suet., *Galba*, c. 16; cf. *Claudius*, c. 44; Tac., *A.*, xii, 66.

- 41, 3. favour. His name was restored by Nohl (*Hermes*, xv, 622) in Plutarch, *Galba*, c. 26 : βουλευομένου δὲ τοῦ Γαλβᾶ προελθεῖν καὶ Οὐίνιου μὲν οὐκ ἐώντος, Ἰκέλου (edd. Κέλσου) δὲ καὶ Λάκωνος παρορμώντων.
- 41, 4. Icelus. Suet., *Galba*, c. 15; Tac., *Hist.*, i, 7.
- 41, 4. antecedents. E veteribus concubinis, Suet., *Galba*, c. 22.
- 41, 5. subservience. Plut., *Galba*, c. 7; Suet., *Nero*, c. 49.
- 41, 7. Praefecture. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 13; Suet., *Galba*, c. 14.
- 41, 9. pilfering. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 37; ii, 95.
- 41, 9. Otho. *Id.*, i, 46.
- 41, 10. consternation. Suet., *Otho*, c. 7; Dio, lxiv, 8.
- 41, 11. Moschus. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 87.
- 41, 26. crucified. Servili supplicio, Tac., *Hist.*, iv, 11. Cf. on him Suet., *Vitell.*, c. 12; Tac., *Hist.*, ii, 57 and 95.
- 41, 28. Apollonius. Philostrat., *Apollon. Tyan.*, v, 36, p. 101, 28, ed. Kayser.
- 41, 31. Vespasian. Suet., *Vespasian*, c. 16.
- 41, 36. knight. Tac., *Hist.*, iii, 12 and 28; iv, 39.
- 41, 37. power. Suet., *Domit.*, c. 7.
- 41, 38. Sigerus. Dio, lxvii, 15. More on him and the other freedmen of Domitian below.
- 42, 14. unsolicited. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 88.
- 42, 18. Nero. Plin., *Epp.*, vi, 31.
- 42, 20. adoption. *Hadr.*, c. 4. For *saepe lisse* Hirschfeld (*Wiener Studien*, 1881, p. 115 f.) read *ad se pellexisse*.
- 42, 25. over him. *Ib.*, c. 21; cf. 15.
- 42, 28. information. *Anton. P.*, c. 11 and 6.
- 42, 29. Geminus. Probably the 'Geminus comoedus' mentioned as the teacher of M. Aurelius in *Vit. M. Antonini*, c. 2.
- 42, 30. Agaclytus. Domus L. Aurelii Agaclyti in the 7th region: Lanciani, *Acque e acquedotti*, p. 303. Cf. the inscription on a lead pipe (Bull. com. d. R., 1886, p. 102, 1150) L. Avr. Agaclyti Sabinae Avg. soror.
- 42, 32. Libo. Tillemont (Venice, 1732), ii, p. 354.
- 42, 35. Eclectus. *L. Ver.*, c. 9; cf. *M. Antonin.*, c. 15. Fronto writes to Charilas, a freedman of Verus (*Ad Ver.*, i, 4, ed. Naber, p. 118).
- 43, 1. fall. *Pertin.*, c. 14 and 12; Dio, lxxiii, 8-10.
- 43, 4. *Saturnalia*. Dio, lxxvi, 6; lxxvii, 18 and 21; lxxviii, 10; *Elag.*, c. 11.
- 43, 6. changed. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 269, 3.
- 43, 7. unaffected. For this reason freedmen of a former emperor often describe themselves as freedmen of the reigning emperor. *Ibid.*, p. 276 note. Cf. also *CIL*, vi, 8432: D. M. Ulpiae sive Aeliae Aug. lib. Apate et Ulpio Felici fil. . . . fecit P. Aelius Aug. lib. Florus . . . conjugi piissimae etc. Lanciani, *Acque e acquedotti*, p. 236, 162: Aeli Maximi Augustorum liberti; p. 249, 256, sqq.: Aeli Dionysi Augg. lib. Cf. also the inscriptions of Agilius Septentrio, *CIL*, xiv, 2113 and 2977.
- 43, 9. wind. *Stat.*, S., iii, 3, 84.
- 43, 12. Empire. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 47.
- 43, 13. Etruscus. As Hirschfeld has shown (*Zu den Silvae des Statius in Wiener Studien*, 1881, p. 273 f.); the cognomen of

this freedman of Tiberius is unknown, the son borrowed his cognomen from his well-born mother Etrusca (Statius, *Silvae*, iii, 3, 115, 111, 207).

- 43, 13. ninety. Cf. my notes on Martial, vii, 40, 6, and iv, 45, 4.
 43, 16. disgrace. Stat., *Silv.*, iii, 4. More on him below.
 43, 28. poisoned. Suet., *Nero*, c. 35; Tac., *A.*, xiv, 65; Jos., *A. J.*, xix, 1, 10.
 44, 2. Persian king. Cf. vol. ii, p. 135; Juv. 14, 329.
 44, 2. Pallas. Tac., *A.*, xii, 53, 3.
 44, 7. surplus. Suet., *Claud.*, c. 28.
 44, 11. poverty. Epictet., *Diss.*, i, 26, 11.
 44, 25. shoeing. Suet., *Vespas.*, c. 23.
 44, 29. business. Martial, iv, 5, 7.
 44, 31. technical. Dirksen, *De scr. hist. Aug.*, p. 216 sqq. Cf. also Apulei., *Apol.*, p. 66, ed. Bip.
 44, 36. smoke. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 23 sqq. and 36.
 44, 39. custom. *Antonin. P.*, c. 11; Dio, lxix, 7.
 45, 14. swindles. *Elagab.*, c. 10; Dio, lxxix, 16.
 45, 18. eunuch. Juv., 14, 91.
 45, 21. pillars. Juv., 14, 306.
 45, 26. curiosity. Vol. ii, p. 189.
 45, 27. gorgeous. Seneca, *Epp.*, 86, 7.
 45, 33. silver. Stat., *Silv.*, i, 5; cf. vol. ii, p. 190. The *balneum Abascanti* in the first region (Preller, *R.d.StR.* p. 115) was perhaps built by Domitian's freedman of that name.
 45, 39. garden. Pliny, *H. N.*, xviii, 7.
 45, 40. Esquiline. Becker, *Topogr.*, p. 550. Frontin, *De aq.*, 25, 19, p. 16, 2. Α πραιτώριον πᾶλλαντιανόν in the country of the Sabines is mentioned by Phlegon Trall., *De longaevis*, c. 4 sqq.; see Appendix ii.
 46, 3. cold. Martial, viii, 68.
 46, 8. cities. Dio, lxxii, 12. Cf. Preller, *op. cit.*, p. 114.
 46, 11. munificence. Temple-building at Naples, *CIG*, iii, 5791. *Thermae* at Anagnia, Henzen, 7190.
 46, 14. bath-water. Plin., *H. N.*, xiii, 22.
 46 14. Baiae. *Ib.*, xxxi, 5.
 46, 17. sand. *Ib.*, xxxv, 168.
 46, 19. pomp. Cf. on the burial of Priscilla, the wife of Abascantus Stat., *Silv.*, v, 1, 208 sqq. and on that of Etruscus' father Stat., *Silv.*, iii, 3, 196 sqq. and vol. ii, p. 212. The monument of L. Aurelius Nicomedes was also remarkable. *AdI*, 1857, p. 87.
 46, 24. Pliny. Pliny, *Epp.*, vii, 29.
 46, 32. servants. L. M. Hartmann, *De exilio apud Romanos* (Berol., 1887), p. 58, 3, concludes from Tacitus, *A.*, ii, 85, that as regards the penal law they belonged already at that time to the *humiliores*. On the right of the patron to their inheritance, cf. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 433; cf. ii², 2, 894, 2.
 46, 39. Ring. On the bestowing of the gold ring apart from knight-hood (first under Commodus and perhaps introduced by him), see Mommsen, *StR*, ii², 893.
 47, 3. Vespasian. Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 6, 4; Suet., *Galba*, c. 14; Plutarch, *Galba*, c. 7; Suet., *Vitell.*, c. 12; Tac., *Hist.*, iv, 39;

- Stat., Silv.*, iii, 3, 143-145. Apparently Mommsen's opinion (*StR*, ii³, 2, 837, 1) is right, that all the freedmen who performed equestrian duties under the early empire were also knighted. The same was probably the case with Licinus (because of his equestrian *cognomen*) and Antonius Felix. Pallas declined the right of the ring, so that he could remain a freedman of the emperor, and the ring in its original signification would have destroyed the right of the patronate. Hence the decision of the Senate in Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 6, 4: non exhortandum modo verum etiam compellendum ad usum aureorum anulorum. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 518, 3.
47. 6. Marcius. Suet., *Galb.*, c. 14; Tac., *H.*, i, 13: (Icelum) anulis donatum equestri nomine (Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 209 and 426) vocitabant. Cf. Appendix iii.
47. 7. Avitus. Dio, lxxix, 16. His family was of Cotyaeum, where the name appears twice: Lebas-Waddington, 795, 798. M. Aurelius Verianus equo publico, whose parents Terpsilaus and Caria Aelii were apparently freedpeople of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius, was himself, it appears, a freedman of Marcus Aurelius or Commodus; *Bull. com. d. R.*, i, 73; Hirschfeld, *VG*, 244, 3; Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 518, 4.
47. 8. quaestor. Tac., *A.*, xii, 53.
47. 9. praetorship. *Ib.* and Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 6; Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxv, 201. The first knight who obtained praetorian rank was Sejanus: Dio, lvii, 19 sqq. Laco obtained quaestorian, Macro praetorian rank, *ib.*, lviii, 12. Suet., *Claud.*, c. 24: ornamenta consularia etiam procuratoribus ducenariis indulsit.
47. 11. Senate. Dio, lx, 16. The presence of freedmen in the Senate (mentioned by Dio, lxxiii, 8) was irregular.
47. 14. footing. Tac., *A.*, xii, 60. Cf. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 287; Mommsen, *StR*, ii³, 2, 1022, 2.
47. 17. generals. Mommsen, *StR*, i³, 435.
47. 21. spectacles. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 28. On the former see the next section.
47. 22. person. Mommsen, *StR*, i³, 396.
47. 24. Posides. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 28. *Stat., Silv.*, iii, 3, 140, also mentions the permission, which the father of Etruscus obtained from Vespasian, to take part in the Jewish triumph, as a distinction. Cf. Gell., v, 6, 4.
47. 27. knighthood. Henzen, *AdI*, xxix, 90 sqq.
47. 35. noble. Plutarch, *Tranq. an.*, c. 13 sq.
47. 39. master. Epictet., *Diss.*, i, 1, 20.
48. 20. exchequer. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 3, 4.
48. 22. disinterestedness. Tac., *A.*, xii, 53; Plin., *Epp.*, viii, 6.
48. 26. Narcissus. Suet., *Vitell.*, c. 2.
48. 27. Consuls. Suet., *Claud.*, c. 28.
48. 30. servant. Dio, lxxvi, 6.
48. 39. senators. *L. Julia, Digg.*, xxiii, 2, 44, cf. 31.
49. 3. unknown. *RStE*, iii, 443 f.
49. 7. Felix. Henzen, 5404 = *CIL*, v, 1, 34.
49. 10. War. *Stat., Silv.*, iii, 3, 111.
49. 11. family. *Ib.*, v, 1, 53. Cf. Teuffel, *StRE*, i³, 1165.

- 49, 13. *Marcus*. Cf. p. 42.
 49, 25. *goats*. Dio, lx, 29; cf. Meineke, *Fr. comm. Gr.*, iv, 614 (xlii.).
 49, 28. *intolerable*. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 2; Dio, lxi, 3; Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 6.
 49, 32. *speaking*. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 23; Dio, lxii, 14.
 49, 41. *welts*. Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.*, ii, 1, 12, 2; also in Macrob., *Sat.*, vii, 1, 12.
 50, 9. *court*. Martial, ix, 79.
 50, 12. *wrest*. Epictet., *Diss.*, iv, 13, 22.
 50, 17. *knights*. On the difference of title between *procuratores* who were freedmen and those of equestrian rank (plain *procuratores* and *procuratores Augusti*), cf. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 241, 1; Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 558, 1.
 50, 20. *mostly*. Cf. Eichhorst, *Quaest. epigr. de procuratorib. imp. Rom.* (Regim., 1861), pp. 28-30, and Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 67, 4.
 50, 26. *superiors*. Eichhorst, *l. c.* A number of officials formerly regarded as procurators of provinces are held by Mommsen to be administrators of domains, particularly in Africa (*StR*, iii, 1, 555, 1).
 50, 29. *freedmen*. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 200; cf. Appendix ix.
 50, 31. *knights*. Hirschfeld, *ib.*, p. 168 f.
 50, 36. *procurators*. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
 50, 37. *quarries*. *Ibid.*, p. 83 f.
 50, 39. *provinces*. *Ibid.*, p. 24 ff.
 50, 40 and 51, 1. *Pollio*. Fabretti, 199, 486.
 51, 5. *elephants*. Hirschfeld, p. 178.
 51, 7. *waterways*. Orelli, 946.
 51, 11. *increase*. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 559, 2.
 51, 11. *sesterces*. Henzen, 6339 = *CIL*, vi, 246 = xiv, 2087.
 51, 14. *posts*. Hirschfeld, p. 255, 7; 256, 3.
 51, 23. *published*. *Ibid.*, p. 30 ff.
 51, 41. *successfully*. Stat., *Silv.*, iii, 3, 84. In line 78 for *longo* read *longum*, i.e., *diu*, as in *Silv.*, i, 3, 13; Martial, i, 31, 7; viii, 38, 15; ix, 181; Juv., 6, 65. Line 73 for *suis* read *subis*; line 99 for *exitus* read *anxius* (Hirschfeld, *Zuden Silvae des Statius in Oesterreich. Mitth.*, iii [1881], p. 273 ff.).
 52, 8. *administered*. The enumerated revenues belong essentially to the *patrimonium* (Hirschfeld, p. 31, 5; *Greges oviarici dominici*, which were farmed, *IRN*, 4916 = *CIL*, ix, 2348; cf. Cosinus among the officials *a rationibus*), but there are exceptions, e.g., the corn supplies from Africa (Hirschfeld, p. 15, 3); Mommsen, *StR*, ii², 2, 1006, 1) and the duties on ivory and pearls collected on the frontier of the empire (Marquardt, *StV*, ii², 275; supplies of glass from Egypt; *ibid.*, 234, 4).
 52, 13. *mint*. Stat., *loc. cit.*, v, 85-106. Mommsen, *StR*, ii², 2, 1003, 1. [Besides the imperial house on the Palatine (indicated by *laquearia*) and the Flavian Mausoleum (*vultus divom*) reference is made to the splendid villa of Domitian on the Alban mount. In general the enumeration is probably made with special regard to his buildings and undertakings: *templa* (Capitoline, Vespasian's, Minerva's etc. *Martial*, ix, 3, 10);

- pila* (increased pay, Marquardt, *StV*, ii^a, 96); *tribus* (restoration of *Minucia vetus*: *VG*, 63; Marquardt, *StV*, ii^a, 128, 5 and the great *congiaria*, *ibid.*, 138); *Ausonia moneta* (Momm-
sen, *R. Münzw.*, 754-757); *series viarum* (Schiller, *G. der R. Kaiserz.*, i, 533, 3; one must add the *via Domitiana* (Stat., *S.*, iv, 3) which was at least under construction when the poem was composed). H.]
- 52, 17. accompanied. Hirschfeld, p. 270, 1.
- 52, 19. old. Martial, vi, 83; Stat., *loc. cit.*, 146-161 (*curarum socius* equivalent to *adjutor*, as in Martial, vi, 68, 5).
- 52, 24. posterity. Besides the poem of Statius there is one by Martial (vii, 40).
- 52, 25. *libellis*. Hirschfeld, p. 207. Ed. Cuq, *Mém. sur le consilium principis d'Auguste*, in *Mémoires présentés à l'acad. des inscr.*, ix (1884), pp. 363-371.
- 52, 39. dry. Seneca, *Cons. ad. Polyb.*, c. 6.
- 52, 40. Polybius. *A studiis*, Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 28. Whether he held this office at the same time cannot be certainly inferred from Seneca *loc. cit.*, c. 5, 2: ab occupationibus tuis, id est a studio at a Caesare.
- 53, 9. envious. Seneca, *loc. cit.*, ii, 5; 8, 2; 2, 6.
- 53, 10. counsellorship. Cuq, *op. cit.*, p. 373 sqq. believes (referring to Gell., *N. A.*, iii, 16; *Vit. Alex. Severi*, c. 16) the purpose of the office *a studiis* to have been to furnish the emperor with precedents, indications and material of all kinds from history and literature for the decision of legal questions. Possibly this gradually became the chief duty of the official, but it was certainly never his exclusive function.
- 53, 11. Claudius. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 211 note; *CIL*, vi, 8636: *Ti. Claudius Lemnius Divi Claudii Augusti lib. a studiis*.
- 53, 11. constant. Orelli, 719, 2958, 6356 (magister a. st.; later procurator ducenar. stat. hered.) = *CIL*, vi, 8636-8638.
- 53, 12. staffed. *CIL*, vi, 8637: Terpsilaus Aug. lib. prox. a studiis scholam officii.
- 53, 13. 60,000. Inscription of Caelius Saturninus *CIL*, vi, 1704.
- 53, 14. reserved. *CIG*, iii, 5900; cf. the appendix. *AdI*, 1853, p. 57 (inscription of Lyons: Boissieu, i, 28, p. 43; Henzen, 6355): M. Aemilius Laetus a studiis Augusti. *CIL*, x, 1487 (magistro [studi]orum). *CIL*, vi, 1608 (magistro a studiis Augg. procuratori prov. Asiae). *CIL*, v, 2, 8972 (Aquilaia):—viro perfectissimo magistro sacrarum cognitionum a studiis et a consiliis Augg. (From the third century, and certainly not from its earlier decades, the office *a consiliis* is apparently here combined with the head office of *studia*; this title was not hitherto authenticated before the time of Constantine. Hirschfeld, *Archäol. epigr. Mitth.*, i, 57). Mommsen, *De C. Caelii Saturnini titulo*, in *Nuove mem. dell' Inst.*, p. 328 sq. names as the latest passage, in which *magistri studiorum* are referred to, a law of the year 338 (*C. Th.*, xii, 1, 26). But probably here *studiorum* is corrupt; cf. Gothofred., and Haenel on the passage. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 221 note. Mommsen's opinion that the office *a studiis* was called in later times *scrinium memoriae* is

- not tenable, because the latter existed already in Caracalla's time. Cf. Appendix viii, p. 48, and Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 210, 2.
- 53, 16. Library. Mommsen, *StR*, i³, 330, 1.
- 53, 21. thoughts. Martial, v, 5.
- 53, 21. official. But certainly not '*Oberstudienrath für das ganze Reich*' as Hirschfeld thinks (*VG*, 211 note). Orelli, 6356 = *CIL*, x, 4721 : L. Vibio Fortunato L(aurenti Lavinati) haruspici Aug. n. magistr. a studiis proc. ducenatio stationis hereditarium. In the inscription *Eph. ep.*, v, 579, n. 1376 (*Add. ad CIL*, iii) : ar . . . sanct(issimi) domini n. Antonini Aug. ducenatio et a musio sac. perpet. dei Aesc(ulapi) pa. . . Mommsen, surely erroneously, thinks a *musio* identical with a *studiis*, because of the high salary.
- 53, 24. *epistolis*. Fronto, ed. Niebuhr, p. 81, *De Elog.*, 21 : Caesarum est . . . per orbem terrae litteras misitare.
- 54, 1. busier. Stat., *Silv.*, v, 1, 83.
- 54, 3. office. Cf. Appendix viii.
- 54, 7. extortions. Liban., ed. R., i, 565 sq.
- 54, 13. priests. Stat., *Silv.*, v, 1, esp. 83-107, and praef. *Domus divina* occurs here not for the first time in literature, but already in Phaedr., *Fabb.*, v, 7 extr. : superbiens honore divinae domus. Also in inscriptions it appears not only after 170, as Henzen first thought (*Ind.*, p. 57), but, as he remarked later (*BdI*, 1872, p. 105), earlier, especially in the Chichester inscription which undoubtedly belongs to the first century : *CIL*, vii, 11 = Orelli, 1338 (a *collegium fabrorum* erects a temple (pr)o salute do(mus) divinae (ex) auctoritate (Ti.) Claud. (? Co) gidubni r(egis) ? Tac., *Agr.*, c. 14) lega(ti) Aug. in Brit(annia) ; cf. Mommsen, *StR*, ii³, 2, 818, 2 [and Mowat, *Bull. epigr. B.*, 5, 6. H.].
- 54, 26. command. Cf. Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 204, 4 (as against Marquardt, *StV*, ii³, 378, 3. Mommsen, *StR*, ii³, 2, 851, 3 reads in Stat., v, 94 quis centum valeat frenare maniplis Intermixtus equos, and understands the command of the legionary cavalry).
- 55, 2. remains. Canina, *Topogr. d. v. App.*, *AdI*, xxv, 148 and *Via Appia*, i, p. 63. About 5 *miglie* from these remains, near the sixth milestone of the *Via Appia* was found in 1485 in a sarcophagus without inscription an artificially preserved female corpse, which Pomponius Laetus supposed to be the body of Cicero's daughter, Tullia or Priscilla. Chr. Hülsen, *Die Aufindung der römischen Leiche vom Jahre 1485*, in *Mitth. d. österr. Inst. f. Geschichtsforsch.*, iv, pp. 433-449.
- 55, 6. calligraphy. Plutarch, *D. Pyth. oracc.*, c. 7. For existing edicts (written *per cola et commata*) from the imperial chancellery of the fifth century see Mommsen, *Fragmente zweier lateinischer Kaiserrescripte auf Papyrus*, in Bekker and Muther, *Jahrb. d. gem. deutschen Rechts*, vi, 398 ff. Cf. Egger, *Obs. sur la fonction de secrétaire des princes*, p. 22.
- 55, 11. Hermes. Cf. Appendix viii.
- 55, 15. secretary. *Ibid.*
- 55, 22. verse. Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 12 ; cf. i, 17.
- 55, 24. biographies. Their publication occurs in the year 120

- (Roth. ed. Sueton. praef., p. ix ; cf. Appendix viii) ; it is possible that Suetonius obtained the office as early as 117.
- 55, 26. Sabine. *Hadrian.*, c. 11.
- 55, 34. reach out. Cf. Appendix viii.
- 55, 40. stylists. Dio, lxix, 3.
- 56, 1. chancery. Phrynichus, *Epit.*, p. 418, ed. Lobeck.
- 56, 12. co-regent. *Id. ib.*, p. 379.
- 56, 16. humanists. Burckhardt, *Cultur der Renaissance*, pp. 224-227.
- 56, 23. letter. Philostrat., *Vitt. Soph.*, ii, 24, 1 sq.
- 56, 31. interpreter. *Id. ib.*, ii, 33, 3.
- 56, 36. staff. Sueton., *Domit.*, c. 17.
- 56, 37. never. Henzen, *AdI*, xxix, 88 note. Freedmen : Or., 1635, 2905, 2906, 4663, 6334, *BdI*, 1862, p. 33. Cf. *CIL*, vi, 8758-8794 ; x, 6773 ; xiv, 3031 ; *CIG*, 2947 (prope Nysam Cariae) : Φυλὴ Καισάρηον Πάπλιον Ἀλίων Ἀλκιβιάδην ἐπὶ κοῦῶνος Σεβ. φιλόπατριον καὶ εὐεργέτην τῆς πόλεως, 2948. The same man in Lebas-Waddington, 1652 sq. ; his son 1666. *CIG*, 3804. Slaves : *CIG*, 6418 (κοιτωνῖται Καίσαρος).
- 56, 40. stations. Henzen, *AdI*, 1856, 48, no. 139. Marquardt, *Privatl. d.R.*, i⁹, 144, 5, understands day and night duty.
- 57, 2. corn. O. Hirschfeld, *Philol.*, xxix, 55, 73 sq., *Ab aegris cubic.*, s.g. *BdI* 1864, 9 ; *Bull. comun.*, v, 1877, p. 173 (a frum. cub. . . . ab aeg.), 1866, p. 413, 1670.
- 57, 5. Cic., *Ad Att.*, vi, 2, 5.
- 57, 8. nobles. *Mémoires du Duc de Saint-Simon*.
- 57, 13. right-servant. Read 'rest-servant'.
- 57, 13. bodyguard. Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.*, 571 M.
- 57, 33. slave. *Id.*, 570 and 576.
- 57, 34. executed. *Id.*, 576.
- 57, 40. Sigerus. Martial, iv, 78.
- 58 1. chamber. Sueton., *Domit.*, 16. Dio, lxvii, 15. Tertullian, *Apol.*, c. 35. On the form Sigerius cf. Letronne, *Recueil des inscr. de l'Egypte*, i, p. 159 (Ἐπαφρόδιτος δούλος Σειγηριανός). *CIL*, viii, 10,983 (Caesarea m.) : Dis Manibus | Flavius Sigerius | summa rudis etc. Also in Sueton., *Domit.*, c. 17 read Sigerius for Satrius.
- 58 2. sword. Dio, *loc. cit.* Cf. vol. i of this work, p. 47.
- 58, 5. suppliants. Martial, v, 6.
- 58, 7. throne. Dio, lxvii, 15.
- 58 11. Muse. Martial, xi, 1.
- 58, 12. poet. *Id.*, v, 6 ; xii, 11 ; iv, 45 ; viii, 28 ; ix, 49.
- 58, 17. success. *Id.*, xii, 11.
- 58, 19. fallen. Aurel. Vict., *Epit.*, 25. Perhaps he is mentioned in the inscription *CIL*, vi, 8761 : Ti. Claudius Eutomus Partheni Aug. liberti a quibiclo (sic) libertus. In that case Nero must have already freed him ; cf. Mommsen, *loc. cit.*
- 58, 29. temple. Dio, lxvii, 12 ; cf. lxxvii, 21 ; *Commod.*, c. 3 and 4. He appears in a list of priests of the *domus Augusta Palatina* as *Aelius Saoterus*, *CIL*, vi, 2010.
- 58, 29. Cleander. Herodian, i, 12 sq. ; *Commod.*, c. 5-7 ; Dio, lxxii, 9 sqq.

- 59, 2. freedman. *Commod.*, c. 6. Cf. Dio, lix, 26. On the *pugio* as *insigne* cf. Mommsen, *StR*, i³, 434; also this work, i, 47. Hirschfeld (*VG*, p. 229) believes that the other two had no *pugio*. I believe that the intention was to indicate assassination, as his real office, from Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 49 (two *libelli* found in the possession of Caligula had the titles *gladius* and *pugio*; ambo nomina et notas continebant morti destinatorum).
- 59, 8. master. *Commod.*, c. 15.
- 59, 11. soldiers. Herodian, i, 17; Dio, lxxii, 22. *Pertinax*, c. 4 and 11.
- 59, 13. Caracalla. Dio, lxxvi, 14, where O. Hirschfeld reads *την μνημην* for *την γυναικα* *ευνελορευε*.
- 59, 15. *memoria*. Dio, lxxviii, 32; Herodian, iv, 8, 4.
- 59, 17. made. Cf. vol. i, pp. 45, 47. Galen mentions a Chari-lampes (*δ κορυμβιτης*), xiv, 624.
- 59, 29. another. Epictet., *Diss.*, iv, 6, 31.
- 59, 34. freedman. One Julius Orpheus Pyladis l. (10 A.D.) in a Roman *columbarium* (Henzen, *AdI*, 1856, 12, no. 23), perhaps one of his musicians; *CIL*, ii, 2370 (conv. Bracar. Aug.): Duri C. Julius Pylades.
- 59, 35. Tiberius. Ti. Julius Aug. l. Mnester, Gruter, 615, 1. Nipperdey on Tac., *A.*, xi, 4. Cf. vol. ii, p. 114.
- 59, 38, 39. Domitia. L. Domitius Paris. One L. Domitius Agathemerus Paridis lib. *CIL*, xiv (with note).
- 60, 15. executed. Cf. vol. ii, p. 114.
- 60, 8. actor. In an inscription at Lanuvium (of the year 192 ?) *CIL*, xiv, 2113 he is called M. Aurel. Aug. lib.; in another of Praeneste of the time of Severus and Caracalla (*ib.*, 2977) M. Aurelius Augg. lib.
- 60, 10. Armenia. Perhaps chief of the staff; Mommsen, *StR*, ii³, 2, 853, 4. The command involved, no doubt, equestrian rank; Mommsen, *Add. ad CIL* iii (*Ephem. epigr.*, v, p. 578).
- 60, 10. Saoterus. Dio, lxxvii, 21.
- 60, 16. tribunes. *Vitt. Juv. Sat.*, vii, 90-92.
- 60, 20. freedom. Dio, lix, 5; Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.*, 567 M.
- 60, 28. then. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 33.
- 60, 34. chains. Joseph., *Vit.*, c. 3.
- 60, 34. Emperor. Martial, x, 28.
- 60, 37. occurrences. Sueton., *Domit.*, c. 15.
- 60, 38. feared. Schol. Juv., 4, 53; cf. Juv., i, 36.
- 61, 1. Carinus. Read 'Earinus'.
- 61, 12. Pergamus. Stat., *Silv.*, *praef.* and iii, 4; Martial, ix, 16, 36.
- 61, 17. Africa. De Rossi, *Bull. d. Arch. crist.*, i, 72 and v, 75; Wilmanns, 163.
- 61, 23. God. Visconti e Lanciani, *Guida del Palatino*, pp. 78-86. (Julius) Philetaerus Aug. lib. paedagogus (puerorum) C. n. *BdI*, 1865, p. 149. A subpaedagogus, Or., 2940. Tib. Claudius Aug. lib. Hermes m(agister) pueror. dom. August., Or., 2145. Cf. all the inscriptions *CIL*, vi, 8965-8990, where besides 'paedagogi' stand also 'praeceptores puerorum Caesaris n.' (8978 s.). *Paedagogi* of the imperial family at Carthage. *Add. ad CIL* viii (*Eph. epigr.*, v, p. 305), 380, 381. An ἀρχηγός

- παῖδων Καίσαρος, *CIL*, iii, 2, 1434. The school for pages 'a capite Africa', 8982 ss. (Becker, *Topogr.*, i, 508).
- 61, 32. life. Joseph., *A. J.*, xvii, 5, 7 sqq.; *B. J.*, i, 32, 6, 7. Le-tronne, *Rec. des inscript. de l'Égypte*, v, ii, p. 359.
- 61, 36. years. Sueton., *Otho*, c. 2.
- 62, 5. St. Simon. *Mémoires du Duc de St-Simon*.
- 62, 11. Empress. Tac., *A.*, xi, 29 sqq.
- 62, 26. Attali. Dio, lxi, 7; Tac., *A.*, xiii, 12 sqq.; Sueton., *Nero*, c. 28; *CIL*, x, 7980 (Olbia in Sardinia) Claudia Aug. l. Pythias Acteniana. Mommsen explains this *cognomen*, which is elsewhere used only in the families of men of the highest rank or of foreign kings, as due to her alleged royal origin, but we find it also in the families of freedmen who passed from the service of Caenis to that of the emperor. See vol. i, p. 63.
- 62, 29. sesterces. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 50.
- 62, 31. vocalist. Fabretti, *Inscr. ant.*, p. 124 G, 125 F, 125 G (*CIL*, vi, 3, 15,357). Henzen, 5412 (= 6425), 5413; Orelli, 2885; *CIL*, vi, 3, 15,137-15,176; *CIL*, x, 7640, 7980, 7984.
- 62, 33. Puteoli. Ph. a Turre, *Mon. vet. Antii*, pp. 121-123 = Lanciani, *Acque e acquedotti*, pp. 245, 226.
- 63, 33. Velitrae. Lanciani, *op. cit.*, pp. 244, 214; cf. p. 304.
- 62, 34. Sardinia. *CIL*, x, 8046 a-e. Amphora with the inscription: Claud. Act., De Rossi, *Bull. mun. d. R.*, ii (1874), p. 197. Arthur Loth's essay, *Acté, sa conversion au christianisme*, in *Rev. d. quest. hist.*, ix [1875], pp. 58-113, is not worth refuting.
- 62, 39. memory. Dio, lxvi, 14; Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 3.
- 63, 7. him. Sueton., *Domit.*, c. 12.
- 63, 18. children. *BdI*, 1864, p. 25 sq. = *CIL*, vi, 2, 12,037. Fl. Aug. lib. Helpis Caenidiana, in Or., 4647 = *CIL*, vi, 3, 18,358 (cf. 18,357). Ti. Claudius Aug. lib. Hermes Caenidianus, in *CIL*, vi, 2, 15,110.
- 63, 20. Guards. *Anton. P.*, c. 8.
- 63, 22. Faustina. Henzen-Or., 5466 = *CIL*, vi, 8972.
- 63, 24. stepmother. *M. Anton.*, c. 29.
- 63, 28. Smyrna. Lucian, *Imagines*.
- 64, 11. well. *Pro imaginibus*.
- 64, 22. husks. M. Antonin., *Comm.*, viii, 37.
- 64, 24. love-boys. *Commod.*, c. 5.
- 64, 25. courtesanship. Aurel. Vict., *epit.*, 17, 5.
- 64, 26. magic. *Commod.*, c. 8.
- 64, 25. Marcia. Aurel. Vict., *Epit.*, 17, 5 (Marcia generis libertini). Perhaps identical with Marcia Aurelia Ceionia Demetrias stolata femina, Henzen, 7190, 2 = *CIL*, x, 5918 (Anagnia); her father was perhaps M. Aurel. Sabinianus Augg. lib., Henzen, 7190 = *CIL*, x, 5917. Filiae praeterea alia nomina duo videtur imposuisse in memoriam patronorum, alterum Marciae a Marco, alterum Ceioniae a L. natura Ceionio, antequam adoptione nomen mutaret. Mommsen.
- 64, 26. magic. Commodus, c. 5.
- 64, 29. conspiracy. Dio, lxxii, 4.
- 64, 31. arena. *Commod.*, c. 11.

- 64, 33. shield. Eckhel, *D. N.*, vii, p. 128; Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, iii, pl. 4.
- 64, 35. fire. Herodian, i, 16, 4.
- 64, 40. Victor. *Ref. Haeres.*, ix, 2; cf. vol. iii, p. 201. Adolphe de Ceuleneer, *Marcia la favorite de Commode*, in *Rev. d. quest. hist.*, xi, 1876, pp. 156-168, does not believe that so immoral a person could have been a Christian. Cf. however Aubé, *Le christianisme de Marcia*, in *Rev. archéol.*, 1879, pp. 154-175.
- 65, 4. murder. Herodian, i, 16; Dio, lxxii, 22; *Commod.*, c. 17.
- 65, 11. goodness. *Pertinax*, c. 5.
- 65, 13. executed. Dio, lxxiii, 16.
- 65, 16. palace. These had two names like the *servi publici*, but were treated in the *privilegia* of law as private slaves. Sometimes they have free *conjuges* (e.g., *CIL*, x, 529). Mommsen, *StR*, ii², 2, 836, 5.
- 65, 21. purpose. Seneca, *De benef.*, iii, 28, 4.
- 65, 23. might be. *Hadrian*, c. 21.
- 65, 25. slaves. *Ib.*, c. 23.
- 65, 28. Claudius. Dio, lx, 12; cf. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 67.
- 65, 30. privy. This is meant literally. Louis XIV had two inspectors of the royal night-stool (with a salary of 20,000 *livres* each). Taine, *Origines d. l. France contemporaine*, i, p. 125. See p. 127 on the crowd of domestics at the court of France at that time.
- 65, 39. Felicio. Epictet., *Diss.*, i, 19, 16.
- 65, 41. insolence. *Id. ib.*, iv, 1, 149.
- 66, 4. support. *Id. ib.*, iii, 8, 31.
- 66, 5. woo him. *Id. ib.*, iv, 7, 23.
- 66, 7. death. Martial, viii, 52; xi, 6, 10.
- 66, 12. eunuchs. Liban., ed. R., i, 565.
- 66, 17. gardeners. Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 195 note.
- 66, 22. slavery. Liban., *loc. cit.*
- 66, 35. purchased. Phaedr., ii, 5.
- 66, 37. intendants. They were always slaves. Fabretti, *Inscr. Ant.*, p. 293 sqq., cf. p. 334; Henzen, *Ind.*, p. 183; *CIL*, iii, 1, 354; Lebas-Waddington, 1719; Mommsen, *CIL*, v, 1, 83, and *Eph. ep.*, v, p. 590, 1391; 621, 1451; *StR*, ii², 2, 839, 3 and 4; Hirschfeld, *VG*, 278. One M. Licinius Eutychus, qui dispensavit Volusio Torquato in *Bull. comun.*, i (1872), p. 92, was evidently only freed when he was no longer in this office. The inscriptions of the city of Rome: *CIL*, vi, 8819-8845. In Latium: *CIL*, xiv, 2259 (= Or., 2864), 3567 (= Or., 1914), 3639, 3920 (Felix Ti. Claudii Caesar. Augusti dispens. Fabianus). Cf. generally index, p. 560. The inscription describing the career of an imperial slave in Hirschfeld, p. 203, 1, is a forgery, as H. himself informs me.
- 66, 37. Court. Sueton., *Galba*, c. 12; *Vesp.*, c. 22.
- 66, 41. atrocity. Pliny, *H. N.*, vii, 129.
- 67, 1. extort. Sueton., *Otho*, c. 5.
- 67, 7. ones. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxiii, 145; Tertull., *De pall.*, c. 5.
- 67, 15. unspecified. Henzen, 6651.
- 67, 26. Nero. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 7.

- 67, 29. Commodus. Niebuhr, *Praef. ad Fronton.*, p. xxi.
 67, 31. Rome. Quintilian, lib. iv, *prooem.*
 67, 33. Gadara. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 57. On his residence in Rome cf. Cichorius, *Rom. und Mytilene*, p. 162 f.
 67, 35. Herodes. *M. Anton.*, c. 2 and 3.
 64, 40. 100,000. Sueton., *De ill. gramm.*, c. 17.
 68, 3. heir-apparent. *Anton. P.*, c. 10; cf. *M. Anton.*, c. 3; Lucian, *Demon.*, 31; *M. Anton. Comment.*, i, 8.
 68, 4. gymnasia. Herodian, i, 4, 9. On Julian's attendance at school in Antioch see Libanius, ed. R., i, 525, 7 sqq.
 68, 10. Maximinus. Auson., *Ad Gratian. imp. gratiar. act. pro. cons.*, ed. Toll, p. 713.
 68, 13. apartments. *CIL*, vi, 8895-8910; *ib.*, 8646, 8647 (medic. domus Augustianae), 8656 (medic. dom. Pal.), 8671 (medicus ex hortis Sallustianis).
 68, 14. specialized. Cf. e.g., *M. Anton. Comm.*, viii, 31; Or., 2974, 4227; Sueton., *Cal.*, c. 8. Scribon. Larg., c. 120: ut ab eius (Cassii) servo Atimeto accepti, legato Tiberii Caesaris (*i.e.*, who came into Tiberius' possession as a legacy, Buecheler, *Rh. M.*, xxxvii, 324) quia is eam solitus erat componere.
 68, 22. Xenophon. He is the first who bears the title ἀρχίατρος (τῶν θεῶν Σεβαστῶν *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.*, v, p. 479).
 68, 25. much. Plin., *H. N.*, xxix, 7.
 68, 31. theriac. Galen, xiv, 4.
 68, 33. board. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 42.
 68, 35. Theodoric. Marquardt, *Privat.*, ii³, 776.
 68, 37. Charicles. Tac., *A.*, vi, 50.
 68, 38. Cretan. Galen calls him ἀρχίατρος (*Theriac. ad Pis.*, p. 470); Sprengel, *Gesch. d. Arzneik.*, ii³, 70 f.
 68, 39. campaign. Martial, xi, 60, 6; C. Mueller, *Fragm. hist. Gr.*, iv, 373 s.
 68, 40. Hermogenes. Dio, lxix, 22.
 68, 41. Demetrius. ἀρχίατρος, Galen, ed. K., xiv, 4.
 68, 41. Commodus. Sprengel, ii, 140.
 69, 3. Menecrates. *CIG*, 6604, 6607. Augustus' physician M. Antoninus Asclepiades, Sprengel, ii, 27.
 69, 6. associates. Dio, liii, 30.
 69, 9. situation. Cf. Appendix viii, p. 42 n.
 69, 14. Claudius. His inscriptions in M. Dubois, *Un médecin de l'emp. Claude*, in *Bull. d. Corr. Hellén.*, v (1881), pp. 461-476, and Briau, *Rev. arch.*, xxiii (1882), pp. 203-216; *CIL*, vi, 8905 (Cosmiae | C. Stertini Xenophontis | medici Augusti etc.) *Bull. com. d. R.*, 1886, p. 104, 1160: leaden pipe in Villa Casali with the inscription, Stertini Xenophontis; cf. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 333, 2.
 69, 15. well. Tac., *A.*, xii, 67.
 69, 18. murder. *Id.*, xii, 77.
 69, 20. Nero. [φιλονέρων]a according to the certain emendation of Dubois, *op. cit.*, p. 479, in place of φιλοκλαύδιον erased.
 69, 23. access. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxix, 20.
 69, 25. extant. *SIRE*, vi, 2532 f.
 69, 29. with her. Tac., *A.*, iv., 3, 11.

- 69, 34. wrongly. Galen, *De prænol. ad Epig.*, c. 5, ed. K., xiv, 625.
 69, 39. fatalism. *Refut. hæres.*, iv, 7, ed. Duncker, p. 62.
 69, 40. foretold. Seneca, *Apocol.*, 3.
 70, 5. prediction. Plutarch, *Galba*, c. 23; Tac., *Hist.*, i, 22.
 70, 9. vain. Marquardt, *StV*, iii², 92-94.
 70, 10. counsellors. *Ibid.*, p. 93 f.
 70, 12. monarchs. Joseph., *A. J.*, xviii, 6, 9; cf. Tac., *A.*, vi, 20 and 46; *Hadrian*, c. 16; *Ael. Ver.*, 2; *Sever.*, 3; *Geta*, 2, 3. *Alexdr.*, 5; Dio, lxxvi, 11 and 14.
 70, 14. companion. Tac., *A.*, vi, 20 sq.; Sueton., *Aug.*, 98; *Tiber.*, 14, 62; Dio, lvii, 15; lviii, 27; Schol. Juv., vi, 576. One (Ti. Claudius Ti., Cl)audi Thrasylli (l.—without *cognomen*) at Smyrna (*Eph. ep.*, v, p. 57, 147) was perhaps his freedman.
 70, 18. town. Dio, lxvi, 9.
 70, 22. danger. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 36; Tac., *A.*, xv, 47; Dio, lxi, 18.
 70, 24. marriage. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 22.
 70, 29. honour. Dio, lvii, 10; Sueton., *Domitian*, c. 10; Dio, lxxviii, 2.
 70, 35. live. Dio, lxvii, 15.
 71, 12. senators. Mommsen, *StR*, ii², 2, 902-904.
 71, 4. business. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 55.
 71, 6. Severus. Herodian, vi, 1, 3; Dio, lxxxi, 1; Mommsen, *op. cit.*, 903, 3.
 71, 11. friends. Juv., 4, 74 sq., 88.
 71, 28. companions. *Hadrian.*, c. 18.
 71, 33. part. Mommsen, ii², 2, 988 ff.; Hirschfeld, *VG*, 215 ff.
 72, 2. friends. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 6.
 72, 7. prevail. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 65.
 72, 20. like. Dio, *Chr., Or.*, iii, ed. Dindorf, i, 55 sqq.
 72, 21. Priscus. *Hadrian*, c. 4.
 72, 24. views. *Antonin. Pius*, c. 6.
 72, 26. to him. *M. Antonin.*, c. 7.
 72, 29. to his. *Id.*, c. 22.
 72, 33. Emperor. Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 18.
 72, 35. near. Epictet., *Diss.*, iv, 1, 95.
 72, 38. affairs. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 29.
 73, 2. fabrications. *Id.*, c. 66.
 73, 9. assembly. Seneca, *Beneff.*, vi, 34.
 73, 10. admission. *Id., De clementia*, i, 10. *Primi et secundi loci: Alex. Sever.*, c. 20.
 73, 16. kinsmen. *E.g.*, Dio, lxix, 1; *Hadrian*, c. 15.
 73, 16. Youth. *E.g.*, *M. Antonin.*, c. 13.
 73, 21. friends. Sueton., *Vita Lucani*.
 73, 23-55. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 12 and 46; Sueton., *Otho*, c. 3 sq.; Plutarch, *Galba*, c. 19.
 73, 34. Emperor. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 270, 3.
 73, 41. being. Henzen, 6429 = *CIL*, iii, 1, 781.
 74, 6. work. Orelli, 4997; Lebas-Waddington, 1874.
 74, 14. preserved. Mommsen in Bekker and Muther, *Jahrb. d. gem. Rechts*, vi, 407. Also the *magister memoriae*, Eumen., *Pro restaur. scholis*, c. 14.

74. 18. father. Dio, lxxii, 14.
 74. 21. *parentem*. Cod., viii, 38, 4; iv, 65, 4.
 74. 24. assembly. *Did. Julianus*, c. 4, where read 'fratrem' etc. for 'patrem vel filium vel parentem'.
 74. 28. inscriptions. Mommsen, *Hermes*, iv, 129 f.
 74. 30. repasts. *Hadrian*, c. 9.
 74. 31. occasions. *Antoninus Pius*, c. 12.
 74. 34. abstained. M. Antonin., *Comment.*, i, 16.
 74. 37. pride. M. Antonin., c. 29.
 74. 38. uninvited. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 4.
 74. 39. lived. *Hadrian*, c. 8: optimos quosque de senatu in contubernium imperatoriae majestatis adscivit; *Clod. Albin.*, c. 14: unum ex contubernalibus suis. On the other hand, Mommsen, *StR*, ii³, 989: 'Probably the office of *consiliarius Augusti* involved the obligation to be ready for this duty in the palace, so that the *consilarii* were so to speak members of the emperor's household'.
 74. 41. *amicorum*. Gruter, 63, 1 (= Or., 1588), 70, 2 (= Or., 2907), 598, 1, 2, 3, 4 (5 = Or., 2908 not genuine); Or., 2392 (all freedmen); *CIL*, vi, 604, 630, 8793-8799; xiv, 206, 3565. Marquardt, *Privatl. d. R.*, i², 145 note, understands by it the *nomenclator ab admissione*.
 75. 2. *comites*. Tacit., *A.*, i, 47: ceterum ut iam iamque iturus legit comites; conquisivit impedimenta.
 75. 4. Republican. Mommsen, *Die comites Augusti der früheren Kaiserzeit* in *Hermes*, iv, 120ff. Their principal function was to serve as *consilium* to the emperor when travelling. Mommsen, *StR*, ii³, 2, 836, 1. It is striking that among the few imperial *comites* mentioned in inscriptions in addition to one senatorial knight of Hadrian's time (*CIL*, viii, 7036) there is only one knight of the later time of Severus (*CIL*, xii, 856: C. Julio Pacatiano . . . adlecto inter comites Auggg. nnn.); perhaps the equestrian *comites* had previously no right to this title. *Ibid.*, 836, 2.
 75. 9. returned. Sueton., *Caligula*, c. 19; Mommsen, *Hermes*, iv, p. 124, 2. A round plate apparently for labelling luggage with the inscription: Ex comitatu | Imp. Domitiani Aug. | Germanici—ab aquis | Statiellis, in Wilmanns, 2752.
 75. 11. senatorial. M. Antonin., c. 8.
 75. 13. pressure. M. Antonin., *Comment.* i, 16.
 75. 16. ill. Sueton., *Galba*, c. 7.
 75. 20. home. *Id.*, *Vespas.*, c. 4.
 75. 21. staked. Pseudo-Hygin., *Mun. castr.*, 10, 33, 39.
 75. 24. largess. Mommsen, *StR*, i³, 299 f.
 75. 30. 400,000. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 46.
 75. 31. friends. Quintilian, vi, 3, 52.
 75. 33. ruinous. Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.*, 596 M.
 75. 38. discipline. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 20.
 75. 40. provincials. *Anton. Pius*, c. 7.
 76. 6. Senate. The above follows Mommsen, *Hermes*, iv, 229 f.; cf. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 271, 2.
 76. 13. funeral. Dio, lvii, 11; Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 32; cf. *Aug.*, c. 53.

- 76, 15. Frajan. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 35 ; Dio, lx, 3 ; lxxviii, 7.
 76, 17. piece. Sueton., *Octo*, c. 4 ; Plutarch, *Galba*, c. 20 ; Tac., *Hist.*, i, 24.
 76, 21. 4,000,000. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 27.
 76, 22. Egypt. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxix, 93.
 76, 26. palace. Galen, xiv, p. 217.
 76, 30. guard. Dio, lxxviii, 7 ; Auson., *Ad Gratian. gratiar. act.*, p. 300, ed. Bip ; p. 733, ed. Toll.
 76, 36. popularity. *Hadrian*, c. 17.
 76, 37. freedmen. *Ib.*, c. 9.
 76, 41. town. *Ib.*, c. 17, 26 ; Dio, lxxix, 7.
 77, 1. Hadrian. Or., 804 ; cf. Gruter, 107, 8 (hospes Ti. Caesaris).
 77, 3. Emperor. *Hadrian*, c. 23.
 77, 6. humbler. *Antoninus Pius*, c. 11 ; *Alex. Sever.*, c. 4, 10.
 77, 9. Mucianus. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 13.
 77, 14. dumb. *Antoninus Pius*, c. 11.
 77, 25. received. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 18 ; xiv, 53-55.
 77, 28. possessed it. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 50 ; cf. Rudorff, *Zeitschr. f. geschl. Rechtsw.*, xii, 371 f.
 77, 29. invariable. *Hadrian*, c. 15.
 77, 30. friends. Dio, lxx, 7.
 77, 32. bestow. *M. Antonin.*, c. 3.
 77, 36. notable. Victor, *Epit.*, c. 37.
 77, 38. avaricious. Lib., ed. R., i, 589 sq.
 77, 41. propertied. Marquardt, *StV*, ii³, 294.
 28, 2. disappointment. Sueton., *August.*, c. 66.
 78, 5. place. *Ibid.* c. 101. Cf. Dio, lvi, 32.
 78, 14. again. Galen, xvii B, 150.
 78, 24. friend. Epictet., *Diss.*, iv, 8, 41-50.
 78, 30. all. Tac., *A.*, iii, 30.
 78, 33. banishment. *Id.*, *Hist.*, iv, 8.
 78, 37. countenance. Seneca, *De ira*, ii, 33, 2.
 78, 40. visages. Juvenal, 4, 72 sqq.
 79, 8. yesterday. Dio, lxxviii, 15.
 79, 12. end. Sueton., *August.*, c. 66.
 79, 14. death. Cf. vol. i, p. 80.
 79, 15. escaped. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 55.
 79, 15. Caligula. *Id.*, *Caligula*, c. 26.
 79, 19. friends. Seneca, *Apocol.*, 13, 5.
 79, 22. houses. *Hadrian*, c. 11.
 79, 24. own. *Ib.*, c. 15.
 79, 33. happy. Julian., *Orat.*, i, p. 46 B-D.
 79, 36. friendship. Tac., *A.*, vi, 29 ; cf. ii, 70 ; Sueton., *Caligula*, 3 ; Lips., *Exc. L ad ann. ii.* In the inscription Orelli, 932 (according to Cavedoni, *AdI*, 1859, p. 284) the words AMICUM SUUM were chiselled out after the man in question had fallen into disgrace.
 80, 3. undistinguished. Tac., *A.*, iii, 21.
 80, 11. suicide. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 24 ; Dio, liii, 24.
 80, 14. act. Tac., *A.*, i, 5 ; Plutarch, *De garrul.*, p. 508 A ; Pliny, *H. N.*, vii, 150.
 80, 20. bandages. Tac., *A.*, vi, 9.

- 80, 28. observation. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 4 and 14; Dio, lxxi, 11.
 80, 33. Poppaea. Sueton., *Otho*, 3; Tac., *A.*, xiii, 46.
 81, 4. to him. Epictet., *Diss.*, i, 10.
 81, 10. State. Suet., *Titus*, c. 7.
 81, 16. Pius. *M. Antonin.*, c. 7. Cf. the list of friends of the emperor in Appendix xi.
 81, 19. father. Dio, lxxvii, 2; lxxii, 4; *Commodus*, c. 3.
 81, 22. patron. *Sever.*, c. 8.
 81, 28. aristocracy. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 71; Plutarch, *Otho*, c. 1.
 81, 35. banished. Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 22.
 81, 41. Court. Sueton., *Gramm.*, 17.
 82, 2. grandchildren. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 48; *CIL*, vi, 8980: C. Julius Epaphra | divi Augusti l. | vixit ann. lx | Carus alumno suo | regis (of a later king?) paedagogus.
 82, 3. Drusus. Joseph., *A. J.*, xviii, 6, 1; *ib.*, 6, 6.
 82, 4. Claudius. *Ib.*, xix, 9, 2.
 82, 5. Court. *M. Anton.*, c. 4.
 82, 8. educated. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 32; Tac., *A.*, xiii, 16.
 82, 13. Britannicus. Sueton., *Tit.*, c. 2.
 82, 16. fellow pupils. *M. Anton.*, c. 3.
 82, 19. boys. Henzen, 6326 = *CIL*, vi, 8981. In the inscription of an eminent knight (πατέρα καὶ πάππον συγλητικῶν) at An-cyra, of the second half of the third century, von Damaszewski completes (perhaps rightly) σύντροφον βασιλέων (*Oesterr. Mitth.* ix, 1885, p. 123, 85).
 82, 37. slave. Cf. vol. iii, p. 264.
 82, 39. philosophers. Diels, *Doxogr. Graeci*, p. 82, 2.
 82, 40. Greeks. According to Diels, p. 86 sq., Didymus, son of Areus.
 82, 41. Areus. Cf. Diels, p. 80 sqq., and Zeller, *Gesch. d. Philos. d. Griechen*, iii², 1, 545-548.
 82, 41. Eclectic. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 98.
 83, 5. known. Seneca, *Ad Marc.*, iv, 2; Julian, *Caes.*, 21 (φίλον καὶ συμβιωτήν, cf. vol. iii, p. 264); Suidas: Ἀρροκρατίων Ἀργεῖος Πλατωνικὸς φιλόσοφος συμβιωτῆς Καίσαρος; Zeller, *ibid.*, p. 718.
 83, 6. Caesario. Plutarch, *M. Anton.*, c. 81.
 83, 10. literature. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 89.
 83, 14. poet. Keil, *N. Rh. Mus.*, xviii, 58 (one Διονύσιος Νικάτωρ Ἱεραπολίτης, p. 62, is perhaps his son). Cf. *CIA*, iii, 1, and Dittenberger, *Ephem. epigr.*, i, p. 1148.
 83, 16. life. Strabo, xiv, 670; cf. Diels, p. 100.
 83, 20. postponement. Cf. Müller, *Fr. hist. Gr.*, iii, p. 485 sq.; and especially Plutarch, *Apophth. regall.*, p. 207 D.; Dio, lvii, 32.
 83, 27. favour. Hausrath, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, i, 248 f.; Mommsen, *RG*, v, 494; *Sophronii S.S. Cyri et Johann. miracula* (Mai, *Spicil. Roman.*, ii, p. 550;) Lumbroso, *BdI*, 1877, p. 6.
 83, 27. Timagenes. Mommsen, *Ammians Geographica*, in *Hermes*, xvi, 619.
 83, 34. him. Seneca, *Controv.*, x, 5 (34), 22; Plutarch, *D. adul. et amic.*, p. 68, A.
 83, 37. tolerated. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 3 *init.* Cf. vol. ii, p. 253.

- 84, 3. coin. Sueton., *Vita Horatii*. The Cnidian C. Julius Theopompus, ὁ Καίσαρος τοῦ θεοῦ φίλος, τῶν μεγάλα δυναμένων (Strabo, p. 656 C) was not, as Waddington assumes, a friend of Augustus, but of Caesar, and not the son of Artemidorus, who warned Caesar on the eve of his murder, but his father. G. Hirschfeld, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vii (1886) pp. 286-290.
- 84, 7. each. On their position without the *cohors amicorum* see Mommsen, *Hermes*, xiv, 29; *StR*, ii², 835, 2.
- 84, 11. lamentations. Plutarch, *D. def. orac.*, c. 17.
- 84, 12. distract. Tac., *A.* iv, 58.
- 84, 19. honour. *Id.*, vi, 50; Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 72.
- 84, 23. jest. Lehrs, *De studd. Aristarch.*, 3, p. 213.
- 84, 26. Sirens. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 70.
- 84, 31. suicide. *Id. ib.*, c. 56; Suid., Δίδυμος ὁ τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου, γραμματικός* ὃς διέτριψε παρὰ Νέρωνι καὶ ἐχρηματίσατο * μουσικός τε ἦν λίαν καὶ πρὸς μέλη ἐπιτήδειος. Apparently M. Schmidt (*Didymi fragm.*, p. 3) is right in inserting Κλαύδιος after ἐχρηματίσατο and in explaining Νέρων as Tiberius.
- 84, 35. fools. Tac., *A.*, i, 14-16.
- 84, 37. carriage. Suid., s. Δίων.
- 84, 40. Favorinus. *Hadrian.*, c. 16. Cf. *Aelius Verus*, c. 4.
- 85, 3. orders. *Vita Herodiani*: Lentz, *Herodiani Technici vell. praef.*, p. vi.
- 85, 7. endure. Juv., 5, 1-4.
- 85, 11. wit. Schol. ad Juv., 5, 4; Plutarch, *Anton.*, c. 59, 2: ὁ δὲ Σάμμεντος ἦν τῶν Καίσαρος (Octaviani) παιγνίων (παιδάριον), ἃ δὲ Λκία Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν.
- 85, 15. Maecenas. Plutarch, *Amatorius*, 16, 22, p. 760 (ἦν γὰρ ὁ Κάββας γελωτοποιός). Cf. Mayor on Juvenal, i, 56.
- 85, 16. Martial. Martial, i, 41 M.
- 85, 16. Gabba's. *Id.*, x, 101.
- 85, 20. Battus. Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.*, viii, 6, 1, 3.
- 85, 27. Cappadocia. Tac., *A.*, xii, 49; cf. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 5.
- 85, 35. Nero's. Tac., *A.*, xv, 34; Juv., 5, 46; Martial, xiv, 94; Dio, lxiii, 15; Tac., *Dial.*, 11; *Id.*, *Hist.*, i, 37.
- 85, 39. property. Dio, lxiii, 6.
- 86, 3. morning. This appears from passages quoted later, e.g. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 34; Dio, lxvi, 10; cf. Aur. Vict., ix, 15.
- 86, 5. Fabius. Plutarch, *De garrul.*, c. 11, p. 508 A.
- 86, 6. Vespasian. Plin., *Epp.*, iii, 5.
- 86, 12. on him. Fronto, *Epp. ad Marc. Caes.*, i, 5, 8.
- 86, 21. fortitude. Tac., *A.*, xv, 23.
- 86, 23. seats. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 53; Dio, lvi, 41.
- 86, 24. attendances. Dio, lvi, 25.
- 86, 26. alone. Dio, lvii, 11.
- 86, 28. foretold. Sueton., *Galba.*, c. 4.
- 86, 31. mentioned. *Id.*, *Claud.*, c. 35.
- 86, 33. knights. Mommsen, *StR*, ii², 2, 834, 4, assumes, that from Vespasian onwards all persons belonging to the first two classes were admitted to the (daily) reception, except those to whom the privilege was denied. Cf. the passage he mentions *Cod.*

- Just.*, ix, 51, 1 : imp. Antoninus Augustus cum salutatus esset ab . . . praefectis praetorio . . . item amicis et principibus officiorum et utriusque ordinis viris et processisset.
- 86, 34. petitions. Dio, lxi, 26.
- 86, 37. elephant. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 53.
- 87, 1. Rome. Tac., *A.*, iv, 4, 1.
- 87, 4. memory. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 10.
- 87, 7. plebeian. Dio, lxi, 10.
- 87, 10. death. *Vit. Alex. Sever.*, c. 18.
- 87, 12. festival days. Dio, lvi, 31 : καὶ ἐν μὲν ἑορταῖς καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀκαδε προσδεξαμένου (of Augustus).
- 87, 14. anniversary. Fronto, *Epp. ad A.P.*, 5.
- 87, 16. decorated. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 50 ; cf. c. 46.
- 87, 16. gave. Dio, liv, 35 ; Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 57 ; Sueton., *Tib.*, c. 37 ; Dio, lvii, 9 ; Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 42 ; Dio, lx, 6. Cf. Preller, *RM*³, p. 180 f. ; Auson., *Epp.*, 18 ad Ursulum grammaticum (6 pieces of gold as *strenae* of the emperor).
- 87, 34. share. Cf. Mommsen, *StR*, ii², 788, 4.
- 87, 39. recorded. Dio, lvii, 12.
- 87, 39. Agrippina. Dio, lx, 33. Mommsen, *StR*, ii², 813, 6, concludes from these two passages, that also the receptions of the emperors were notified in the *acta publica* with complete lists of the visitors' names.
- 88, 4. receptions. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 8.
- 88, 6. *optimates*. Dio, lxxviii, 18.
- 88, 10. wife. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 25.
- 88, 11, 12. crush. According to Jerome, *Epp.*, 22, 6.
- 88, 15. Gellius. Gell., xx, 1, 2, 55 ; iv, 1, 1 ; xix, 13, 1. On the *area Palatina* cf. P. Rosa, *AdI*, 1865, p. 355.
- 88, 23. unbathed. Philostrat., *Vit. Apoll. Tyan.*, vii, 31, 310.
- 88, 25. petitioning. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 32 ; Macrobian., *Saturn.*, ii, 4, 31 ; Seneca, *Beneff.*, iii, 27.
- 88, 27. Court. Martial, iv, 78.
- 88, 29. dawn. Fronto, *Ad M. Caes.*, 1, 5, 8.
- 88, 31. dressing. Dio, lxvi, 10 ; Aurel. Vict., c. 9 ; Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 5. Cf. Philostrat., *Apoll. Tyan.*, v, 31.
- 88, 35. before. Dio, lvii, 11.
- 88, 35. Hadrian. Dio, lxix, 7.
- 88, 38. guard. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 29 ; Sueton., *Otho*, c. 6 ; cf. *Tiber.*, c. 34 ; Tac., *A.*, i, 7. Dio, liii, 11.
- 88, 38. *toga*. Marquardt, *StV*, ii², 476, 7.
- 88, 39. entrancé. Dio, lxvi, 10.
- 88, 41. palace. Dio, lxxvi, 4.
- 89, 2. Trajan. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 47. According to the inscription *CIL*, vi, 8748 : Ti. Claudio Aug. l. Dioscoro a cena centurionum, the centurions of the palace guard seem to have been regularly entertained there.
- 89, 4. retinue. Dio, lxxvi, 4.
- 89, 8. House. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 34 ; Tac., *A.*, xiii, 18. Cf. Marquardt, *StV*, ii², 487, 7.
- 89, 11. expelled. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 35 ; cf. 27.
- 89, 16. style. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 35 ; Dio, lx, 3.

- 89, 7. dagger. Tac., *A.*, xi, 22.
- 89, 19. abuses. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxiii, 41. Cf. Mommsen, *Hermes*, iv, 129, 1 and *StR*, ii³, 2, 834, 3.
- 89, 21. Civil War. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 12. Dio, lx, 3.
- 89, 26. *admissionales*. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 14 (quidam ex officio *admissionis*); Aug. libb. ab *admissione*, Orelli, 2888 (H.), 5416. *Bull. comun.*, 1872, p. 76; Marini, *Atti d. fr. Arv.*, p. 214 (prox. ab adm.); *CIL*, iii, 2, 6107 (adjut. ab adm.); Muratori, 916, 6. Cf. *CIL*, vi, 8698-8702, 8931 (nomenclator ab ammiss.); *Bull. comun. d. R.*, 1885, p. 109, 1054 (in a *columbarium*): Tyrannus Antoniae Drusi ab *admissione*. A magister ab *admissione*, *CIL*, xiv, 3457; magister *admissionum* Valeriani principis, *Aurelian.*, c. 12. To this *officium* belong also the *velarii*, *CIL*, vi, 5183, 6258, 6371, 8549, 9086. Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 198, 1.
- 90, 30. Jewish. Philo, *De leg.*, 572 M.; cf. Suidas, s. *Διονύσιος* (—ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν καὶ πρεσβειῶν καὶ ἀποκριμάτων), Appendix viii. According to Hirschfeld these officials belonged to the offic. ab *epistulis* (*VG*, p. 205, 2).
- 89, 30. interpreters. *CIL*, vi, 8481: T. Flavio Arzachi interpreti Aug.
- 89, 39. model. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 47.
- 90, 4. seen. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 4.
- 90, 6. century. *Hadrian*, c. 3, where Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 565, 1 and Mommsen, *StR*, i², 392, 3 = i³, 409, 3, read *ac togati* for *a togatis*. According to Mommsen, *StR*, i³, 420 the *praetexta* (a prerogative of the emperor like the fasces and the curule chair) was the costume he usually wore when he appeared in public; but some emperors wore as a rule the ordinary toga (p. 421, 3 and 4).
- 90, 10. buckles. *Gallieni*, c. 16; cf. Salmas. ad *Alex. Sever.*, c. 31; Mommsen, *StR*, i³, 431, 2.
- 90, 11. *toga*. *M. Anton.*, c. 27; *Alex. Sever.*, c. 40; cf. 4.
- 90, 13. convention. *Anton. Pius*, c. 6.
- 90, 16. acts. *M. Anton. Comment.*, i, 7.
- 90, 19. tunic. Dio, lxiii, 13.
- 90, 20. sleeves. *Id.*, lxvii, 17.
- 90, 23. garb. *Vict.*, *Caes.*, c. 21; *Carac.*, c. 9.
- 90, 24. name. *Diadum.*, c. 2.
- 90, 30. assembly. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 31.
- 90, 32. usual. Sueton., *Olho*, c. 6.
- 90, 34. Augustus. Lipsius, *Electa*, ii, 6. Cf. Appendix xi.
- 90, 38. kisses. Plin., *H. N.*, xxvi, 3.
- 90, 40. pastils. Galen, xiii, 836.
- 91, 4. plasters. Tac., *A.*, iv, 57.
- 91, 4. receptions. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 34.
- 91, 11. reverence. *Valer. Maxim.*, ii, 6, 17; cf. Casaubonus ad Sueton., *loc. cit.*
- 91, 14. inevitable. Becker-Göll, i, 88; Sueton., *De gramm.*, 23.
- 91, 17. King. Duncker, *Gesch. d. Allertk.*, iv⁴, 526, 4; Herodotus, i, 134; Arrian, *Anabasis*, vii, 11.

- 91, 18. Court. Letronne, *Rech. p. servir à l'hist. de l'Égypte*, p. 58 sqq. and 314; Curtius, vi, 5, 11; 26, 17.
- 91, 19. honour. Plutarch, *Alexander*, c. 54, 2; cf. Droysen, *Gesch. Alexanders*, p. 352 f.
- 91, 20. Ptolemies. Letronne, *loc. cit.*
- 91, 22. freedom. Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.*, p. 562 M.; cf. Marquardt, *StV*, iii^a, 188.
- 91, 27. ground. Sueton., *Vitell.*, c. 2; cf. Marquardt, *StV*, iii^a, 179.
- 91, 29. slipper. Seneca, *Beneff.*, ii, 12.
- 91, 32. murdered. Dio, lix, 29.
- 91, 34. Claudius. *Id.*, lx, 5.
- 91, 37. hand. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 24.
- 91, 39. Lord. Dio, lxxvii, 13.
- 92, 1. tyranny. Epictet., *Diss.*, iv, 1, 17.
- 92, 3. Severus. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 18.
- 92, 5. honour. *Maximin. jun.*, c. 2; *Aurelian.*, c. 14; Liban., ed. R., i, 574, 9: περιβαλὼν οὖν καὶ ἀσπασάμενος. ἢ νόμος τοῖς ἐκείνοις ἀλλήλους ἢ βασιλεῖσι γε ἀλλήλους. Gothofr. ad Cod. Theod., vi, 8, ed. Ritter, ii, 836. For the welcome of the provincials by the governors with kiss and embrace see Mommsen, *Obss. epigr.*, in *Eph. epigr.*, v, p. 633, 3-5.
- 92, 12. confidence. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 23, cf. c. 71.
- 92, 20. day. Dio, lix, 27.
- 92, 23. salutations. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 37.
- 92, 29. converse. Tac., *Agric.*, c. 40.
- 92, 33. claim. *M. Anton.*, c. 3.
- 92, 35. *parens*. Dio, lxxii, 14.
- 93, 12. eloquence. Fronto, *Ad L. Ver.*, 3, 3.
- 93, 8. loathing. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 78 sq.; cf. Appian, *B. C.*, ii, 107.
- 93, 10. stood up. Mommsen, *StR*, i^a, 397, 6.
- 93, 11. Tiberius. Dio, lvii, 11; Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 29.
- 93, 23. apology. Pliny, *Paneg.*, 48.
- 93, 26. crust. *Anton. P.*, c. 13; Aur. Vict., *Epit.*, 15.
- 93, 26. Pertinax. *Pertinax*, c. 9.
- 93, 28. seated. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 18.
- 93, 30. receive. Dio, lxxvii, 17.
- 93, 31. receiving. *Id.*, lxxix, 14; cf. also the reception of two consuls by Julian, *Panegg.*, x, 28-30.
- 93, 36. frequent. Convivabatur assidue, says Suetonius of Augustus (c. 74); the same words of Caesar (c. 48); Claudius (c. 32), Vespasian (c. 19), Domitian (c. 21): convivabatur frequenter ac large, sed paene raptim.
- 93, 36. *convivia*. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 34; Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 34 (solennes cenae).
- 93, 38. Severus'. Dio, lx, 3.
- 93, 41. guest. Seneca, *De ira*, ii, 33, 4.
- 94, 1. hundred. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 34.
- 94, 9. orderly. *Id.*, *Aug.*, c. 74.
- 94, 13. knight. Marquardt, *Hist. eqq.*, p. 72, 62.
- 94, 16. together. Plutarch, *Otho*, c. 3.
- 94, 19. divorce. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 3^b.

- 94, 22. there. Tac., *A.*, xi, 3. Dio, lx, 7 (cf. lvii, 12) has a different account.
- 94, 26. Commodus. *Pertinax*, c. 6.
- 94, 29. out. Dio, lvii, 11.
- 94, 30. standing. *Hadrian*, c. 22.
- 94, 32. separately. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 72.
- 94, 35. Drusus. Tac., *A.*, ii, 28.
- 94, 39. servile. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 2.
- 95, 1. Palatine. Martial, ix, 93.
- 95, 4. poem. Stat., *Silv.*, iv, 2 (65 sqq.); cf. iv, *præf.*
- 95, 15. invitation. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 39.
- 95, 20. earthenware. *Id.*, *Claud.*, c. 34; Tac., *Hist.*, i, 48.
- 95, 25. disturbed. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 74.
- 95, 26. extravagant. *Id.*, *Titus*, c. 7.
- 95, 37. radiance. Stat., *Silv.*, iv, 2.
- 96, 12. carouses. Sueton., *Domitian*, c. 21 : convivabatur . . .
paene raptim.
- 96, 8. shortened. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 49.
- 96, 10. toper. Vict., *Epit.*, c. 13, 4; *Hadrian*, 3; Julian, *Caes.*,
p. 23.
- 96, 15. parting. Pliny, *Epp.*, vi, 31.
- 96, 22. gifts. Dio, lxvii, 9.
- 96, 26. pricked. *Elagabalus*, c. 2.
- 96, 28. most. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 74.
- 96, 29. stingy. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 34.
- 96, 31. food. *Id.*, *Vespas.*, c. 19.
- 96, 32. severe. Tac., *A.*, iii, 55.
- 96, 33. banquets. *Vit. Pertin.*, c. 8.
- 96, 34. simplicity. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 34; cf. c. 37.
- 96, 38. to him. *Hadrian*, c. 17.
- 97, 3. Pertinax. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 38 sq.; Dio, lxviii, 2; Mar-
tial, xiii, 15; Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 50; *Anton. Pius*, c. 7; *Pertin.*,
c. 8; *CIL*, vi, 9035, 9035a: T. Flavius Aug. lib. Firmus Nar-
cissianus relator auctionum (?).
- 97, 9. plate. *M. Anton.*, c. 17, 21; Vict., *Epit.*, 16, 8. Eutrop.,
viii, 14.
- 97, 11. Elagabalus. *Elagab.*, c. 19.
- 97, 16. gold. Marquardt, *Privatl. d. R.*, i², 313, 1.
- 97, 18. sacrifices. Dio, lvii, 14; Tac., *A.*, ii, 33; *CIL*, vi, 8732
(*praep. auri escari*), 8733 (*praep. auri potori*), 8734-8736 (*ab*
auro gemmato), 8737 (*ab auraturis*).
- 97, 19. licence. *Aurelian.*, c. 46.
- 97, *note*. haughtiness. Sueton., *Domitian*, c. 12.
- 97, *note*. Marcus. *M. Anton. Comment.*, i, 17.
- 97, *note*. costume. *Aurelian.*, c. 50.
- 97, *note*. table. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 34; cf. 23.
- 97, *note*. servants. Ammian., xxvi, 6, 15; cf. Lips., *Elect.*, ii, c.
xxv.
- 97, 24. accession. *Sever.*, c. i. Vestis cenatoria: *Maximin.*, c. 4.
- 97, 26. purple. In Stat., *S.*, iv, 2, 32: Romuleos proceres trabeata-
que Caesar Agmina mille simul jussit discumbere mensis does
not mean (as Mommsen supposes, *StR*, iii, 1, 513, 2) that the

knight had put on the *trabea*, but *trabeata agmina* is simply a designation for the equestrian order.

- 97, 29. unnoticed. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 81.
 97, 31. biographer. *Hadrian*, c. 22.
 97, 33. century. *Vit. Salonin. Gallien.*, 2; cf. *XXX Tyr.*, 23 and Sueton. *Caes.*, c. 48.

III. THE THREE ESTATES.

- 98, 29. two. Probably indicating a position between that of a really free man and a real slave; Mommsen, *StR*, i², 323, 3.
 99, 1. franchise. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 440 f.
 99, 3. more. Mommsen, *Hermes*, ii, 157.
 99, 5. freeborn. *CIL*, ix, 3358 (Pinna) the epitaph of a priestess of Ceres is striking: Sum libertinis ego nata parentibus ambis Pauperibus censu, moribus ingenuis. Other remarkable inscriptions are Suet., 65, 8 = Ursin., *Fr. hist.*, p. 91: Q. Trebonius Q. l. Cla. Gallus ex patribus libertinis; and Grut., 89r, 8: Q. Trebonius Q. l. (not Q. f.) Cla. Aristo ex patribus libertinis. Cf. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 441, 1.
 99, 5. grandsons. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 422, 3.
 99, 11. offices. *Id.*, *StR*, i², 488, 2; Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 24; *Nero*, c. 15.
 99, 15. rule. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 452; Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxiii, 2, 32; Dio, liv, 23.
 99, 17. Republic. Appian, *B.C.*, i, 33 (A.U.C. 654).
 99, 20. theatre. Dio, liii, 27.
 99, 24. praetor. Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 14; Schol. Juv. (Valla) i, 20: Turnus hic libertini generis ad honores ambitione proventus est, potens in aula Vespasianorum Titi et Domitiani.
 99, 27. son. *Pertin.*, c. 1.
 99, 27. top. Dio, lxxi, 22; Eurip., *Suppl.*, 119.
 99, 36. alive. Martial., x, 27; cf. xi, 12.
 99, 38. freedwoman. *Id.*, iii, 33.
 99, 41. board. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 74; Mommsen *StR*, iii, 1, 424.
 100, 3. gentle-born. Horace, *S.*, i, 6, 6 sq.; 45 ss.
 100, 8. tribute-paying. Petron., c. 57.
 100, 9. servitude. Marquardt, *StV*, ii², 197.
 100, 14. land. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 30.
 100, 15. conserve. Dio, lvi, 33.
 100, 18. wealth. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 534-539.
 100, 21. prepared. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxiii, 30; cf. Mommsen, *Edict des Claudius*, in *Hermes*, iv, 117.
 100, 23. juries. *CIL*, iv, 1943 (non est ex albo iudex patre Aegyptio); cf. 1942c. Aegyptium poeta sine dubio significat civem Graecum ex Aegypto, Mommsen, *Add. ad CIL iii*, in *Eph. ep.*, v, p. 13, 2.
 100, 25. rights. Dio, lx, 17; cf. Hoeck, *RG*, 3, 285 f.
 100, 27. preserve. Seneca, *Apocol.*, 3, 3. Seneca is thinking primarily of the transformation of the Ubian district and probably also of the Treviran and of all Noricum and western

- Pannonia into Claudian colonies. Mommsen, *Conscriptions-ordnung d. röm. Kaiserzeit*, in *Hermes*, xix, 79.
- 100, 29. distinction. *CIL*, ii, 159 (Ammaia-Portalegre): *viritim a Divo Claudio civitate donato*.
- 100, 30. honourable. *CIL*, iii, 2, 5232 (Celeiae):—*donatus civitate Romana viritim et immunitate ab divo Aug.*; *CIA*, iii, 702: *Μ. Αὐρήλιον Λιβέρορον ἱπρίδεκτον . . . τιμηθέντα δὲ ἐπὶ θεοῦ Κομμόδου τῇ Ῥωμαίων πολιτείᾳ*. Cf. Mommsen, *StR*, ii³, 2, 891, 4.
- 100, 34. folks. Cic., *Ad Qu. fr.*, i, 1, 9, 27.
- 101, 1. settled. Drumann, *RG*, v, 331-334.
- 101, 3. opinion. Cic., *Ad fam.*, ix, 15.
- 101, 10. stripe. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 76, 80.
- 101, 12. deposed. Cf. Marquardt, *Hdb. d. R. A.*, ii¹, 3, p. 267.
- 101, 19. Latium. Dio, xlviii, 32; Pliny, *H. N.*, vii, 136.
- 101, 21. Senate. Drumann, *RG*, ii, 594 ff.
- 101, 23. theatre. Tac., *A.*, xii, 60 with Nipperdey's note.
- 101, 24. province. Plin., *H. N.*, iii, 31.
- 101, 26. senatorial. Tac., *A.*, xi, 24.
- 101, 28. representatives. Tac., ed. Nipperdey, ii³, p. 279.
- 101, 31. enmity. S. Haakh, *StRE*, vi, 2359. Speech of Claudius, *op. cit.*
- 101, 33. 69 A.D. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 77; cf. Herzog, *Gall. Narbon.*, pp. 113-115; other examples, p. 167.
- 101, 34. Nemausus. Teuffel, *RLG*⁴, 276, 5.
- 101, 34. Julii. Tac., *Agric.*, c. 4; Teuffel, 283, 4.
- 101, 36. Narbonese. Tac., *A.*, xii, 23.
- 101, 41. excepted. Tac., ed. Nipperdey, ii³, p. 281. Boissieu, *Inscr. de Lyon*, p. 141.
- 102, 14. Aedui. Tac., *A.*, xi, 23-25. (For 'senatorum . . . jus' Hirschfeld *op. cit.*, p. 111 f. rightly reads 'honorum'.)
- 102, 17. senator. Dio, lxiii, 22.
- 102, 24. height. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 53.
- 102, 25. Vespasian. Sueton., *Vesp.*, c. 9; cf. Tac., *A.*, iii, 55.
- 102, 32. frontier. Dio, lxviii, 32; Mommsen, *RG*, v, 637, 2.
- 102, 34. African. Plin., *Epp.*, iii, 9, 3. Teuffel, *RLG*⁴, 350, 1.
- 102, 35. Cirta. Fronto, *Ad amicos*, ii, 10, ed., Naber, p. 201.
- 103, 2. Lydian. Cic., *Pr. Flacc.*, 27, 65.
- 103, 9. barefooted. Juv., 7, 14 sq., ed. Mayor (cf. Munro's note).
- 103, 14. Numa. Martial, x, 76.
- 103, 14. Severus. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 28 and 44.
- 103, 19. Bithynia. Nipperdey on Tac., *A.*, i, 10.
- 103, 20. censorship. Mommsen, *StR*, ii³, 338, 1.
- 103, 22. Atticus. Borghesi, *Ann. a Giovenale, Oeuvres*, v, 534; Lebas-Waddington, p. 720; *Fastes cons.*, no. 126.
- 103, 26. grandson. Dittenberger, *Hermes*, xiii, 75 ff. (cf. the genealogical table of the family, p. 89). Mommsen, *RG*, v, 261 note, *Digg.*, xxxvi, 1, 22: Scaevola Divum Marcum in auditorio de hujusmodi specie judicasse refert: Brasidas quidam Lacedaemonius, vir praetorius etc.
- 103, 31. Philopappus. Mommsen, *Die Dynastie von Commagene, in Mith. d. deutsch. archäol. Instituts in Athen*, i, 27-29; cf. *CIA*, iii, 557.

- 103, 34. consulars. *CIG*, 423 (Eleusis) = *CIA*, 677; *ib.*, 906; *CIG*, 2782, 2783 (cf. *Bull. d. corr. Hellén.*, xi, 349), 2790, 2792, 2793, 2831, 2781b. 2819b (all at Aphrodisias), 2944b (Nysa), 2933 (Tralles), 2996 (Ephesus), 3104 (Teos), 3151, 3491 (Smyrna); Lebas-Waddington, 214 (Miletus), 657 (Philadelphia), 705 (Coloe); Dittenberger, *Archdol. Zeilg.*, xxxiv (1876), p. 140 f. (ἐπατρίδην Ῥόδιον συγκλητικῶν γενετῆρα). Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 533, 3. Cf. Appendix xii.
- 103, 36. Boethus. Vol. iii, p. 249.
- 103, 37. Ptolemais. Galen, *De anatom. adm.*, i, 1, ed. K., iii, 215.
- 103, 39. numbers. Lebas-Waddington, p. 599 (no. 2600).
- 103, 41. Heyranus. *Id.*, no. 2621; Mommsen, *RG*, v, 427.
- 104, 3. mentions. Josephus, *Vita*, c. 76. That there were Palestinian Jews in the equestrian order is known from Josephus, *B. J.*, ii, 14, 9: ὁ γὰρ μηδεὶς πρότερον, τότε Φλώρος ἐτόλμησεν, ἀνδρας ἱππικοῦ τάγματος μαστιγῶσαι πρὸ τοῦ βήματος καὶ σταυρῷ προσηλωῶσαι ὧν εἰ καὶ τὸ γένος Ἰουδαίων, ἀλλὰ τὸ γοῦν ἀξίωμα Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἦν.
- 104, 11. Egypt. Haakh, *StRE*, vi, 2, 1943 f. Mommsen, *Epigr. epigr.*, v, p. 578. *RG*, v, 566, 1.
- 104, 15. knights. Mommsen, *Epigr. epigr.*, v, p. 13. *RG*, v, 562, 2.
- 104, 15. subjugation. Dio, lxxxvi, 5; cf. li, 17. His son was perhaps P. Aelius Coeranus (junior), an Arval 213-14 (*CIL*, xiv, 3586). Henzen, *Acta fr. Arval.*, p. 175.
- 104, 17. century. Kuhn, *Verf. d. R. R.*, ii, 86-91; Isidor. Pelusiota to the praef. praet. Rufinus (*Epp.*, i, 489).
- 104, 19. nationality. Martial, vii, 90; viii, 48; Juvenal, i, 27, 4, 1; 14; 24; 108. See Appendix xi, p. 69.
- 104, 26. consulate. Dio, lii, 20.
- 104, 28. govern. *Pescenn. Nig.*, c. 7.
- 104, 31. bigotry. Ammian., xiv, 6, 22; xxviii, 4, 32. Cf. The-mist., *Or.*, 23, p. 298b: οἱ πάντας ἐκείνοι περιφρονούντες καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν ἐξωθεν ἀφικνουμένων θαυμάζειν ἢ ἐθέλοντες ἢ δυσάμενοι διὰ τὴν περιουσίαν τῶν οἰκοὶ θαυμάτων κτλ.
- 104, 36. Aricinum. Cic., *Orat. Philipp.*, 3, 6, 15; cf. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 4.
- 104, 39. blood. Cicero, *Pro Sulla*, c. 7; *Pro Plancio*, c. 8.
- 104, 41. import. Sallust., *Cat.*, c. 31.
- 105, 2. Senate. Tac., ed. Nipperdey, ii^a, p. 279.
- 105, 9. knight. So also Urlichs, *De vita et honoribus Taciti*, p. 1 s.
- 105, 13. municipal. Tac., *A.*, iv, 3; cf. iii, 29.
- 105, 16. remembered. *Id. ib.*, vi, 27; cf. vi, 15 on the 'oppidanum genus' of Vinicius.
- 105, 17. consul. *Id. ib.*, iii, 51.
- 105, 22. office. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 23.
- 105, 23. Marcus. *M. Anton.*, c. 20; cf. Borghesi, *Bull. Nap.*, T. iii, p. 121 sqq. (*Ευντες*, iii, 124).
- 105, 29. capacity. Herodian, i, 2, 2.
- 105, 37. grandfather. Pater senatoris, Orelli, 804, 3108, 3719; Avus senatoris, Murat., 516, 6; Pater et avus senatorum, Orelli, 3761 = *CIL*, v, 1, 4333. Cf. *CIG*, 2790, 2792, 2793 = Lebas-Waddington, 595: Πάτριον Ἀδριανὸν Ἰαριανὸν ἱππικὸν, Ποτλίος Ἀδριανὸν Ἀπολλωνιανοῦ πραιμπελαρίου υἱόν, Ποτλίου Ἀδριανὸν

- Ἰλαμανοῦ ὑπατικοῦ ἐκγονον, πολλῶν ὑπατικῶν καὶ συγκλητικῶν συγγενῇ Τιβερία Ἰουλίᾳ Ἀρτωνία Λητωίς μήτηρ καὶ μάμμη συγκλητικῶν τῶν γλυκύτερον υἱόν. *CIG*, 2933 (πατέρα συγκλητικοῦ), 2944 b (ὑπατικῶν καὶ συγκλητικῶν συγγενῇ), 2996 (συγγενίδος συγκλητικῶν), 3151, 3191, 3497, 3882 F) (add., p. 1100). Lebas-Waddington, 1178, 1189, 1224, 1385, 1596 bis, 1597. *Bull. d. corr. Hellén.*, x (1886), p. 456, 8. Cf. also *nutrix senatorum*, *CIL*, vi, 3, 16,592.
- 105, 41. differed. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 9 (utrumque ordinem non tam libertate inter se quam dignitate differre).
- 106, 1. Lords. Martial, xiv, 1, 1.
- 106, 9. punished. Paulus, *Sententiae receptae*, v, 4, 10; Hartmann, *De exilio*, p. 58.
- 106, 22. say. Pliny, *Épp.*, iv, 11.
- 106, 25. rhetor. Juv., 7, 198.
- 106, 30. Senate. Mommsen, *StR*, ii³, 2, 841 f.
- 106, 31. happened. *Ibid.*, 1132; cf. iii, 2, 1267.
- 106, 32. *pares*. ὁμότιμοι in Dio; cf. Marquardt, *Hist. eqq.*, p. 53 sq., note 44, and Mommsen, *op. cit.*, 895. (The emperor was always *princeps senatus*, but as a rule the title was avoided.) Cf. also p. 960 ff.
- 107, 2. acts. Herodian, v, 1.
- 107, 14. degree. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 466-468; 507-509.
- 107, 17. outlawry. Marquardt, *loc. cit.*, p. 50; Tac., *A.*, i, 2.
- 107, 19. knights. Appian, *B. C.*, iv, 5.
- 107, 20. Scauri. Seneca, *Suasor.*, 2 (p. 21, Bip); Tac., *A.*, vi, 29.
- 107, 22. utterly. Tac., *A.*, ii, 38.
- 107, 25. Senate. The imperial *adlectio* seems to have become frequent only under Vespasian; Hirschfeld, *VG*, 245, 3.
- 107, 30. elevation. Cf. Appendix lvii, p. 304ff.
- 107, 34. dismissal. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 508.
- 107, 37. Salvidienus. See Appendix xi, p. 61.
- 108, 4. selfborn. Tac., *A.*, xi, 21.
- 108, 10. praetorship. *Id. ib.*, iii, 66.
- 108, 12. power. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 8.
- 108, 18. senator. Dio, lii, 25.
- 108, 24. consul. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 232.
- 108, 26. Niger. *Pertin.*, c. 1; *Pescenn. Nig.*, c. 1. Another example from the third century in Dio, lxxix, 7.
- 108, 29. rank. Their admission to offices in the imperial colonies over sea cannot have lasted long. Mommsen, *Lex Col. Genetivae*, in *Eph. epigr.*, ii, 133.
- 108, 31. patricians. *Commod.*, c. 6.
- 108, 35. degradation. Dio, lxxviii, 13.
- 108, 36. generals. *Elagab.*, c. 11.
- 108, 38. knights. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 19.
- 109, 1. descended. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 27 (plerisque senatoribus non aliunde originem trahi).
- 109, 8. Vitellius. Sueton., *Vitell.*, c. 2.
- 109, 9. senator. Suid., s. Θεόδωρος.
- 109, 10. exclusive. Tac., *A.*, xi, 24.
- 109, 11. adopted. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 24.
- 109, 14. offices. *Id.*, *Nero*, c. 15.

- 109, 18. *clarissimi*. *Cod. Justin.*, xii, 1, 9 (*clarissimam dignitatem*).
- 109, 21. Apuleius. *Apul., Florid.*, i, 8 (*ex senatoribus pauci nobiles genere*).
- 109, 21. nobility. *Juv.*, i, 34 (*nobilitate comesa*).
- 109, 25. aristocracy. Mommsen, *StR*, i², 442 ff.
- 109, 30. deeds. *Juv.*, 8, 1-20; cf. Marquardt, *Privat. d. R.*, i² 244, 3.
- 109, 31. Horace. *Horace, S.*, i, 6, 17.
- 109, 35. aristocracy. Hübner, *Sixtus V.*, i, 277.
- 110, 10. age. *Tac., A.*, iii, 23.
- 110, 11. Juvenal. *Seneca, De benef.*, iii, 28, 2; *Epp.*, 44, 5.
- 110, 20. consulate. *Seneca, De benef.*, iv, 30 sq.
- 110, 22. honours. *Tac., A.*, iv, 6.
- 110, 23. Domitian. *Pliny, Paneg.*, c. 69.
- 110, 27. rate. *Seneca, Remed.*, 16, 6: *ne imagines proavosque respexeris nec patrimonium, cui jam ipsa nobilitas primo loco cessit*.
- 110, 31. Romulus. *Tac., A.*, xi, 25.
- 110, 32. families. Dionys. *Halic.*, i, 85; cf. Mommsen, *Die römischen Patriciergeschlechter*, in *N. Rh. Mus.*, xvi, p. 356.
- 110, 36. Aeneadae. Haupt, *Colloqu. scholast. ind. l. hib.*, Berol., 1871, p. 5, 34.
- 110, 38. images. Preller, *R. M.*², p. 98 f.; *Tac., A.*, iv, 9.
- 110, 40. Varus. Haakh, *StRE*, vi, 372.
- 110, 41. Hercules. Drumann, *RG*, i, 59; Haakh, *StRE*, iii, 366.
- 111, 1. *Lamus*. *Horace, C.*, iii, 17, 1.
- 111, 2. Numa. Marquardt, *Hist. eqq.*, p. 52, note 30.
- 111, 5. inferiors. *Tac., A.*, ii, 43.
- 111, 9. low. See p. 109, l. 1.
- 111, 10. Vitellia. Sueton., *Vitellius*, c. 1.
- 111, 15. laughed. *Id., Vespas.*, c. 2 and 12.
- 111, 18. daughter. Read 'wife'.
- 111, 19. Minos. *Id., Galba*, c. 2; cf. *Sil. Ital.*, viii, 470.
- 111, 23. Julia. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 6; *CIG*, 2957 = Lebas-Waddington, *Asie mineure*, 142 (Ephesus) — Γ. Ἰούλιαν, Ἰουλίαν υἱὸν Καίσαρα . . . τὸν ἀπὸ Ἀρεως καὶ Ἀφροδίτης θεῶν ἐπιφανῆ.
- 111, 27. Aeneas. Herodian, ii, 3, 4 (*ἦν δὲ ἐκεῖνος εὐγενέστατος μὲν πάντων τῶν εὐπατριδῶν*).
- 111, 28. Numa. *M. Anton.*, c. 1.
- 111, 30. Anchises. *CIG*, iii, 6280 B, 3; cf. 38-40. The descent 'from the Aeneadae' mentioned here only means that she was a Roman; cf. Dittenberger, *Hermes*, xiii, 78; Kaibel, *Epigr. gr.*, p. 468. I also only suppose that she was descended from a very ancient Roman race.
- 111, 31. Aeacidae. Philostrat., *Vitt. soph.*, ii, 1.
- 111, 32. founders. Becker, *Charikles*, i², p. 22 f.; Martial, v, 35; Lebas-Waddington, *Asie mineure*, 239 (Tichiusa): *προφήτης Φιλίδας Ἡρακλέως, φιλόσοφος Ἐπικοίρειος, γένος ἀπ' Ἀλατος* (probably a Teucride). Lebas-Waddington, ii, 174 (Sparta); 245 (L. Mindius Damocrates of Gythion was descended in the 39th generation from the Dioscuri, in the 41st from Heracles);

- cf. *CIG*, 1353, 44-48) ; 245^b, *ib.*, p. 130. Dittenberger, *Inscr. aus Olympia*, in *Archäol. Zeitg.*, xxxv, f. 106, no. 82: Τίτον Φλάβιον Πολύβιον Μεσσήνιον . . . τὸν οὕτως Ἡρακλείδην. *CIA*, iii, 915: γένους ἀπὸ Περικλέους καὶ Κώνωνος, κατὰ δὲ Μακεδόνες (sic) ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου; Mommsen, *RG*, v, 257.
- 112, 2. 'purple'. Henzen, *Scavi n. bosco d. fr. Arvali*, p. 5, 110-115 and pp. 7-10. Cf. Mommsen, *Grenzboten*, 1870, i, p. 161 ff.
- 112, 4. triumphs. Suetonius names 7 consulates. Cf. Mommsen, *Die römischen Patriciergeschlechter*, in *N. Rh. Mus.*, xvi, 322, 5.
- 112, 10. hereditary. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 1, 2. Cf. Mommsen, *Die patricischen Claudier*, in *Mon. Ber. d. Berl. Acad.*, 1861, p. 320 n. 1, according to which the number of consulates, xxix, must be altered to xxii.
- 112, 11. Empire. Marquardt, *Privall. d. R.*, i², 245, 3; Gibbon, *Hist.*, ch. xxxi.
- 112, 15. frequent. Mommsen, *Zur Lebensgeschichte des jüngern Plinius*, in *Hermes*, iii, 70 ff.
- 112, 18. reasons. Henzen, *Coll. Inscr. Lat.*, iii, 237; Renier, *Mélanges d'épigraphie*, pp. 13, 23; Borghesi, *Œuvres*, iii, 180; iv, 488 ss.
- 112, 21. thirty-eight. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 75 f.
- 112, 23. lineage. Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.*, p. 560 M.
- 112, 24. terms. Petron., c. 76: patrimonium laticlavium.
- 112, 24. Lentulus. Marquardt, *StV*, ii², 56, 6; cf. vol. ii, p. 135.
- 112, 27. Crispus. Martial, iv, 54, 7; Tac., *Dial.*, c. 8.
- 112, 33. 95. Read '93': Tac., *A.*, xiii.
- 112, 34. freedmen. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 55 sq.; Henzen, *Acta fr. Arv.* p. 202.
- 112, 34. Eprius. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 8.
- 112, 40. 6 per cent. Cf. on the proceeds of the most profitable cultivation (wine growing) Columella, *R.r.*, iii, 3 and Marquardt, *Privall.*, ii², 445.
- 113, 5. interest. Pliny, *Epp.*, vi, 19.
- 113, 5. Marcus. *M. Anton.*, c. 11.
- 113, 12. Liris. Horace, *C.*, i, 31; iii, 16, 33; *Epod.*, 4, 13.
- 113, 16. Sicily. Martial, iv, 37, 5; v, 13, 7; ix, 22, 4; x, 74.
- 113, 19. Tibur. *Id.*, vii, 31, 9-12; cf. i, 12.
- 113, 21. Perugia. Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 4 (on the *nom. plur.* for the designation of estates, cf. Haupt, *Hermes*, vii, 180 f.). For imperial estates in Italy see Hirschfeld, *VG*, 24 f. Two villas of the two *Quintilii* (Condianus and Maximus) on the *via Appia* and *Latina*, Lanciani, *Acque*, pp. 303-305. *Latifundia* in Italy, Marquardt, *StV*, ii², 231, 3.
- 113, 27. Mauretania. Seeck, *De Symmachi vita* (Symmachi quae supersunt [1883], p. xlv sq.).
- 113, 31. subject. *Gordiani*, iii, c. 2.
- 113, 31. spread. Ammian., xxvii, 11, 1. Paulinus of Pella owned property in Gaul, Argolis, and Epirus. Jung, *Romanische Landschaften*, p. 267, 1.
- 113, 35. provinces. *Cod. Theodos.*, vi, 21, 11 (5).
- 113, 39. Sicily. Dio, lii, 42 (see above, p. 101, l. 37).
- 113, 39. Asia. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 22.

- 113, 41. Cyrene. Stat., *Silv.*, ii, 6, 67.
 113, 41. Africa. Pliny, *H. N.*, xviii, 35; cf. Petron., *Sat.*, c. 117; Symmach., *Epp.*, ix, 125.
 114, 4. manorhouse. Frontin., *Grom.*, p. 53 Lachm.
 114, 8. provinces. Seneca, *Beneff.*, vii, 10, 5.
 114, 9. ride. Colum., i, 3, 12; cf. Arnob., *Adv. gentes*, ii, 40.
 114, 12. roofs. Seneca, *Epp.*, 89, 20 sq.
 114, 23. sleep. Martial, xii, 57, 19-25.
 114, 36. 10,000,000. Mart., v, 70.
 115, 1. tombstone. Henzen, *Due iscrizioni latine*, in *AdI* (1865), p. 6 = *CIL*, xiv, 2298. Cf. Appendix xi, p. 62.
 115, 7. consul. Henzen, *Acta fr. Arv.*, p. 180.
 115, 25. surplus. Martial, xii, 6, 9-12.
 115, 26. back. Vol. iii, p. 58.
 115, 30. befriends. Martial, xiv, 122.
 115, 35. gold. Marquardt, *StV*, ii², 56, 12; cf. Hultsch, *Metrol.*², 348.
 115, 36. state. Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 2.
 115, 38. came. For what follows cf. Mommsen, *Zur Lebensgeschichte des jüngeren Plinius*, in *Hermes*, iii, 31-139.
 116, 1. marriages. *Op. cit.*, p. 35.
 116, 4. legacy. Cf. Rudorff, *Testament des Dasumius*, in *Zeitschr. f. gesch. R. W.*, xii, 327 ff., and Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 7; vii, 20.
 115, 5. gifts. *Epp.*, iv, 13, 8.
 116, 5. spectacles. *Paneg.*, c. 95.
 116, 8. money. *Epp.*, iii, 19, 8. Sale of the vintage and abatements to purchasers, viii, 2; to the farmers, ix, 37, *Ad Tr.*, 8, 5.
 116, 10. sterces. Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 1; v, 6; *Ad Tr.*, 8.
 116, 11. 700,000. *Id. ib.*, iv, 6; vii, 11.
 116, 11. Beneventum. Henzen, *Tab. alim. Lig. Baeb.*, in *AdI*, 1844, p. 63.
 116, 12. Como. *Epp.*, ix, 7.
 116, 14. comfortably. *Id.*, ii, 17 (iv, 13, I read with Mommsen, p. 53, 6 'in Tuscano' for 'in Tusculano').
 116, 15. borrow. *Id.*, iii, 19.
 116, 18. testimony. For the following cf. *Epp.*, i, 19; ii, 4; iii, 31; vi, 3, 25, 32.
 116, 28. banquet. *Epp.*, iii, 4; iv, *A Tr.*, 8; Mommsen, p. 34, 4 and 103, 5.
 116, 33. statue. *Epp.*, ix, 39.
 116, 35. oil. The inscription in Gruter, 376, 5, Mommsen, p. 60.
 116, 37. 'Italian'. All the following in Mommsen, p. 100-102. *CIL*, v, 2, 5262.
 117, 17. interest. Martial, iv, 37.
 117, 20. father. Apulei., *Apol.*, c. 23 sq.
 117, 22. three. *Id. ib.*, c. 75.
 117, 23. four. *Id. ib.*, c. 71.
 117, 24. thirty. Petron., c. 45.
 117, 27. again. *Id.*, c. 71, 74, 76.
 117, 29. census. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 10; *Vespas.*, c. 17.
 117, 31. eyes. Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 12.
 117, 40. senator. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 6, 100.

- 118, 2. shoes. Gell., xiii, 22 ; cf. Marquardt, *Privatl.*, ii², 369, 4 ; 596, 9.
- 118, 3. purple. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 35.
- 118, 7. counts. Vellei. Paterc., ii, 10, 1.
- 118, 15. poverty. Tac. *A.*, iii, 55.
- 118, 25. able. Martial, iv, 67.
- 118, 27. stage. *Id.*, v, 27.
- 118, 28. woman. *Id.*, x, 41.
- 118, 30. horses'. Juv., ii, 195.
- 118, 37. war. Epictet., *D.*, iii, 24, 6 ; cf. iv, 1, 91.
- 118, 37. sent. Vol. i, p. 299.
- 119, 2. 63. Hirschfeld, *Bemerkungen zu Tacitus*, in *Wiener Studien*, v, 1883, pp. 119-121.
- 119, 3. praetor. Mommsen, *Zur Lebensgeschichte des j. Plinius*, in *Hermes*, iii, 80, 4.
- 119, 13. vicissitude. Cf. e.g. the inscription of C. Fulvius Maximus (Brambach), *CIRh*, 484.
- 119, 13. leisure. *StRE*, i², 588-590.
- 119, 16. re-enacted. Rein, *StRE*, iv, 966 and 977 ; Mommsen, *RG*, i², 854, 864.
- 119, 18. tons. Graser, *De veterum re navali*, p. 45. For 'centner' read 'hundredweight'.
- 119, 20. taxes. Dio, lxix, 16.
- 119, 22. speculation. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 509 f.
- 119, 23. horses. Dio, lv, 10.
- 119, 26. enterprise. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 404.
- 119, 28. slaves. *Ib. id.*, i², 164-166.
- 119, 30. standing. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 4.
- 119, 31. slaves. *Pertinax*, c. 3.
- 119, 31. allowed. Pliny *Epp.*, iii, 19.
- 119, 35. dealings. Tac., *A.*, vi, 16.
- 119, 37. per cent. Mommsen, *Hermes*, v, 129 ff.
- 119, 39. 60 A.D. Dio, lxii, 2. Cf. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 26.
- 119, 41. affairs. Seneca, *Epp.*, 77, 3.
- 120, 3. unselfishness. *Anton. Pius*, c. 2.
- 120, 8. potteries. Marquardt, *Privatl. d. R.*, i², 160 f.
- 120, 9. 'large dry-goods'. Read 'coarse earthenware'.
- 120, 9. landowners. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, ii², 665 ff.
- 120, 23. slaves. *Pertinax*, c. 3.
- 120, 25. inns. Marquardt, *op. cit.*
- 120, 26. fairs. Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 4, 1 ; Mommsen, *StR*, ii², 2, 887 ; *CIL* viii, 270 (SC. de nundinis saltus Beguensis).
- 120, 31. cohort. Juv., i, 58 : curam sperare cohortis. *Spes* is prospect of promotion, Mommsen in Renier, *Mél. d'épigr.*, p. 239 ; cf. *CIL*, v, 1, 543.
- 120, 31. tribune. Mommsen, *Ber. d. sächs. Ges.*, 1852, p. 29.
- 120, 35. million. Marquardt, *StV*, i², 558, 2 ; cf. Mommsen, *G. d. R. Münsw.*, n. 333, 335, 336.
- 121, 2. resold. Seneca, *Beneff.*, i, 9, 4.
- 121, 18. gods. Mommsen, *Hermes*, iii, 39 and 41 ; Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 11 sq. ; iii, 9 ; Juv., i, 47-50.
- 121, 23. off. Joseph., *A. J.*, xviii, 6, 3.

- 121, 26. Varus. Vellei., ii, 117.
 121, 30. lauded. Sueton., *Otho*, 3; *Vitellius*, 5; *Vespas.*, 4; *Martial*, x, 78.
 121, 33. out. Tac., *Dial.*, 41. Cf. also *Agric.*, 19, with Marquardt, *StV*, ii³, 103, 1.
 122, 6. lineage. Juv., 8, 87-139.
 122, 12. absorb. *Avidius Cassius*, c. 13.
 122, 16. 10,000. Tac., *A.*, xi, 7 sq. (se, modicos senatores, quietare publica nulla nisi pacis emolumenta petere). Keller, *Röm. Civilprocess*, p. 238. (Tac., *A.*, xiii, 5; Sueton., *Nero*, c. 17; Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 4, 14, 21; Quintil., xii, 7, 8 sqq. etc.).
 122, 24. realizing. Tac., *Hist.*, iv, 42; Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 20.
 122, 24. Crispus. Schol. Juv., 4, 62. Divitior Crispo, *Martial*, iv, 54, 7.
 122, 26. Marcellus. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 8.
 122, 31. councillor. *Hadrian*, c. 18. Heyne, *Honores Ictis habiti ab imp. Rom.* (*Opp. Acad.*, iv, 211); Hirschfeld, *VG*, 215 f.
 122, 32. praefecture. Mommsen, *Über die Jurisdiction des Stadt-präfecten* in *StR*, ii³, 2, 1064 ff.
 122, 34. Domitian. Teuffel, *RLG*⁴, 316, 2.
 122, 34. Julianus. *Ibid.*, 350, 1.
 122, 41. date. Nipperdey, Tac., *A.*, xiii, 30.
 123 4. Verus. Teuffel, 316, 1; 342, 1 and 2; 350, 1 and 6; 360, 2. Aburnius Valens praef. u. feriar. *Latinar*, *CIL*, vi, 1421.
 123, 9. Nero. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 14.
 123, 14. creditors. Sueton., *Vitell.*, c. 7; Dio, lxxv, 5; cf. Plutarch, *Galba*, c. 22; Tac., *Hist.*, ii, 59.
 123, 14. Otho. Plutarch, *Galba*, c. 21.
 123, 19. chains. Dio, lx, 29.
 123, 20. Claudius. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 24.
 123, 24. families. Tac., *A.*, ii, 37 and 48.
 123, 27. senators. Dio, lv, 13; cf. liii, 2; liv, 17; lvi, 41. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 41.
 123, 29. over. Macrobi., *Satt.*, ii, 23.
 123, 33. scared. Tac., *A.*, i, 75; cf. Dio, lvii, 10; Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 47.
 123, 39. reprimand. Seneca, *Beneff.*, ii, 7.
 124, 5. sank. Tac., *A.*, ii, 37 sq.
 124, 6. Senate. Dio, lv, 10.
 124, 6. resignations. Tac., *A.*, ii, 48.
 124, 9. late. Seneca, *Epp.*, 22, 10.
 124, 14. inheritance. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 34; Sueton., *Nero*, c. 10.
 124, 16. incomes. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 17.
 124, 20. women. *Hadrian*, c. 7.
 124, 22. spectacles. *Ib.*, c. 3; cf. Marquardt, *StV*, iii³, 489, 5.
 124, 23. Pius. *Anton. Pius*, 8.
 124, 27. Fronto. Fronto, *Ad L. Verum*, 6.
 124, 32. Piso. Symmach., *Epp.*, iv, 67. See above, p. 115, l. 3.
 124, 40. censorship. Seneca, *Beneff.*, ii, 21, 5.
 125, 4. shelter. Juv., 3, 216 sqq.
 125, 9. special. Pliny, *Epp.*, vii, 20.
 125, 11. Dasumius. Rudorff, *Testament des Dasumius*, in *Zeitschr.*

- f. gesch. Rechtsw.*, xii, p. 327 ff.; *CIL*, vi, 2, 10, 229; cf. p. 1353.
- 125, 13. rank. Ulpian, *Fr.*, vii, 1; *Digg.*, xxiv, 1, 40.
- 125, 17. dwarfishness. Sueton., *Galba*, c. 2 sq.
- 125, 18. ambition. Martial, v, 17.
- 125, 35. honour. Libanius, ed. R., i, 369 sqq., adduces as a reason for the estimation of the consulate as the highest of distinctions, that the name of consul is known in the whole world, and can never perish. Julian, *Or.*, iii, vol. i, p. 108, Spanh. Jörnand., *De reb. Geticis*, c. 57, in Marquardt, *Hdb. d. R.A.*, ii, 3, p. 242. Other assertions of the latest age in Casaubon on Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 26; Dahn, *Procopius von Cäsarea*, p. 139. The title of consul was still used in the tenth century; Gregorovius, *Gesch. d. St. Rom.*, ii, 271. *CIL*, vi, 1754 (inscr. of Anicia Faltonia Proba) :—consulis uxori consulis filiae consulum matri Anicius Probinus v.c. consul ordinarius (395 A.D.). Cf. 1755. 1756a.
- 125, 41. more. Tac., *Agric.*, c. 44.
- 126, 17. contumacious. Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 23.
- 126, 20. *vigintiviratus*. Mommsen, *StR*, i³, 544 and 557 f.
- 126, 26. insisted. *Ibid.*, pp. 545–548.
- 126, 35. praetorship. *Ibid.*, *StR*, i³, 554 ff.
- 126, 40. Hadrian. *Ibid.*, ii³, 202–204.
- 127, 3. dispense. *Ibid.*, ii³, 2, 919.
- 127, 6. Emperor. *Ibid.*, i³, 554 f.
- 127, 7. Nero. *Ibid.*, ii³, 2, 924 f.
- 127, 19. consuls. Henzen, *De nundinis consularibus aetatis imperatoriae*, in *Ephem. epigr.*, i, pp. 187–199; Mommsen, *StR*, ii³, 1, 83–87; Asbach, *Gesch. d. Consulats unter dem Kaiserreich*, in *Hist. Unters. zu A. Schäfers 25 j. Jub.*, pp. 190–207. Six months under Tiberius and Nero, arbitrary periods under Caligula and Claudius, four and two months under Vespasian (*Fasti Consulares*, ann. 68–96, p. 146), four months under Domitian (after 85), two under Nerva and the Antonines.
- 127, 20. years. Mommsen, *StR*, i³, 559 f.
- 127, 24. thirty-three. *Ibid.*, 574.
- 127, 26. child. *Ibid.*, 536, 2.
- 127, 35. offices. More rarely inter quaestorios, *ibid.*, 941, 5.
- 127, 38. magistracies. *Ibid.*, ii³, 939 ff.
- 127, 40. Senate. *Ibid.*, i³, 455 ff.
- 128, 4. appear. *Ibid.*, i³, 456 f.
- 128, 11. *Saturnalia*. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 5.
- 128, 13. insignia. *Id. Nero*, c. 35.
- 128, 25. lower. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 463–465.
- 128, 28. valid. *Ibid.*, ii³, 2, 921 ff.
- 128, 30. consuls. See vol. i, p. 127.
- 128, 34. periods. Mommsen *StR*, ii³, 1, 92, 6.
- 128, 37. came. *Ibid.*, ii³, 2, 942.
- 128, 41. predecessors. Asbach, *Consularfasten*, 68–96, in *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxix, 1885, p. 143.
- 129, 1. lavish. *Hadrian*, c. 8.
- 129, 3. Ursus. Mommsen, *StR*, i³, 521, 5. P. Valerius Comazon.

- according to Dio, lxxix, 4, thrice consul (once in 220), was certainly only twice, because at that time the *ornamenta consularia* were counted as a first consulate; Hirschfeld, *VG*, 233.
- 129, 3. Trajan. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 61.
- 129, 6. utmost. *Id. Epp.*, ii, 1.
- 129, 10. distinction. Asbach, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-146.
- 129, 22. office. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 70.
- 129, 27. sign. *Id., Epp. ad Tr.*, 13, iv, 8. Mommsen, *Hermes*, iii, 44.
- 129, 36. vain. Tac., *A.*, vi, 8. The absent emperor is considered and addressed as if present.
- 130, 5. conferred. Read 'worn'. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 81. Cf. vol. i, p. 97.
- 130, 7. carried. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 27 (*officiis et dignitatibus*).
- 130, 15. again. Seneca, *Benef.*, ii, 24, 4; *De ira*, iii, 31, 2. Cf. Plutarch, *De tranqu. animi*, 10.
- 130, 23. daily. Seneca, *De brev. vit.*, 20, 1; Martial, xii, 26; Epictet., *Diss.*; iv, 10, 20 (cf. iv, 1, 148; 7, 23).
- 130, 34. support. Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 9.
- 130, 41. letters. *Id. ib.*, vi, 6 and 9.
- 131, 3. electioneering. *Id. ib.*, viii, 23.
- 131, 8. waste. Columella, i, *praef.* 10.
- 131, 15. crime. Tac., *A.*, iv, 68.
- 131, 18. grants. *Ibid.*, xiv, 50; cf. Borghesi, *Œuvres*, v, 531 (Juv., 3, 183).
- 131, 19. selling. Dio, lx, 17; Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 16.
- 131, 26. secretly. Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 20; iv, 25.
- 131, 32. pranks. *Id. ib.*, iv, 25.
- 131, 37. years. Tac., *A.*, ii, 36.
- 132, 1. backwards. Seneca, *Epp.*, 73, 3; cf. 84, 11; 104, 9.
- 132, 5. sacrifice. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 7; Epictet., *Diss.*, i, 19, 24.
- 132, 10. consular. Tac., *A.*, iii, 30; *CIL*, viii, 7054 (Cirta) . . . matri . . . nuptae . . . praetorio viro; aviae . . . nuptae . . . praetorio viro (cf. 7055s.).
- 132, 13. right. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 58.
- 132, 17. security. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 52.
- 132, 21. kin. Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 15.
- 132, 23. esteem. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 73.
- 132, 26. marry. Quintilian, vi, *prooem.* 13.
- 132, 28. carefully. Cf. e.g. Gellius, i, 2, 1; ii, 26, 1; ix, 2, 1; xii, 1, 3; xix, 12, 1.
- 132, 35. down. See the inscriptions of Pliny in Mommsen, *Hermes*, iii, p. 108 ff.
- 132, 37. agent. Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 6.
- 132, 39. set out. See note on i, 105, 37.
- 133, 1. knee. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 591. The purple stripe was worn from childhood, the shoe only with the *toga virilis*; Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 470; iii, 2, 888 ff.
- 133, 5. spectacles. Dio, xlix, 16; cf. Mommsen, *StR*, i², 414, 1.
- 133, 6. consular. Dio, lx, 2; Mommsen, *StR*, i², 397, 3.
- 33, 9. coaches. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 43. Cf. Appendix vi. Jerome on *Isai.*, xv, 66, ed. Vall., iv, 823s., says that at the advent of

- the Messiah the children of Israel will return from the whole world to Jerusalem: qui autem senatoriae fuerint dignitatis et locum principum obtinuerunt . . . in carrucis venient.
- 133, 13. name. Mommsen *StR*, iii, 1, 471. This title is not however used everywhere, e.g. in the *Acta Arval.* it does not appear.
- 133, 14. censorial. Mommsen, *StR*, ii², 945-947; iii, 1, 469; iii, 2, 879 ff.
- 133, 18. regulations. Tac., *A.*, iv, 42.
- 133, 22. over. *Id. ib.*, vi, 3.
- 133, 24. suicide. *Id. ib.*, xii, 59.
- 133, 25. voluntary. *Id. ib.*, ii, 48; xi, 25.
- 133, 28. penury. *Id. ib.*, xii, 52.
- 133, 37. consequence. Dio, lx, 24.
- 133, 41. Antonius. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 77; ii, 86.
134. THE KNIGHTS. This section is based essentially on Mommsen's account, *StR*, iii, 1, 476-509 (*die Ritterschaft*). As a rule I have quoted documents only if lacking there.
- 134, 2. liability. *Digg.*, l, 1, 22, § 5 sqq.; Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 473 f.
- 134, 11. Vespasian. Dio, lix, 9; Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 9; cf. also the advice of Maecenas in Dio, lii, 19; Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 489, 4 and 502, Bohn, (*Heimath der Prätorianer*, (1883) p. 7 note), believes that only from the time of Titus the *equo publico honorati* began to remain in the provinces; they are not frequent there till the time of Trajan and Hadrian.
- 134, 12. knights. Marquardt, *Hist. eqq.*, p. 88 sq.
- 134, 16. Rufus. Renier, *Inscr. de l'Algérie*, 3680 = *CIL*, viii, 9616 (Manliana Mauret. Caesar.). Cf. *CIG*, 2822, 3494.
- 134, 18. senators. Cf. e.g. *IRN*, 5369 = *CIL*, 3158 (apparently of the time of Augustus): tres ex eo superstites reliquit liberos . . . alterum castrensibus ejusdem Caesaris August[i] summis fun[ctum atque acceptis eques]tris ordini honoribus, etiam superiori destinatum ordini.
- 134, 20. provincials. Censorin., *D.n.*, c. 15.
- 134, 24. hereditary. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 496, 482 f.
- 134, 27. privileges. *Ib. id.*, 499.
- 134, 32. creditors. Apul., *Apol.*, 523.
- 134, 36. wore. Stat., *Silv.*, v, 316; cf. Marquardt, *Priv.*, i², 86, 1.
- 134, 37. rings. Martial, viii, 5.
- 134, 38. Pollio. Juven., xi, 42.
- 135, 3. horse. Mommsen, 489 f.
- 135, 3, 4. century. *Ibid.*, 496, 2.
- 135, 6. maintained. *Ibid.*, 495, 1.
- 135, 8. ceremony. *Ibid.*, 491-493.
- 135, 12. relaxed. *Ibid.*, 452. Cf. note on i, 99, 4, 5 of this work.
- 135, 14. knights. Juv., 3, 33 ss.
- 135, 15. adoption. Mommsen, 518 f.
- 135, 19. favour. Cf. this work, i, p. 46 f.; Mommsen, 519, 1.
- 135, 22. Mnsa. Sueton., *August.*, c. 27; Dio, xlviii, 45; liii, 30.
- 135, 27. tribune. Horace. *Epodes*, 4.
- 135, 32. unfree. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxiii, 33. Cf. e.g. Orelli, 2176 =

- CIL*, vi, 1847; Mommsen, *Rhein. Mus.*, 1846, p. 21; Orelli, 3750 = *CIL*, v, 1, 4392.
- 135, 34. license. Mommsen, *StR.*, iii, 1, 519; cf. ii³, 893 f.
- 135, 39. suspicion. Dosith., *Hadrian. resp.*, 6; Pliny, *H.N.*, xxxiii, 152 (Arellium Fuscum motum equestri ordine ob signem calumniam).
- 136, 5. included. Mommsen, *StR.*, iii, 1, 508.
- 136-7. *turmae*. 'Ex equestribus turmis' as designation for the equestrian order, *CIL*, viii, 9754; *Arch. epigr. Mitth. aus Oesterr.*, viii, 1884, p. 243.
- 136, 13. *juventatis*. Mommsen, *StR.*, ii³, 2, 826-828.
- 136, 15. ascribed. *Ibid.*, iii, 1, 522-527.
- 136, 27. Augustus. Ulpian, *Digg.*, xlii, 1, 57; cf. i, 4, 8.
- 136, 28. Italians. See i, p. 100.
- 136, 31. East. Inscription from Attaleia (Pamphylia): *ἐπιλεκτὸν κριτὴν ἐν τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ δεκουριῶν*, *Bull. de corr. Hellén.*, x (1886), p. 149. Tralles: *τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ δικαστῶν*; *ibid.*, p. 456, 8 = *Mitth. d. deutschen arch. Inst. zu Athen*, xi (1886), p. 204.
- 136, 32. years. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, 527-539.
- 136, 33. officers. *Ibid.*, 539-552.
- 136, 41. posts. *Ibid.*, 544.
- 136, 41. age-limits. Commodus appointed a boy of 14 years to the first *militia*, *CIL*, xiv, 2947; Mommsen, 1196, 2.
- 137, 6. apart. Mommsen, 547.
- 137, 9. posts. After performing this duty they are called 'omnibus equestribus militiis functi' or 'a (iii, iv) militiis'; Mommsen, 549; cf. 543.
- 137, 13. promotion. *Ibid.*, 550, 3.
- 137, 16. once. *Ibid.*, 551 f.
- 137, 16. remained. *Ibid.*, 552, 2.
- 137, 23. fleets. *Ibid.*, 553.
- 137, 30. Claudius. *Ibid.*, ii³, 981.
- 137, 33. Secretariate. Cf. p. 35.
- 138, 6. century. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 216-218; Mommsen, *StR.*, ii³, 1120 f.
- 138, 9. nobility. Tac., *Agric.*, 4; *CIG*, 2790: Γ. Ἰούλιον Φιλίππον τὸν κράτιστον, πατέρα συγκλητικοῦ, ἀπὸ ἐπιτρόπων.
- 138, 16. honour. Fronto, *Ad Anton.*, 9 (dignitatis suae in senectute ornandae causa); cf. Appian, *prooem.*, 15. Mommsen, *StR.*, iii, 1, 559, 2.
- 138, 17. eighteen. *Ibid.*, i³, 573.
- 138, 20. beardless. *Hadrian*, c. 10.
- 138, 21. importance. According to Mommsen, *StR.*, iii, 1, 564, the basis of their gradation dates from Augustus.
- 138, 34. libraries. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 258-265.
- 138, 41. flotilla. Lumbroso, *L'Egitto al tempo dei Greci e dei Romani*, p. 26; cf. *De bello Alexandrin.*, c. 13.
- 139, 6. Egypt. Renier, *Mélanges d'épigr.*, p. 88 ss. Henzen, 6928; cf. iii, 522. Hübner, *CIL*, ii, 1970. Hirschfeld, *Philol.*, xxxix, 30, 11. Other examples: Orelli, 3331, 3651, 5530; *CIL*, ii, 4135; *Pertinax*, c. 2, and in particular Wilmanns, *Ex. Inscr.*, c. vii.

- 139, 10. Africa. Seneca, *Epp.*, 31, 9; Hirschfeld, *VG*, 261, 1.
 139, 13. Spain. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 252, 1.
 139, 14. perhaps. Pliny, *H. N.*, xvii, 41: in Byzacio vidimus.
 139, 14. procuratorships. The following inscription, *CIG*, iii, p. 1178, n. 4536 sq.: [Ἀραδίων] ἡ βουλ[ὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος | Γάδιον Πά]λινον Σέκου[δον | ἐπαρ]χον σπειρή[ς] [Θ]ρα[κῶν | πρ]ώτης, ἐπαρχον ΝΘ . . . | . . . ὡν ἀντεπίτρο[πον Τιβερί]ου Ἰουλιου Ἀλ[ε]ξ[άνδρου | ἐπ]άρχου τοῦ Ἰουδα[ικοῦ στρατοῦ | ἐπ]ι[το]ροπον Συρ[ίας]. . . . ὧι λεγέωνος ἐ (cf. Mommsen, *Add. ad CIL* iii, in *Eph. ep.*, v, p. 578; *Hermes*, xix, 644–648) can hardly, as Hirschfeld (*Mith. d. röm. Inst.*, ii (1887), p. 152) remarks, be referred to Pliny, as there is no mention of the procuratorship in Spain; while it is hardly credible that the Secundus L. Plin. et P. Mestri libertus, mentioned in a Bulgarian inscription (*Oesterr. Mitth.*, x, 204) was the father of Pliny.
 139, 17. literary. Teuffel, *RLG*⁴, 312.
 139, 23. back. Seneca, *Brev. vit.*, c. 20. The expression 'vacationem procurationis', however, makes Hirschfeld's identification (*Philol.*, xxix, 27) with *praefectus annonae* C.T. dubious.
 139, 27, 28. seven. Dio, lxix, 19; Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
 139, 29. said. See i, p. 137.
 139, 32. rare. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 560, 4.
 139, 37. service. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 251.
 139, 38. praefects. *Ibid.*, 253 ff.
 140, 8. Literary. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 561. [Cf. also the inscription not quoted there, *CIL*, xiv, 2916: T. Aelio T. f. Largo eq. R. proc. Aug. bybliothecaru[m] juris publici [et] privati p[er] [it-issimo].]
 140, 10. jurisdiction. A subpraefectus vigilibus juris peritus, Or., 3436; a Marinus eq. R. juri peritissimus (Sitifi), Henzen, 7234 = *CIL*, viii, 8489; *CIL*, xiv, 2916 (note 6); *CIL*, vi, 1, 1602: P. Carbetanio Rufo eq. R. magistro juris; Pompon., *De orig. jur.* (D., i, 2, 2 § 47): Fuit et alius Longinus ex equestri quidem ordine qui postea ad praeturam usque pervenit.
 140, 11. *consilium*. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 215 f.; see vol. i, p. 71 of this work.
 140, 16. equivalent. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 254 f. If, as Fronto relates (*Ad Anton.*, c. 9) Antoninus answered Fronto's petition for a procuratorship for Appian: futurum ut . . . causidicorum scatebra exoreretur idem petentium (Mommsen, *op. cit.*, 561, 5) the words certainly implied no objection to lawyers.
 140, 20. Modestinus. Bremer, *Rechtslehrer*, 61, 261.
 140, 23. Alexandria. Cf. Zimmern, *Gesch. d. r. Privatrechts*, i, 353; also Appendix xi, p. 72.
 140, 24. Praetorium. Zimmern, *op. cit.*, i, 356; Karłowa, *R. Rechtsgesch.*, 732; also Appendix vii, p. 46.
 140, 26. governors. Mommsen, *Hermes*, iv, 122 ff.
 140, 27. officials. Hirschfeld, *loc. cit.*
 140, 28. Hadrian. *Hadrian*, c. 20; cf. Haubold, *Opusc.*, i, 276; Mommsen, *De C. Caelii Saturnini titulo*, in *Mem. dell' Inst.*, ii, 331 s. Cf. *CIL*, v, 1, 4332; Philostrat., *Vitt. soph.*, ii, 29 and 32; Hirschfeld, 49–51; Schurz, *De mutationibus in imp.*

- roman. ordin. ab. imp. Hadriano factis (Bonn, 1883), pp. 25-27.
- 140, 31. Aurelius. Aurel. Victor, *Caes.*, 20, 30; not by Antoninus Pius, as stated in *H. A., Geta*, c. 2, because he was only 15 years old at that emperor's death. Cf. *Vit. Severi*, c. 1.
- 140, 36. assessors. Bremer, *Rechtslehrer*, 62. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 231, 234 f.
- 140, 40. Purse. *Opell. Macrin.*, c. 2, 4, 7; Hirschfeld, 231 f.
- 141, 4. Councillor. Orelli, 2648 = *CIL*, x, 6662; cf. Garrucci, *Rev. arch., nouv. sér.*, v, 393, and Mommsen, *op. cit.*, 330; Hirschfeld, 215, 4.
- 141, 10. frequent. Orelli, 3153 = *CIL*, vi, 1421: Aburnio Valenti pontifici praef. urbi feriarum Latinar. facto ab imp. Hadriano Aug. ii cos. (118) . . . tribuno plebis designato candidato Aug. eq. publ. c[larissim.] j[juveni] d.d.
- 141, 12. edict. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 565. In Juvenal, 10, 95 egregii equites are the tribunes of the Praetorians.
- 141, 23. hereditary. Hirschfeld, 272-275.
- 141, 26. quaestors. Mommsen, *StR*, i², 337, 3 and 4.
- 141, 28. played. Schol. Juvenal, 5, 3.
- 141, 29. knights. Mommsen, *De apparitoribus*, in *Rhein. Mus.*, 1846, p. 42 ff, no. 2. Cf. Henzen, 6023^a, 6565; *AdI*, 1865, p. 13, 1; *BdI*, 1865, p. 151 ss.
- 141, 38. immunities. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 566-569.
- 142, 4. life. Seneca, *Epp.*, 98, 13; Plutarch, *Prof. in virt.*, 5, p. 77 E; *CIL*, xii, 1783: Huic divus Hadrianus latum clavum cum quaest. optulit et petentis excusationem accep. Teuffel *RLG*⁴, 266, 5.
- 142, 11. fortune. Tac., *A.*, xvi, 17.
- 142, 13. pelf. Tac., *H.*, ii, 86.
- 142, 18. Terentius. Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 14; iii, 2; vii, 25.
- 142, 20. described. See p. 128 above.
- 142, 25. rank. Marquardt, *Hist. eqq.*, p. 60, 31; 65, 76; 87, 8. Cf. Henzen, 6790 note 3; 6747; *CIL*, vi, 1606, 1632.
- 142, 26. Misenum. Mommsen, *IRN*, 2567, cf. 1488. *Eph. epigr.*, iv, 97 (Salonis): Caeciliae Logianae e[gregiae] m[emoriae] v[iri] fil. et Tullio Callipiano eq. R. etc. 'Notabile est matrem propter hos ut videtur natales patri equiti Romano anteponi'. Mommsen.
- 142, 28. fortune. Ovid, *Trist.*, iv, 10, 7; *Amor.*, iii, 15, 6.
- 142, 32. Etruscan. Persius, 3, 9.
- 142, 35. tribunate. Martial, iii, 95; v, 13; ix, 49; xii, 26.
- 142, 37. Emperor. To Domitian v, 19; vi, 10; vii, 60; viii, 24; to Regulus vii, 60; to Stella vii, 36 etc.
- 142, 38. cloak. *Id.*, vi, 82.
- 142, 41. shabbiness. *Id.*, viii, 28; ix, 49.
- 143, 2. suborned. Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 21.
- 143, 4. knighthood. Martial, i, 31 (cf. v, 48); iv, 13, 29; vi, 58; vii, 97, 3; viii, 63.
- 143, 5. epitaphs. *Id.*, i, 93; x, 26.
- 143, 8. Narcissus. Juv., 14, 316-331.
- 143, 10. wine. Gell., xi, 7, 3.
- 143, 14. rich. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 12; cf. vol. ii, p. 17.

- 143, 17. left. *Vita Persii*.
 143, 19. Alba. Teuffel, *RLG*⁴, 288, 1.
 143, 23. Livia. Dio, liv, 23; Ovid, *Fast.*, vi, 639; cf. Teuffel, *StRE*, vi, 2, 2419.
 143, 26. rates. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 39.
 143, 27. merchants. Orelli, 4077: C. Sentius Regulianus Eq. R. diffusor olearius ex Bactica; cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 469, 1.
 143, 28. shipping. Seneca, *Epp.*, 119, 5.
 143, 28. manufacturers. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, 258, 2375.
 143, 28. tax-farmers. Tac., *A.*, iv, 6; xiii, 50; Sueton., *Vespasian.*, c. 1; Marquardt, *StV*, ii², 313, 1; Rein, *StRE*, vi, 248.
 143, 30. Circus. Pliny, *H. N.*, x, 71.
 143, 34. formed. Seneca, *Epp.*, 101, 1-4.
 143, 34. investment. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 511.
 143, 37. follow. Quintilian, iv, 2, 45: cum praesertim lector non fere sit nisi eruditus, iudicem rura plerumque in decurias mitant, de eo pronuntiaturum quod intellexerit. Similarly Juvenal, 7, 116 (of the advocate): Dicturus dubia pro libertate, babulco Judice.
 144, 4. acquittal. Horace, *S.*, i, 5, 51-69. Schol. Juv., 5, 3.
 144, 8. *Visellia*. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxiii, 32; Mommsen, *op. cit.*, 424, 2 and 3.
 144, 10. confiscated. Pliny, *loc. cit.*, Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 15.
 144, 13. stars. Petron., c. 32. The five golden rings which his statue is said to wear (c. 71), apparently belong to him as master of the games (like the tribunal and the *praetexta*); Mommsen, *op. cit.*, iii, 1, 514, 4.
 144, 13. Martial. Martial's Zoilus apparently wore the gold ring without opposition, xi, 37; cf. iii, 29.
 144, 15. unqualified. Martial, v, 14, 2: Tunc cum liceret occupare; cf. v, 8, 23, 25, 27, 35, 38, 41.
 144, 18. removed. *Id.*, v, 8.
 144, 21. equites. Martial, i, 84; Juvenal, 9, 9 s.
 144, 25. Sicily. Martial, vii, 64.
 144, 39. stature. *Id.*, ii, 53; cf. vol. i, pp. 4 and 5 of this work.
 145, 2. food. Martial, xi, 56. There is also here a reminiscence of Catullus, 5, 4: Et tristis nullo qui tepet igne focus Et teges et cimex; Catull., 23, 1: Furi cui neque servus est neque arca Nec cimex neque araneus neque ignis. Cf. Martial, xi, 32.
 145, 2. lunch. Martial, x, 48, 16; xiii, 13, 1.
 145, 3. garlic. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 424.
 145, 3. *as*. Martial, ii, 104, 10; in Petronius, c. 14, Ascyrtos and Encolpius went to buy for a *dipondius* 'cicer lupinosque' for both of them.
 145, 4. fish. Juv., 14, 127 sqq.
 145, 5. pig's head. Pers., iv, 69.
 145, 5. luxury. Juv., 3, 292 sqq.
 145, 18. free. Martial, xii, 32, where in l. 5: Et cum lucerna corneoque cratere, should perhaps be read *corneaque laterna*. Cf. xiv, 61 (laterna cornea) and 62 (laterna de vesica): Cornea si non sum, numquid sum fuscior? On *pulejum* see Pliny, *H. N.*, xx, 152.

- 145, 18. bridges. Martial, xii, 32, 25: haec sarcinarum pompa convenit ponti.
- 145, 19. thresholds. Juv., 5, 8.
- 145, 19. beggars'. Seneca, *De vita beata*, c. 25.
- 145, 20. fora. Jahn, *Ueber Darstellungen des Handwerkes und Handelsverkehrs auf antiken Wandgemälden*, in *Abhandl. d. Sächs. Ges.*, iv, 287.
- 145, 21. wounds. Cf. the description of the lame, blind and ulcerated beggars in Prudent., *Peristeph.*, ii, 141-160.
- 145, 21. dog. Jahn, *op. cit.*, 288.
- 145, 22. pity. Seneca, *De clementia*, ii, 7.
- 145, 22. intoned. Schol. Hor., *Epp.*, i, 17, 48.
- 145, 25. dog's bread. Martial, x, 5, 5: Oret caninas panis improbi buccas; cf. iv, 53, 6: Cui dat latratos obvia turba cibos. Seneca, *Controuv.*, i, 7, 18 (Kiessling, *N. Jahrb. f. Ph.*, 1871, 716; Quintilian, viii, 3, 22); Juv., 5, 11.
- 145, 25. bran-bread. Phaedr., ii, 17, 3 sq. M. Voigt, *Die verschiedenen Sorten von triticum, Weizenmehl und Brot bei den Römern*, in *N. Rh. Mus.*, 1876, 105 ff.
- 145, 26. mat. Juv., 9, 140; Martial, iv, 53.
- 145, 26. salvation. Martial, x, 5; xiv, 81; Juv., 5, 8.
- 145, 33. candelabrum. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxiv, 11; *CIL*, i, 805 = *CIL*, x, 6488 = Wilmanns, 1317 (Ulubris): Clesipus Geganus mag. Capitol. mag. Luperc. viat. tr. Cf. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 566, 3.
- 145, 37. price. Epictet., *Diss.*, iii, 17, 4.
- 145, 39. lord. Juv., i, 24, 15, 224.
- 145, 41. estates. Martial, ix, 73.
- 146, 4. centre. Blümner, *Gewerbl. Thätigkeit der Völker des kl. Alterth.*, 100, 6.
- 146, 3. Modena. Juv., 3, 36-40; Martial, iii, 16, 59, 99.
- 146, 6. advocates. Quintilian, i, 12, 17. According to Galen, *Προτρ. λόγ.*, c. 14, ed. K., i, p. 38: οἱ διοικοῦντες τὰ τῶν πλουσίων, οἱ τελῶναι, οἱ ἔμποροι gained wealth. Also, according to Seneca, *Brev. vit.*, 17, 5, 'alienorum honorum mercenaria procuratio' was lucrative.
- 146, 7. livelihood. Martial, iii, 10. This is the 6 per cent. interest of the equestrian census.
- 146, 11. poverty. Juv., 9, 140-147.
- 146, 18. known. Orelli, 4066: colleg. balistariorum. Also the colleg. centonariorum (4068) perhaps consisted of workmen employed on military works. Plin., *H. N.*, iii, 54. Cf. p. 13, ll. 1 and 2 above.
- 146, 24. porters. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 379 ff. *Geruli* taxed by Caligula, Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 40. Cf. also De Rossi, *Le horrea sotto l'Aventino e la statio urbis Romae*, in *AdI*, 1885, p. 223 sqq. with *Tav. d'agg.*, i (delivery and weighing of the corn of the canon urbicus).
- 146, 25. money-lenders. Colum., *praef.*, 8, names *foeneratio* among the means of living preferable to agriculture. Pawnbrokers, see Martial, ii, 57, 7; cf. Marquardt, *StV*, ii², 62 ff.; also

- nummularii*, Petron., c. 56; Martial, xii, 57. Inscriptions of the *argentarii*, *CIL*, vi, 9155-9186.
- 146, 31. terms. Ambrose, *De Tobia*, c. 6, 23.
- 147, 6. oil shops. Preller, *Reg. d. St. R.*, p. 30 f.; cf. 111 and 236.
- 147, 8. markets. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 412.
- 147, 16. Severus. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 33.
- 147, 17. shoemakers. In the *collegium fabrum, solearium, baxearium* (Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 597, 6) *centuriarum trium* the *fabri* are perhaps makers of lasts and wooden shoes.
- 147, 18. craft. Marquardt, *op. cit.*
- 147, 20. pastries. *Ibid.*, p. 420.
- 147, 24. swords. *Ibid.*, pp. 713, 715.
- 147, 25. formed. *Bull. com. d. R.*, 1886, p. 368, 1397: Mellax Veidianus | decur. iter. | parietes et camaras | scalariorum opere | tectorio expolitus (*sic*!) | d.s.p.d.d. | C. Caesare L. Paullo cos. (I A.D.).
- 147, 27. machine-workers. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 684 ff.
- 147, 28. diamonds. *Ibid.*, p. 707.
- 147, 29. ring-makers'. *Conlegium anularium*, *CIL*, vi, 1107.
- 147, 29. gilders'. The inscription, Orelli, 4067, reads according to Henzen, iii, 450, 'collegi grattiariorum et inauratorum', but only *brattiarii* can be meant (Marquardt, p. 686).
- 147, 34. easy. Augustine, *C. D.*, vii, 4.
- 147, 36. districts. Gaudy (1839), *Werke*, vi, 61 f.
- 148, 1. worked. Goethe, 31, 252 ff.
- 148, 3. *Recta*. *Bull. d. I.*, 1859, p. 68 ss.
- 148, 4. wharves. Becker, *Topogr.*, i, 465; cf. vol. ii, p. 307.
- 148, 4. transformed. Appian, *B. C.*, iii, 3; καὶ ἔδρας ἐνιοὶ τῶν Καίσαρος ἀνδρῶντων ἐπέδεικνυον ἀνηρημένων· ὥς δέ τις αὐτοῖς ἔφη καὶ τὸ ἐργαστήριον ἔσθαι οἱ ἀνδρῶντες ἀνεσκευάζοντο δέξειν, εὐθὺς εἰπόντο καὶ ἰδόντες ἐνεπύρασαν.
- 146, 7. substituted. *Digg.*, xxxiv, 2, 14 (15).
- 148, 9. monuments. Read 'monument'. Petron., cc. 65 and 75.
- 148, 11. other. *Digg.*, xvii, 2, 52, 7.
- 148, 13. Castor. Gruter, 25, 1; Orelli, 4195; R. Rochette, *Lettre d Mr. Schorn*, p. 385. Cf. vol. ii, p. 307.
- 148, 13. eyes. Orelli, 4224; cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 688, 12.
- 148, 16. portraits. Cf. Appendix liii.
- 148, 17. specialization. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 33; cf. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 465 ff.
- 148, 19. toilette. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 782. A *collegium aromatariorum* in Rome, Orelli, 4064.
- 148, 21. garments. On *paenularii, sagarii, vestiarii, tenuarii*, see Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 585 ff. *Sagaria negotiatio*, *Dig.*, xvii, 2, 52, § 4; Juv., 6, 591 (an *saga* vendenti nubat copone relicto).
- 148, 24. nuisance. Cf. vol. i, p. 6.
- 148, 27. scythemakers. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 413; Jordan, *Topogr.*, i, 515 ff. The 'vicus pulverarius' probably took its name from depots of pozzolana earth (Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxv, 166; pulvis Puteolanus; Stat., *Silv.*, iv, 3, 52: opusque texunt Cocto pulvere sordidoque tofo).
- 148, 29. Augustine. See vol. i, p. 147.

- 148, 33. teacher. Preller, *Regionen*, p. 129; Jordan, *Topogr.*, i, 2, 287.
- 148, 34. 'Caietan'. Galen, x, 942.
- 148, 36. banquets. Becker, *Topogr.*, i, 236. According to Martial, ii, 63, 2 (e sacra Leda redempta via) there were also, it seems, brothels here.
- 149, 2. wares. Martial, ix, 59.
- 149, 3. arcades. Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 489; Tac., *A.*, xv, 38.
- 149, 7. paintings. Juv., 8, 168: inscripta lintea (h.e. pictis velis popinae succedit, Schol.); cf. Mayor's note.
- 149, 9. shopkeepers'. Jordan, *Über röm. Aushängeschilder*, in *Arch. Zeit.*, N. F., iv (1871), 74; cf. also Blümner, *Arch. Zeit.*, 1877, 128 ff. (relief of a wine-seller).
- 149, 19. modern. Jahn, *Ueber Darstellungen antiker Reliefs, welche sich auf Handwerk und Handelsverkehr beziehen*, in *Ber. d. Sächs. Ges.*, 1861, p. 373. The reliefs mentioned are on p. 353, plates xi and xiii; cf. pp. 364 and 371.
- 149, 27. bawdy house. Jordan, *op. cit.*, p. 77.
- 149, 33. linen merchant. Haupt, *Colloquia ex cod. Montepessul. S.* ix, in *Ind. lect. Berolin. lib.*, 1871, p. 7, 9 = *Opusc.* ii, 446.
- 149, 36. bed-linen. Juv., 7, 221.
- 149, 41. support. Lebas-Waddington, 1687^b: τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῆς προσδίας (indigence) τῶν πορφυροβαφῶν. I see no reason for the editor's assumption that the influence of Christianity is to be seen here.
- 150, 3. discontinued. Lebas-Waddington, 628; cf. the commentary.
- 150, 9. counter. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 552, 6. Κάπηλοι ἀνεξωσμένοι, Dio Chr., *Or.*, 72, ed. Dindorf, ii, 245.
- 150, 10. cap. Epictet., *Diss.*, iv, 8, 16.
- 150, 11. bread. Cic., *Catiline*, iv, 7, 17: illum ipsum sellae (Marquardt, *op. cit.*, ii², 725, 7) atque operis et quaestus cottidiani locum. Cic., *De off.*, i, 42, 150.
- 150, 14. scents. Juv., 14, 200.
- 150, 16. property. Digg., v, 3, 27, § 1.
- 150, 17. spirit-stills. Cf. e.g. Bernhardi, *Gesch. Russlds.*, ii, 2, 689.
- 150, 24. disposition. Pliny, *H. N.*, xviii, 225. (Apparently the words 'negotiatoris avaritia' are merely a marginal gloss.)
- 150, 25. corollarium. Seneca, *De benef.*, vi, 17, 1.
- 150, 31. burnt. Cic., *Catiline*, iv, 7, 17.
- 150, 34. houses. Herodian, vii, 12, 5. Cf. vol. i, p. 6.
- 150, 36. Emperors. Fronto, *Epp. ad. M. Caes. et inv.*, iv, 12, ed. Naber, p. 74: cum interim numquam tua imago tam dissimilis ad oculos meos in itinere accidit, ut non ex ore meo excusserit rictum osculei (read *oscilandi*) et somnum.
- 150, 39. lighted. Tertullian, *Apolog.*, c. 35; *De idolatria*, c. 15.
- 150, 40. closed. Philo, *In Flacc.*, p. 525 M., § 8: τὰ ἐργαστήρια τῶν Ἰουδαίων συγκεκλεισμένα διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ Δρουσίλλῃ πᾶθος.
- 151, 1. holy days. Marquardt, *StV*, iii², 136, Gandy (1839), *Werke*, vi, 61 f.
- 151, 7. pupils. Marquardt, *StV*, iii², 139 and 572.
- 151, 10. mills. *Ibid.*, p. 332.

- 151, 14. tunes. Marquardt, *StV*, iii², 577. τὰ γεινόμενα εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν τῆς σταυλῆος εἰς τὰς ἐπάς ἡμέρας τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοκράτορος were part of the regular expenses of the Tyrian factory in Puteoli.
- 151, 18. men. Jahn, *Darstell. d. Handwerks etc.*, p. 313, plate iv.
- 151, 21. bearers. *Ephem. epigr.*, ii, 316, 432 (Sarmizegetusae): vex[illifer] [col]l. fabro[r]. Cf. besides the passages mentioned there (*Vit. Gallieni*, 8, *Aurelian*, 34), *Paneg.*, vii, 8, 4 (omnium signa collegiorum).
- 151, 25. birthdays. *CIL*, xiv, 326.
- 151, 35. mockery. Mommsen, *CIL*, i, p. 388b. Ovid, *F.*, iii, 523 sqq.; Preller, *R. M.*, i², 344. Cf. Martial, iv, 64, 16 with my note.
- 151, 36. funerals. Marquardt, *StV*, iii², 135 ff. Wilmanns, i, 325 ss.
- 151, 41. pigeon-holes. Marquardt, *Prl.*, i², 370; on the designation of these associations as 'collegium salutare' (at least from the beginning of the second century) see De Rossi, *Bull. com. d. R.*, 1882, p. 144 ss.
- 152, 3. banquet. Marquardt, *StV*, iii², 141 f.
- 152, 7. festivals. Mommsen, *De collegiis et sodaliciis*, p. 89 sqq.; Henzen, 6086 = *CIL*, xiv, 2112.
- 152, 19. sardines. I understand thus the difficult passage Col., ii, 15: Magistri cenarum ex ordine albi facti. (This is to be understood as a heading, just as those in the *Lex metalli Vis-pacensis* stand in the nominative, Mommsen, *Eph. epigr.*, iii, 189.) Quo ordine homines quaterni ponere debebunt: vini boni amphoras singulas, et panes A. ii (qui numerus collegi fuerit) et sardas quattuor, strationem, caldam cum ministerio. Differently interpreted by Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 108, differently again by Huschke, *Ztschr. f. g. R.W.*, xii, 218 f., and Mommsen, xv, 364. Both admit that every four members always received one amphora of wine, certainly an excessive amount with so little bread.
- 152, 38. graves. Cyprian *Epp.*, 67, 6.
- 152, 41. Gellius. Gell., xix, 10, 9.
- 153, 2. Virgil. Petron., c. 39: *Aen.*, ii, 44. Cf. Jahn, *op. cit.*, p. 365.
- 153, 7. eternal. *Aen.*, i, 607.
- 153, 12. jewels. Henzen, 7352 = *CIL*, vi, 9437.
- 153, 15. elbows. Auct. ad Herenn., iv, 54, 67; Sueton., *Vit. Horat.*; cf. D. Laert., iv, 46; Suid., s. ἀγκών.
- 153, 15. vulgar. Martial, i, 41, 8; Quod viles pueri salariorum (Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 469, 3).
- 153, 18. last. Ulpian, *Dig.*, ix, 2, 5, § 3.
- 153, 22. *discentes*. *CIL*, iv, 673.
- 153, 22. sic. *Ib.*, 275; cf. 694, 698.
- 153, 27. avaricious. Gruter, 639, 12 = *CIL*, vi, 9222. Cf. Jahn, *op. cit.*, 305.
- 153, 30. poor. Henzen, 7244 (about the time of Augustus); cf. also 7231 the inscription of a faber tign. corp. Ar[elatensis].
- 153, 38. heirs. *CIL*, ix, 4796 = Meyer, *Anthol.*, i, 1412.
- 154, 4. sparrow. Manilius, v, 384 sqq.

- 154, 9, 10. price. Macrob., *Saturn.*, ii, 4, where there is also mentioned an *opifex* as teacher of a raven.
- 154, 16. end. Plutarch, *De sollert. animal.*, 19, 5 (Ἑλλήνων ἀγορά is the Graecostasis, Urlichs, *N. Rh. Mus.*, xii, 219).
- 154, 27. March. Plin., *H. N.*, x, 121.
- 154, 37. rubbish. Juv., 3, 30 [38 conducunt foricas is explained by Rodbertus (*Z. Gesch. d. r. Tributsleuern* in Hildebrand's *Jahrb. f. Nationalök.*, v, 309–311) as the farming of the tax on privies. Marquardt (*StV*, ii², 280, 2 and 3) is of a different opinion. Cf. Cujac., *Obs.*, 22, 34]; Juv., 7, 4.
- 155, 2. auctioneering. Juv., 3, 33; Horace, *Sat.*, i, 7, 55 sqq. (Volteius Menas.); Martial, i, 85; Joseph., xix, 1, 18.
- 155, 4. disrepute. Mommsen, *StR*, i², 365 f. Praeco facetus, Martial, i, 85, 1.
- 155, 14. business. Mommsen, *Die Pompejanischen Quittungstafeln des L. Căcilius Jucundus*, in *Hermes*, xii (1876), pp. 88 ff., esp. 91–98.
- 155, 15. crier. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 6, 86; cf. Mommsen, *Rhein. Mus.*, 1846, p. 48 ff. (*Digg.*, xl, 7, 40, § 8; Cic., *Pro Rabirio*, 11, 30); *CIL*, vi, 9186–9190.
- 155, 17. profits. O. Jahn, *Allg. Litt.-Zeitg.*, 1842, p. 198.
- 155, 18. changing. Strabo, v, p. 235 C.: τὰς οἰκοδομίας, ἃς ἀδιὰλειπτους ποιοῦσιν αἱ συμπτώσεις καὶ ἐμπρήσεις καὶ μεταπράσεις, ἀδιὰλειπτοι καὶ αὐταὶ οὐδαί.
- 155, 20. Josephus. Joseph., *loc. cit.*
- 155, 24. foolishly. Martial, vi, 8.
- 155, 26. long-headed. *Id.*, v, 56.
- 155, 32. many. Cic., *De off.*, i, 42, 151; Vitruv., vi, *praef.* 5 sq.
- 155, 36. country. Cf. vol. ii, p. 193.
- 155, 38. painters. Cf. vol. ii, p. 319.
- 155, 41. Marcellus. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 19.
- 156, 5. manual. Juv., 7, 175.
- 156, 8. citharist. Martial, iii, 4; cf. vol. ii, p. 354.
- 156, 9. dancing. Cf. vol. ii, p. 113.
- 156, 9. fencing. Cf. vol. ii, p. 54.
- 156, 10. circus-driving. Cf. vol. ii, p. 23 f.
- 156, 15. painting. Galen, i, p. 38.
- 156, 17. Lucian. Lucian, *Somn.*, 1 sqq.
- 156, 20. Juvenal. Juv., 3, 156.
- 156, 27. State. Marquardt, *StV*, ii², 106 f.
- 156, 28. municipalized. Kuhn, *Verfassung d. r. R.*, i, 94, 669 and 99, 714.
- 156, 31. Portugal. Lex metalli Vipascensis, *Ephem. epigr.*, iii, 185.
- 156, 37. pupils. Stat., *Silv.*, v, 3, 162 ss.
- 157, 1. senators. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 6, 75.
- 157, 8. committees. Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 13. A *grammaticus latinus* at Comum, *CIL*, v, 2, 5278 = Orelli, 1197.
- 157, 9. letters. Fronto, *Ad amicos*, i, 11 (ed. Naber, i, 7, p. 179).
- 157, 15. questions. Gell., xvi, 6, 1.
- 157, 16. salaries. Anton. Pius, c. 11.
- 157, 23. last. *Digg.*, xxvii, 1, 6, § 2.
- 157, 29. refers. Gellius, iv, 1; v, 4; vi, 17; xiv, 5 and 10; xv.

- 9; xx, 10. Among the *magistri* and *praeceptores*, very likely were also grammarians, *CIL*, vi, 10,008.
- 157, 35. twenty-five. *CIL*, ii, 2, 892.
- 157, 38. *decurio*. *CIL*, v, 1, 3433.
- 158, 2. pedagogy. Quintilian, i, 2, 10.
- 158, 7. expense. *M. Antonin., Comment.*, i, 4.
- 158, 10. flocked. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 42; *id.*, *Aug.*, c. 42 (*peregrinosque omnes exceptis medicis et professoribus*).
- 158, 25. clown. Sueton., iii, gr. 19 sq., 23, 9, 24, 22, 18.
- 158, 27. service. *Pert.*, c. 1.
- 158, 28. bread. *Ann. Flor. fr.*, in Jahn, *Flor.*, p. xliii (on the sitting of the teachers cf. Jahn, *Darst. des Handwerks etc.*, *op. cit.*, p. 292).
- 158, 31. grammar. Auson., *Epigr.*, 138.
- 158, 34. knowledge. *Ann. Flor. fr.*, in Jahn, *Flor.*, p. xlv.
- 158, 37. begrimed. Juv., 7, 222 sq.
- 158, 39. six. Auson., *Epist.*, 18, 10.
- 159, 1. wine. Galen, xi, 242.
- 159, 4. afternoon. *Colloqu. Scholast.* (Stephan., ed. Londin., p. 426). Boucherie, *Εμπνεύματα*, p. 207.
- 159, 6. seven. Cf. Quintilian, i, 1, 15.
- 159, 9. exercises. Paul. Aegineta, *De arte med.*, i, 14. It is striking that instruction in rhetoric is not mentioned.
- 159, 11. father. Juv., *loc. cit.*
- 159, 16. pantomimes. Augustine, *Conf.*, i, 19, 30.
- 159, 27. Millenarian. Petron., ed.² Bücheler, p. 231 sq.
- 159, 33. time. Philogelos, ed. Eberhard, 61.
- 159, 35. rivalry. Quintilian, i, 2, 20.
- 159, 36. corrupted. *Id.*, i, 2, 4.
- 159, 38. impugned. Cf. Nissen, *Hermes*, i, 147; Juv., 10, 224: *quot discipulos inclinet Hamillus*. Quintilian, i, 3, 17; Lucill., *Ep.*, 4; *Anthol. Gr.*, ed. Jacobs, 1794, iii, p. 29 (t. ii, p. 317).
- 159, 39. whip. Marquardt, *Prl.*, i², 113, 7; Auson., *Id.*, 4, 24 sqq. Cf. the picture in Jahn, *op. cit.*, plate i, 3 (pp. 288 and 294).
- 159, 40. Quintilian. Quintilian, i, 3, 14.
- 160, 3. book. Sueton., iii, gr. 9.
- 160, 5. taught. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 93 f. Cf. also Dio Chr., *Orat.*, p. 264, 14, and Jahn, *op. cit.*, 289. The figures which Jahn takes to be temporary auditors are paedagogues escorting the scholars.
- 160, 7. curtain. Augustine, *Conf.*, i, 13, 22.
- 160, 7. holidays. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 113, 9.
- 160, 8. healthy. Martial, x, 62, 12.
- 160, 13. tailor. Lucian, *De merc. cond.*, 38.
- 160, 16. home. Juv., 3, 69 sqq.; Lucian, *loc. cit.* 17.
- 160, 20. deductions. Juv., 7, 243 (cf. schol.).
- 160, 24. children. Martial, x, 60.
- 160, 27. denarii. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 94. Cf. Hultsch, *D. Denar. d. Diocletian*, in *N. Jahrb.*, 1880, p. 27 ff.
- 160, 28. schools. Sueton., iii, gr. 3.
- 160, 29. partnership. *Digg.*, xvii, 2, 71.
- 160, 31. assistants. Augustine, *Conf.*, viii, 6, 13. Menelaus ante-

- scholarius, *Petron.*, c. 81; Auson., *Proff.*, 22: Victorio subdoctori seu proscholo. Boucherie, *Ἑρμηνεύματα*, p. 206 (description of school teaching): ἄλλοι πρὸς τὴν ὑποδιδατὴν τάξει ἀποδίδασιν.
- 160, 32. incomes. Ovid, *Fasti*, iii, 829.
- 160, 34. sesterces. Sueton., *loc. cit.*, 17.
- 160, 39. profits. *Id. ib.*, 23.
- 161, 2. Seneca. Plin., *H. N.*, xiv, 48–52.
- 161, 3. estate. Seneca, *Qu. N.*, iii, 7, 1; *Epp.*, 104 and 110. Cf. Columella, iii, 3, 3.
- 161, 6. rarity. Suidas, s. Ἐπαφρόδιτος.
- 161, 9. exceptionally. Sueton., iii, gr. 20 (Hyginus); see also Appendix viii, p. 42 (Dionysius).
- 161, 11. parents. Petron., *Sat.*, 4; Quintilian, ii, 4, 16.
- 161, 14. malingering. Juv., 7, 213; Pers., iii, 44–51.
- 161, 16. value. Quintilian, i, 2, 22.
- 161, 16. boys. Auson., *Profess.*, 17, 10.
- 161, 16. still. Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 13; *Vita Persii*; Orelli, 2432 = *CIL*, vi, 2188 (studioso eloquentiae. vixit annis xv); Kaibel, *Epigr.*, 229 (ἐτι δ' ἐπὶ πέντε λόγασιν εἰς ἑπτά σχολάσας εικοσέτης ἔθανον). Auson., *Mosella*, 403 (praetextati celebres facundia ludi). According to Libanius (ed. R., i, 178, 15: οὐδὲν δέουμαι πληγῶν, ἐκόντων ἅπαντα ποιούντων. ἐτέρους δὲ ἴσμεν μυρίας ῥάβδους ἀνθρωκώτας and elsewhere) corporal punishments were usual in the rhetorical schools of Antioch; but it would be rash to draw conclusions from that for the West and for earlier times.
- 161, 17. Gellius. Cf. Appendix lx.
- 161, 17. older. Auson., *Idyll.*, 4, 73: Idem vesticipes motae jam puberis aevi Ad mores artesque bonas fandique vigorem Produxi.
- 161, 19. youth. Martial, ii, 90.
- 161, 21. influence. Tac., *A.*, xv, 71; Gellius, xix, 9, 2 (Antonius Julianus rhetor, docendis publice juvenibus magister).
- 161, 22. beaten. Juv., 7, 213 sq.
- 161, 25. discipline. Augustine, *Conf.*, v, 8, 14.
- 161, 26. Milan. *Ibid.*, v, 12, 22.
- 161, 28. gambled. Liban., ed. R., i, p. 198 sq. (199, 2: πάλαι γὰρ ἐθάς εἰμι τοῦ μὴ λαμβάνειν). The payment was made on the 1st of Jan., p. 259, 20.
- 161, 31. fee. Juv., 7, 217; cf. 186 sq. According to *Cod. Theod.*, *De med. et prof.*, i, 11 (Kuhn, *Verfassung*, i, 94, 664), the salary of the rhetors was double that of the grammarians; but cf. Kuhn, p. 102 (note 740 on the fees of the Greek rhetors).
- 161, 32. adults. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 111 f.
- 161, 36. elsewhere. *Anton. P.*, c. 11.
- 161, 39. tribune. See vol. i, p. 120. The salary of 600,000 sest., which Eumenius of Augustodunum received (*Orat. pro restaur. scholis*, c. 11, 14, 16), after having received 300,000 as *magister sacrae memoriae* was a particular token of imperial favour.
- 161, 41. insignia. Juv., 7, 186. Cf. vol. i, p. 68.
- 162, 3. honours. Cf. vol. i, p. 31.
- 162, 3. century. The 'Rhetor Secundus' in *Otho*, p. 183.
- 162, 5. offices. See Appendix viii (p. 46ff.), also Kuhn, *Verf. d. R.*, i, 92 f.

- 162, 7. governor. *Philogelos*, 202.
 162, 11. repute. Seneca, *Controv.*, ii, *prooem.*, 5.
 162, 15. Alexandria. Philostrat., *Vitt. soph.*, i, 22, p. 224.
 162, 17. Emperor. *Id. ib.*, ii, 32, p. 273 sq. . . . καὶ μὴν καὶ προϋστήσατο αὐτὸν τῆς μεγίστης τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην συνηγοριῶν ὡς ἐπιτηδεώτερον δικαστηρίους καὶ δίκαις . . . ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως προσετάρχη μὲν τις αὐτῷ νῆσος κ.τ.λ.
 162, 25. Comum. Pln., *Epp.*, iv, 13.
 162, 27. Gaul. Fronto, *Ad amicos*, i, 11 (ed. Naber, i, 7, p. 179).
 162, 28. appointments. Strabo, iv, 181.
 162, 30. post. Lucian, *Apol.*, c. 15.
 162, 31. profitable. Cf. Kuhn, *op. cit.*, i, 103.
 162, 34. passed. Martial, ii, 64.
 162, 35. peaceful. Quintilian, xii, 11, 4.
 162, 39. *advocati*. Quintilian, xii, 3; Tac., *Dial.*, c. 31, 32.
 163, 2. toga. Tac., *A.*, xi, 7. Inscriptions of *causidici*, *CIL*, iv, 9240-9242.
 163, 3. clients. O. Hirschfeld, in *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1872, p. 680 (*logati* = *advocati*, Dirksen, *Manuale*, s.v. § 2; Heinrich on Juv., 8, 49); Sidon. Apoll., *Epp.*, vi, 3 (togatorum illic perorantium peritiam consulere).
 163, 4. Quintilian. Martial, ii, 90, 2.
 163, 7. Petronius. Petron., *Sat.*, c. 46.
 163, 13. power. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 9, 11, 13. See vol. i, p. 122.
 163, 14. Pliny. Seneca, *Epp.*, 49, 2: modo apud Sotionem philosophum puer sedi, modo causas agere coepi; so it was probably before he entered the Senate. On Suetonius cf. Mommsen, *Hermes*, iii, 43, 4; on the elder Pliny see Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 5, 7.
 163, 15. year. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, 78 and 103-105.
 163, 18. atria. Vitruv., vi, 5, 1: forensibus autem disertis (atria) elegantiora et spatiosiora ad conventus excipiendos.
 163, 19. sought. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 6, 7.
 163, 22. equestrian. Martial, ix, 68, 5; Juv., vii, 124 sqq. Cf. Müller, *Hdb. d. Archäol.*, § 199, 4.
 163, 24. victory. Martial, vii, 28; Juv., 7, 118.
 163, 27. gods. Martial, ii, 74.
 163, 29. janitors. Seneca, *De ira*, iii, 37; Stat., *Silv.*, iv, 4, 41.
 163, 29. wealth. Martial, i, 17, 76; ii, 30; v, 16; viii, 16, 17.
 163, 30. fashion. Quintilian, xii, 7, 10.
 163, 32. gold. Juv., 7, 122.
 163, 33. rents. Martial, ii, 38, 5. In the *Colloq. schol. Labb. Gloss.*, ii, p. 247, in a provincial lawsuit the moderate amount of 100 *denarii* is mentioned as the fee for all the counsel: ἀγῶμεν ἡμεῖς πρὸς τὸν τραπεζίτην, λάβωμεν παρ' αὐτοῦ δηνάρια ἑκατὸν· δῶμεν τῷ δικολόγῳ τιμικῶ καὶ τοῖς συνηγόροις καὶ τῷ νομικῶ, ἵνα σπουδαιότερον ἐκδικήσωσιν ἡμᾶς. The δικολόγος is the *causidicus*; what τιμικός (in the Latin text honorarius) means I do not know, the νομικός is the *pragmaticus* (Latin, *jurisperitus*), the συνηγόροι (Latin *advocati*) apparently were counsel, who assisted the principal speaker. Cf. *Colloq. schol.*, ed. Haupt, *Ind. lect. Berol. hib.*, 1871, p. 6, 3. On lawsuits for fees cf. Digg., *L.*, 13, 1, § 10-13.
 163, 36. Marsian. Persius, 3, 75.

- 163, 39. napkin. Martial, iv, 46.
 163, 40. wine. Juv., 7, 119.
 164, 6. marble. Martial, x, 87.
 164, 12. terms. Juv., 7, 105-149.
 164, 15. perspicuity. Quintilian, xii, 8.
 164, 17. water. Martial, vi, 35.
 164, 20. alleviation. *Id.*, vi, 19.
 164, 21. applause. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 26; Quintilian, xi, 3, 131; Plin., *Epp.*, ii, 14, 4; Juv., 13, 29-31.
 164, 22. home. Quintilian, xii, 8, 3.
 164, 24. Gaul. Juv., 7, 129, 147 sq.
 164, 25. cause. Quintilian, xii, 1, 25; 7, 7.
 164, 26. fees. *Id.*, xii, 7, 11.
 164, 28. lost. Martial, viii, 17.
 164, 30. talents. Philostrate, *Vitt. sophist.*, i, 22, 4.
 164, 31. judges. Petron., c. 14: quid faciant leges ubi sola pecunia regnat . . . atque eques in causa qui sedet empta probat.
 164, 32. prolonged. Cf. Mayor on Juv., 16, 42-50.
 164, 32. twenty years. Martial, vii, 65.
 164, 33. parties. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 10.
 164, 34. litigation. Martial, ii, 13.
 164, 36. penalty. Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 14. On being struck off the roll of advocates, *Digg.*, iii, 1, 8; xvii, 1, 6 § 7.
 164, 37. venal. Seneca, *Apocol.*, 12, 3, 54; cf. Tac., *A.*, xi, 5.
 164, 39. food. Fronto, *Epp. ad Marcum Caesarem*, ii, 9, 2: neque est Gratia mea, ut causicorum uxores feruntur, multi cibi.
 164, 41. well. Quintilian, xii, 9, 10 and 8; Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 8.
 165, 2. pushfulness. Lucian, *Piscator*, 29.
 165, 3. Marcellinus. Ammian., xxx, 4; cf. Augustine, *Conf.*, iii, 3, 6; ix, 2, 2.
 165, 5. dogs. Quintil., xii, 9, 9; Columella, i, *praef.*: caninum studium. So Firmic. Matern., *De mathesi*, iv, *praef.*; Prudent., *Hamartig.*, 400: Inde canina foro latrat facundia toto.
 165, 7. imitator. Henzen, 6188.
 165, 12. standing. Quintil., ii, 4, 24.
 165, 16. barristers. *Id.*, xii, 3, 9.
 165, 16. Libanius. Liban., ed. R., i, 214, 2: ἀγεται μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν νόμων μάθησιν, ὁ τῶν τὴν διάνοιαν βραδυτέρων ἐστίν. ὦν δὲ καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις λίθος, διφθέραι μὲν παχέλας τε καὶ πλατέλας, τὰ γόνατα βαρυώσας, ἔφερον.
 165, 21. money. Petron., c. 49.
 165, 22. unravelling. Juv., 8, 49.
 165, 25. centurionship. *Id.*, 14, 190.
 165, 30. Rome. Cf. Kuhn, *Verf. d. r. Reichs*, 1, 88, 608; also Appendix iii.
 165, 34. Africa. Bremer, *Rechtslehrer*, pp. 76-101.
 165, 38. support. Pompon., *De orig. jur. D.*, i, 2, 2 § 47.
 165, 40. enforced. Instead of 'in ingressu sacramenti' Bremer (*op. cit.* p. 5) reads *sacrarii*; but cf. Karlowa, *Rom. Rechtsgesch.* i, 673, 1.
 165, 41. provinces. Modestin., i, ii, *excus.* (D., xxvii, 1, 6 § 12). *Juris studiosus* at Nemausus in Herzog, *Gall. Narbon.*, App. 220;

- at Jader, *CIL*, iii, 1, 2935. Lambaesi in praetorio, *Eph. epigr.*, v, 411, no. 776. The inscription of the Jur. doctor at Dea Augusta, 469, is probably false.
- 166, 3. law. Karlowa, *op. cit.*, p. 673, assumes that the stations were offices belonging to the fiscus or the state which placed them at the disposal of the lawyers. He also believes, p. 722, that Gaius was teacher at a *statio* exclusively or mainly destined for the instruction of provincials.
- 166, 6. praetor. Gell., xiii, 13. Cf. Appendix lx.
- 166, 10. remained. Martial, vii, 51; cf. Becker, *Topogr.*, n. 712.
- 166, 13. Court. Pompon., *loc. cit.*; Puchta, *op. cit.*, p. 566 f.; Bremer, *op. cit.*, p. 10 f.; Karlowa, *Röm. Rechtsgesch.*, p. 659 ff.; Mommsen, *StR*, ii³, 2, 912, 2; Mart., x, 37; juris et aequarum cultor sanctissime legem Veridico Latium qui regis ore forum.
- 166, 16. cock-crow. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 1, 9.
- 166, 19. rich. Ammian., xxx, 4, 11 and 12.
- 166, 22. avoid. Dolus malus abesto et juris consultus, Orelli, 4374, 4390, 4391, 4821 (ab iis omnibus dolus malus abesto et jus civile). Cf. Marini, *Atti d. fr. Arv.*, ii, p. 556.
- 166, 23. Claudius. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 15 sqq.
- 166, 28. corpses. Seneca, *Apocol.*, c. 12.
- 166, 29. advocates. Brenner, *op. cit.*, p. 59 f.; Consultus juris et actor Causarum mediocris; Ovid, *A. a.*, iii, 531: jus quo profitebitur adsit, Facundus causam saepe clientis agat; Horace, *A. P.*, 369; Ed. Dioclet. advocato s. jurisperito mercedis in postulationem (a term) 1250, in cognitionem (lawsuit) 1000.
- 166, 32. *pragmatici*. Orelli, 4981 (prope Mogontiacum). Henzen, 7270 (Magontiaci); Mordtmann, *Z. Epigraphik von Thracien*, in *Archäol. epigr. Mitth. aus Oesterreich*, viii, 1884, p. 222, 52 (Heraklea—*πραγματικός*).
- 166, 33. powder monkeys. Quintilian, xii, 3.
- 166, 36. recite. Liban., ed. R., i, 185, 20: *καρποὶ δ' ἐτέρωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλῶν φωνῆς . . . καὶ τῶν νόμων, οὓς εἶδει πρότερον φέροντας τοὺς ἐπισταμένους ἐστάναι πρὸς τὸν ῥήτορα βλέποντας, ἀναμένοντας τὸ ὦ οὗτος ἀναγίνωσκε.*
- 166, 37. low fees. Juv., 7, 122.
- 166, 38. kind. Martial, xii, 72, 3.
- 166, 40. petitions. Augustine in *Evang. Johann. tract.*, 7, 11: qui volunt supplicare imperatori, quacrant aliquem scholasticum iuris peritum, a quo sibi preces componantur. Bethmann-Hollweg, *Röm. Civilprocess*, iii, 162. Fees of the scholastici in the ordo salutis. sportularumque sub Juliano imp. in prov. Numidia, *Eph. ep.*, v, p. 629; cf. Mommsen, 640 ff. Inscription at Cologne, Rutilio Primo scholastico (cf. *CIL*, viii, 9182). J. Klein, *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxx (1885), 158-160.
- 167, 4. wills. Ulpian, l. x, *de officio procons.* (D., xlviii, 19, 9) §§ 4-7.
- 167, 7. offending. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 32.
- 167, 11. assistance. Henzen, 7236; cf. Mommsen, *Zeitschr. f. gesch. Rechtsw.*, xv, 370.
- 167, 11. proficiency. Nissen in *Hermes*, i, 149.
- 167, 13. cognomen. *CIL*, ii, 1734.

- 167, 19. clerks. Seneca, *Tranq. an.*, 3, 4 (praetor adeuntibus adsesoris verba pronuntiat).
- 167, 22. *Vigilibus*. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 145, 1 and 3.
- 167, 26. custom. Joseph., *C. Ap.*, ii, 17-19. Α νομικὸς σὺλκάθεδρος of a Proconsul of Africa, *CIL*, iii, 1640; Mommsen, *StR*, i², 317, 2.
- 167, 28. rescript. *Digg.*, i, 13, 4; cf. Zimmern, *G. d. v. Privat.*, i, 252.
- 167, 31. Treasury. *Pes enn. Niger*, c. 7; *Alexand. Sever.*, c. 46 (assessoribus salaria instituit). Mommsen, *StR*, i², 303, 3. Cuq, *Mem. s. le consil. principis*, *Mém. prés. à l'acad.*, Tom. ix, 2, 1884, p. 354.
- 167, 36. upwards. Bremer, *Rechtslehrer*, pp. 36-38.
- 167, 40. slaves. Marquardt, *Prl.*, i², 156, 9. Cf. e.g. the will of Dasumius, l. 72 (*Zeitschr. f. gesch. Rechtsw.*, xii, 364) and Exer. Otto, *De vit. Serv. Sulpic. et Alfeni Vari*, p. 237 sqq. Julian, *Orat.*, 7, p. 207 D.: ἐὰν . . . τις οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν γένηται τὴν τύχην καὶ τὴν τέχνην λατρός, πράγματα ἔχει κολακεύειν ἅμα καὶ θεραπεύειν τὸν δεσπότην ἀναγκαζόμενος. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 772, 1-6.
- 168, 1. fifty. *Cod. Just.*, vii, 7, 1, § 5; vi, 43, 3; cf. Gaupp, *De profess. et medicis*, p. 16.
- 168, 8. visits. *Digg.*, xxxviii, 1, 25-27. On imperantes sibi (26), cf. my *Programm*, Acad. Alb., 1865, 1.
- 168, 9. Teachers. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 42; *Aug.*, c. 42.
- 168, 9. civic. Dio, liii, 30.
- 168, 10. Romans. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxix, 17.
- 168, 11. Orientals. Lucian, *Tragodop.*, 265. The inscriptions of the *medici* in the city of Rome, *CIL*, vi, 9562-9617.
- 168, 14. Egypt. *StRE*, i², 319; cf. Stephan, *Das heutige Aegypten*, p. 70.
- 168, 19. eruption. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxvi, 3; Galen, ed. K., xi, 142; cf. vol. i, p. 76 of this work.
- 168, 22. Rumi. H. Frhr. v. Maltzan, *Arabische Sagen über Alexander*, in *Ausland*, 1870, p. 967.
- 168, 23. foreign. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxix, 17.
- 168, 26. Britain. Scribon. Larg., c. 42, 163; cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 773.
- 168, 32. Clemens. Galen, ed. K., xiii, 1027.
- 168, 33. oculists. Grotfend, *Stempel der Röm. Augenärzte*, 127 f.
- 168, 40. smallest. See vol. i, 157. On the division of the cities into three classes see Mommsen, *RG*, v, 303.
- 169, 4. offices. Galen, xviii^b, 678.
- 169, 5. Beneventum. Wilmanns, *E. I.*, 1873.
- 169, 7. Hygicia. Promis, *Storia dell' ant. Torino*, p. 452, no. 209.
- 169, 7. priests. *CIG*, 4315^a. (p. 1148): Rhodiapoli Lyciae.
- 169, 11. officers. Cf. vol. ii, p. 56.
- 169, 13. medical. Gaupp, *Das Sanitätswesen in den Heeren der Alten* (Blaubeuren, 1869); R. Briau, *L'assistance médicale chez les Romains* (1869).
- 169, 14. oculist. Grotfend, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
- 169, 16. Ferentinum. Orelli, 3507.
- 169, 20. hygienics. Marquardt, *StV*, ii², 556.

- 169, 22. arrows. *Ibid.*, note 3.
 169, 23. *archiater*. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 774 f.
 169, 25. Gaius. See vol. i, p. 68 f.
 169, 25. Andromachus. Briau, *L'archiatrie Romaine* (1877), p. 20 ss.; Erotian., *Glossar. in Hippocr., praef.*; Galen, *De antidot.*, i, 1; Lebas-Waddington, vol. iii, 1695 (*ἀρχιτροπὸς Σεβαστῶν*); cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 775, 8; and see note above on vol. i, 68, 22.
 169, 30. Jew. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 777.
 169, 32. century. *Cod. Theod.*, xiii, 3.
 169, 34. post. Galen, xiv, 211; Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 775, 7.
 169, 41. worthy. *Cod. Theodos.*, xiii, 3, 8.
 170, 4. degree. *Ib.*, xiii, 3, 9; cf. Symmach., *Epp.*, x, 40 (384) and *C. Th.*, xiii, 3, 13 (387).
 170, 19. cases. Galen, ix, 873 (*De dieb. decret.*, ii, 7).
 170, 21. responsibility. On the cases of *actio ex lege Aquilia* cf. *Digg.*, ix, 2, 7 § 8, 8, 9 and *SIRE*, iv, 1702 note; Briau, *L'archiatrie*, p. 7.
 170, 24. smiths. Galen, *De meth. med.*, i, 1, ed. K., x, p. 5.
 170, 27. still. Martial, i, 30; viii, 74, i, 47.
 170, 29. read. Galen, *De libr. propr. prooem*; ed. K., xix, p. 9.
 170, 30. grammar. Galen, *Comm. in Hippocr. epid.*, iv, 9, ed. K., xvii, 2, p. 146.
 170, 32. philosophy. Galen, xi, 541; ix, 789.
 170, 34. months. *Id.*, *De meth. med.*, *loc. cit.*; Sprengel, *Gesch. d. Arzneik.*, ii, 42 ff.
 170, 38. fever. Martial, v, 9.
 170, 40. pupils. Philostrat., *Apoll. Tyan.*, vii, 349, ed. K., p. 162.
 171, 1. Egypt. Herodot., ii, 85. But cf. Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, 1901, p. 215 f.
 171, 3. bled. Galen, ed. K., xvii^b, p. 229.
 171, 5. consumption. Philostrat., *Gymnast.*, 15.
 171, 7. operators. Or., 4228; *CIL*, 1737 and 5055; v, 1, 3490. *Clinicus chirurgus oculusarius*, Or., 2983, cf. Galen, x, 941, 1019; v, 846-850.
 171, 9. oculist. Scribon. Larg., v, 38.
 171, 11. so-called. Galen, vii, 392; cf. xviii^a, 47-50.
 171, 12. uvulae. Or., 4227; Galen, x, 1019; *Digg.*, i, 13, i § 3.
 171, 17. fractures. Martial, x, 56.
 171, 18. doctors. Soran., *De muliebr. affect.*, c. 47, ed. Ermerins, p. 191, 15.
 171, 21. *regio*. Or., 4230-32; *CIL*, vi, 9614-9617. *Imperial obstetrices*, *ib.*, 8947-8949; others, 9720-9725. Cf. also Galen, xiv, p. 641.
 171, 19. diseases. Martial, xi, 71.
 171, 25. omen. Soran., *loc. cit.*, cc. 1 and 2.
 171, 28. lips. Galen, vii, 414; cf. Martial, xi, 7, 11.
 171, 29. drug. Juv., 2, 141.
 171, 30. gout. Galen, xiii, 341.
 171, 33. territory. Plutarch, *De frat. am.*, 15.
 171, 34. surgeon. Galen, x, 454 sqq.
 171, 37. shoulder. *Id.*, xviii^a, pp. 346-348.

- 171, 40. eyelids. *Id.*, v, 846 sqq.
 172, 12. bones. Martial, vi, 70, 6; xi, 84, 5.
 172, 3. Pompeii. Jahn, *Ber. d. Sachs. Ges.*, 1861, 330. Marquardt, *Pril.*, ii², 713, 8. Cf. the illustrations in the article on *Chirurgie* by Saglio (Daremberg and S., *Dictionnaire des antiquités*).
 172, 5. used. Seren. Sammon., 998.
 172, 4. mandragora. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxvi, 56; Dioscorid., i p. 574; ii, p. 99 sq.; i, p. 817. Cf. Kobert, *Zustand der Arzneikunde vor 18 Jahrhunderten* (1887), p. 21 (narcotics), 22 (dilatation of the pupil). Mandragora contains atropine. Cf. Appendix xiii.
 172, 7. couching. Epictet., *D. I.*, i, 25, 32: *καὶ τὴν παραδοξότρεπον ἐστὶν ἢ κερτεῖν τινα τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἵνα ἴδῃ*;
 172, 8. *anagallis*. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxv, 144 and 150. Cf. A. Hirsch, *Gesch. d. Augenheilkunde* (Grafe and Gemisch, *Hdb. d. Augenheilkunde*, vii), 261. Celsus undoubtedly describes in the operation of *suffusio* the cataract depression (260 f.). There is no trace in Galen, as has been supposed (280), of any knowledge of extraction.
 172, 14. reckoned. Galen, xviii^b, 258.
 172, 21. bleed. *Id.*, xi, 299.
 172, 23. Xenophon. See vol. i, p. 68, l. 21, p. 69, l. 6.
 172, 26. death. *Digg.* xxxiii, 1, 10, § 1.
 172, 27. January. Mommsen, *ad Digg.*, xix, 5, 26.
 172, 29. scab. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxvi, 4.
 172, 31. second. *Id. ib.*, xxix, 29.
 172, 33. wife. Galen, xiv, p. 647.
 172, 37. saw. *Id.*, viii, 22, 4.
 172, 39. Dionysius. *Id.*, xi, 357 sqq.
 173, 2. projects. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxix, 8, 9.
 173, 4. return. *Id. ib.*, 22.
 173, 8. Wright. G. O. Trevelyan, *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, Tauchn. ed., iv, 58. Also under the Khalifs medical fees were very high. The monthly salary of the second oculist of the Khalif Harun Rashid amounted to 2,000 dirhems (francs), besides rations worth 20,000 dirhems a year.
 173, 15. 520,000. Wilmanns, 2486; Mommsen, *Hermes*, xiii, 120.
 173, 21. bouts. *CIL*, iii, 4315ⁿ. (p. 1148).
 173, 21. Pliny. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxix, 21.
 173, 24. death. *Id. ib.*
 173, 27. restitution. *Digg.*, l, 13, 3 (Ulpian, lib. v, *Opinionum*).
 173, 31. desperation. *Cod.*, x, 52, 9.
 173, 38. medicaments. *Plinii quae fertur medicina*, ed. v, Rose, p. 1.
 173, 39. counsel. Galen, xvii^b, 144-152.
 174, 10. overcome. *Id.*, xvii^a, 150.
 174, 25. pages. *Id.*, x, 4.
 174, 28. whims. *Id.*, xiii, 597.
 174, 37. prediction. *Id.*, xvii^b, 135-143.
 174, 39. patient. *Id.*, xi, 10.
 175, 1. beloved. *Id.*, xviii^b, 40; xiv, 631.
 175, 2. discover. *Id.*, ix, 218.
 175, 7. diagnosis. Sprengel, *G.d.A.*, ii, 169.

175. 9. course. Galen, xvii^a, 148.
 175. 13. bleed. *Id.*, xv, 313-316.
 175. 16. prize-fighters. *Id.*, xviii^b, 692.
 125. 18. cases. Epictet., iii, 10, 15; M. Antonin., *Comm.*, iv, 48.
 175. 19. multitude. Plutarch, *De adulat. et amico*, 32, p. 70.
 175. 20. out. Cels., v, 26, 1.
 175. 22. hawkers. Galen, xiv, 305.
 175. 26. headaches. Epictet., iii, 23, 30.
 175. 29. handles. Lucian, *Adv. indoct.*, 29.
 175. 30. patients. Epictet., iii, 23, 27.
 175. 32. Temple. Galen, *De libr. propr.*, p. 363, K. xix, p. 21 sq., *Id.*, *De pruenot. ad Epig.*, p. 455 sqq.; cf. also ed. K., ii, pp. 622 and 690 (on public dissections and demonstrations).
 176. 4. converted. Galen, xi, 186-194.
 176. 8. unanswerable. *Id.*, xi, 331 sqq.
 176. 10. knowledge. Dio Chr., *Or.*, xxxiii, p. 395, 31.
 176. 15. books. *CIG*, 3311 = Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 305.
 176. 15. support. *CIG*, 6607; see also vol. i, p. 69.
 176. 16. Heraclitus. See vol. i, p. 173, l. 16.
 176. 23. Alps. Kobl. *Alte und neue Zeit*, p. 114 f. Frankfort acquired a dispensary 1343, Leipzig 1409, Berlin 1488, Dresden 1490, Halle 1493, Bremen 1532.
 176. 29. dispensed. Hufeland's autobiography in Göschen, *Deutsche Klinik*, 1863, no. 13 ff. (*Deutsche Lehr- und Wanderjahre*, 1874, ii, 216).
 176. 32. swindlers. Cic., *Cluent.*, 14, 40; Horace, *Sat.*, i, 2, 1. Cato, *ap. Gell.*, i, 15.
 176. 37. plasters. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxiv, 108.
 176. 41. towns. Galen, xiii, 571.
 177. 1. experts. *Id.*, xiv, 7.
 177. 6. unconscientious. *Id.*, xii, 215.
 177. 11. able. *Id.*, xiii, 570 sq.
 177. 20. Mauretania. *Id.*, xiv, 6 sqq.
 177. 25. distribution. *Id.*, xiv, 7 sqq.; xii, 220-238.
 177. 26. Pergamus. *Id.*, xii, 229.
 177. 27. jet. In Dioscorid., v, 145, ἰάγας.
 177. 29. stones. Galen, xii, 202 (375).
 177. 32. fisc. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 781, 5 and 6.
 177. 34. impure. Galen, xii, 216.
 177. 41. centenarian. *Id.*, xiii, 703 sq.
 178. 2. century. Kohl, *Alle u. neue Zeit*, p. 115.
 178. 7. pictures. The (574) coloured illustrations in the Dioscorides manuscripts are probably copies of coloured originals painted in Alexandria at the time of the Ptolemies; F. Cohn, *Jahresber. d. Schles. Ges. f. vaterl. Cultur*, 1881, 27 October.
 178. 14. senility. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxv, 1-10; Teuffel, *RLG*⁴, 283, 2; Luxor. (*Anthol.*, i, ed. Riese, i, no. 369), *De horto domini* Oageis, ubi omnes plantae medicinales plantatae sunt.
 178. 29. cinnamon-tree. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 781.
 178. 32. sent. Paus., x, 32, 11.
 179. 5. failed. Scribon., *Compos. medic. praef.*
 179. 6. Africa. *Id. ib.*, 122.
 179. 18. belts. *Id. ib.*, 163.

- 179, 18. use. *Id. ib.*, 171 sq.
 179, 21. vouch. *Id. ib.*, 152.
 179, 22. Messalina. *Id. ib.*, 60.
 179, 23. friends. *Id. ib.*, peroratio.
 179, 27. stores. Galen, xiii, 861.
 179, 30. adders. Sprengel, ii, 80.
 179, 32. centipedes. Dioscorid., *Mat. med.*, ii, 36, 37.
 179, 38. prescribe. Cf. Teuffel, *RLG*⁴, 446, 6 (Placitus' drugs), and Jerome, *Adv. Jovinian.*, ii, 6, ed. Vallarsi, ii, 337s. (where many drugs of this sort are mentioned and also the diseases they were supposed to cure).
 180, 3. donkeys. Galen, xii, 248-250, 290 sqq.
 180, 9. die. *Id.*, xii, 251 sq.
 180, 19. poisons. *Id.*, xi, 336-338.
 180, 24. well-hated. *Id.*, xiv, 32 and 216.
 180, 28. Augustus. Scribon., 177 sqq.
 180, 32. unworthy. Galen, xii, 445 sqq.
 180, 34. dearest. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxix, 24 and 28.
 181, 4. plutocrats. Galen, xiii, 636-638, 954.
 181, 5. expensive. Seren. Sammonic., 523-526.
 181, 10. puzzle. Galen, xii, 423 sq.
 181, 13. Galen. *Id.*, xii, 772; cf. Kühn, *Ind. s. Paccius*; Martial, xiv, 78.
 181, 18. libraries. Scribon. Larg., c. 23, 97. Buecheler (*Rhein. Mus.*, xxxvii, 328) believes the edict of Claudius, nihil aeque facere ad viperae morsum quam taxi arboris sucum (Sueton., c. 16) to be based on Scribon. c. 168, of which only the heading 'ad viperae morsum proprie' is preserved.
 181, 20. Marcellus. *Anthol. Pal.*, T. iii, p. 273; d. lxxix (ed. Jacobs, iv, 239).
 181, 25. instantaneous. Galen, xii, 749.
 181, 27. blinded. *Id.*, xii, 768. Cf. Grotefend, *Stempel d. r. Augenärzte*, p. 68.
 181, 28. chin. Galen, xii, 839; cf. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxvi, 3.
 181, 30. cure. Galen, xiii, 1019.
 181, 33. nerves. *Id.*, xiii, 1027.
 181, 37. colour. S. Kuhn, *Ind.*
 181, 39. bursts. Galen, vii, 549.
 182, 5. dissolving. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, 780, 3. Grotefend, *op. cit.*, and supplement in *Jahrb. d. Alterthumsfr. im Rheinl.*, 1867, p. 220; Zangemeister in *Hermes*, ii, 313 ff.; Schuermann, *Rev. arch.*, 1867, 75 ss.; Roulez, *ib.*, 180 ss.; Longpérier, *ib.*, 1869, 61 ss.; Robert, 1870, 348; *BdI*, 1868, pp. 104-108, cf. p. 176; Mommsen, *Eph. epigr.*, ii, p. 450; Huebner, *ib.*, iii, 147; Jos. Klein, *Stempel v. röm. Augenärzten*, in *Jahrb. d. Alterthumsfr. im Rheinl.*, 1875, pp. 93-136 (where 128 are enumerated); 1876, p. 200 f. (another). Dr. E. Bertheraud, *Recherches des cachets des oculistes Romains dans le Nord de l'Afrique* (Alger, 1876), counts 131 (one found in the ruins of Lambessa, p. 5). Desjardins, *Comptes rendus*, viii (1880), p. 481, mentions 159. Keller, *Ein neuer röm. Augenarzstempel*, in *Rheinl. Jahrb.*, 1881, pp. 140-150 (the first with a Greek

- inscription). Héron de Villefosse et Thédénat, *Cachets d'oculistés romains* (T. i, 1882) contains 18 new stamps, 17 of them certainly found in France. Zangemeister, *Zwei neuerdings gef. Oculistenstempel*, in *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxvi (1883), p. 224 f. Cf. Fröhner, *Krit. Analekten*, 93 (*Philol. Supplementbd.*, v, pp. 87-89). S. Reinach, *Liste des coulistes Romains*, in *Rev. archéol.*, 1888, p. 254 ss.
- 182, 8. spoon. Martial, ix, 96.
- 182, 8. prisoning. Liban., ed. Reiske, iv, p. 908: *Κοῦρος τῶνος κατ' ἰατροῦ φαρμακείῳ*.
- 182, 8. adultery. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxix, 20.
- 182, 9. husband. Martial, vi, 31.
- 182, 10. extortion. Galen, xiv, 660.
- 182, 12. fights. *Id.*, viii, 357 and 495.
- 182, 13. Apollo. *Id.*, vii, 419.
- 182, 16. profits. *Id.*, xiv, 621.
- 182, 15. murder. *Id.*, xiv, 602; cf. 623 sq., 625, 660, and xix, 15.
- 182, 20. tripod. *Id.*, xvi, 456 sq.
- 182, 22. training. Galen very often repeats this reproach, e.g. i, 53 sqq.
- 182, 29. monument. *CIG*, 6007.
- 182, 30. method. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 779, 7. Cf. *CIA*, iii, 779.
- 182, 37. torpidity. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxix, 10; cf. Seneca, *Epp.*, 53 and 83.
- 182, 39. methodists. Galen, ix, 657; x, 909 sqq.; xvii⁴, 274.
- 182, 40. Valens. Cf. vol. i, p. 69.
- 183, 27. high. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxvi, 12 sqq.; K. Sprengel, *op. cit.*, ii, 5 ff. One M. Apronius Eutropus medicus Asclepiadius (Lyon), *Bull. d. I.*, 1864, p. 67.
- 183, 32. ladder. Pliny, *H. N.*, vii, 124; xxv, 6.
- 183, 35. provide. *Id. ib.*, xxix, 1-11.
- 183, 37. faith. Cf. the two small bronze tablets with receipts, Wilmanns, *E. I.*, 2753 s.
- 184, 1. dumb. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxi; cf. xxxvii, 50.
- 184, 4. begotten. *Id.*, xxiv, 1-5.
- 184, 8. Turkey. R. Kobert, *Ueber den Zustand der Arzneikunde vor 18 Jahrhunderten* (1887), p. 7.
- 184, 6. remedies. *Id. ib.*, pp. 16-18.
- 184, 12. death. Dioscorid., *Mat. m.*, iv, 149 (ed. K., i, 632).
- 184, 16. pangless. *Id. ib.*, v, 159 sq. (i, 818K.).
- 184, 23. converted. Röper, in Marquardt, *Hdb. d. R. A.*, iv¹, n. 741 and 751.
- 184, 29. other. Galen, ix, 934 sq.
- 184, 31. effects. *Digg.*, l, 13, 1 § 3.
- 184, 31. ancient. *SIRE*, i², 319.
- 184, 32. Jews. Joseph. *A. J.*, viii, 2, 5.
- 184, 33. astrology. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, p. 928; cf. also Pliny, *H. N.*, xxix, 9, and the pseudo-Galenian *Prognostica de decub. ex math. scient.*, Galen, ed. R., xix, 529.
- 184, 35. doctors. Juv., 4, 553 sqq.
- 184, 37. ninety-three. Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 592 = *CIG*, 5821.
- 185, 9. unknown. Galen, ix, 910-913.

- 185, 13. penalties. Marquardt, *StV*, iii², 92-94. On the persecution of astrologers in Byzantium under Justinian see Procop., *H. arc.*, c. 11.
- 185, 17. astrologers. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 44.
- 185, 22. broke. Auson., *Parent.*, 4, 17-21.
- 185, 25. turned. Augustine, *Conf.*, iv, 3, 5.
- 185, 29. purge. Firmic. Matern., *De mathesi*, iv, *praef.*
- 185, 32. men. *Id. ib.*, iii, 8, 9.
- 185, 35. paid. Suid., s. Βλάκα and Casaubon, ed. Sueton., *Caligula* c. 40; Marquardt, *StV*, ii², 200, 5. Sacerdos d[ei] s[ancti] i[n]victi M[ithrae] s[tudiosus] astrologiae (Mediolani) in Orelli, 1202 = *CIL*, v, 2, 5893.
- 185, 37. Egyptians. Juv., 3, 41; Ammian., xxii, 16, 18s.
- 185, 37. Emperors. Cf. vol. i, p. 69.
- 186, 7. suicide. Tac., *A.* xvi, 14.
- 186, 14. horoscopes. Artemidor., *Onirom.*, ii, 69. But he wrote not only *οἰωνοσκοπικά* but also *χειροσκοπικά*; Suid., s.v.
- 186, 16. holy. Quintilian, *Declam.*, 4, 16 (sacrae artis antistites).
- 186, 18. price. Cf. Horace, i, 6, 141; Juv., 6, 588.
- 186, 20. Columella. Colum., xi, 2, 31.
- 186, 21. farmer. Marquardt, *Hdb. d. R. A.*, iv¹, n. 691.
- 186, 22. merchant. Petron., *Sat.*, c. 76.
- 186, 25. suited. Apulei., *Apol.*, 553; Lucian, *Dial. mort.*, 11, 1.
- 186, 25. rich. Galen, xiv, 604.
- 186, 30. denarii. Apul., *Met.*, ii, 28 sq.
- 186, 37. fortune. Petron., c. 77.
- 186, 40. 354 A.D. Teuffel, *RLG*⁴, 406, 1-8.
- 188, 4. knowledge. Firmic. Matern., *De mathesi*, ii, 33; cf. viii, *praef.*
- 188, 15. Tarpeian. *Id.*, v, *praef.*
- 188, 22. occupation. Colum., i, *praef.*, 1.
- 188, 24. per cent. *Id.*, iii, 3; Rodbertus, *Z. Gesch. d. agrarischen Entwicklung Roms*, in Hildebrand's *Jahrb. f. Nationalök.* ii (1864), 208-228. Cf. also vol. i, p. 2 of this work.
- 188, 25. land. Dio, li, 21; Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 41.
- 188, 29. paid. Rodbertus, *op. cit.*, p. 213; Pliny, *H. N.*, xvii, 8.
- 188, 30. Ostia. Barnabei, *Libello di Geminio Eutichete*, in *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst. Röm. Abth.*, ii (1887), p. 203 ff.
- 188, 36. prosperity. Mommsen, *Das Decret des Commodus für den saltus Buruntianus*, in *Hermes*, xv (1880), p. 408 f. The *coloni* in the inscriptions mentioned are all lease-holders.
- 188, 39. small. The whole paragraph is taken (mostly verbally) from Mommsen, *Die ital. Bodentheilung und die Alimentar Tafeln*, in *Hermes*, xix (1884), 393-416.
- 189, 1. provinces. *H. N.*, xviii, 35.
- 189, 6. value. Marquardt, *StV*, ii², 145.
- 189, 13. valued. Columella, iii, 3, 8.
- 189, 21. million. In all these statements it is presupposed that all the proprietors had not only mortgaged parts of their landed property, but all of it. Sale of an estate for 70,000 S. is mentioned in *CIL*, xiv, 3471.
- 189, 30. show. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 445. Cf. vol. i, 160 f.

- 189, 37. sea. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 404 ff.
 189, 41. needs. Manilius, *Astron.*, iv, 162 sqq.
 190, 23. statue. *CIL*, xiv, 2852.
 190, 45. Umbria. *CIL*, xiv, 12 :

notus in urbe sacra, notus quoque finibus illis,
 quos Umber sulcare solet, quos Tuscus arator,

According to this in both districts at that time corn-growing was certainly important.

- 190, 9. detail. Vol. i, p. 299 ff.
 190, 13. priests. What follows is taken from Mommsen, *StR*, i², 332-371 and his paper, *De apparitoribus magistr. Roman.*, in *N. Rh. Mus.*, 1848, vi, 1-57.
 190, 23. wished. Petron., c. 71.
 190, 25. paid. The salaries of the *apparitores* in the *lex Coloniae Genetivae* (*Ephem. epigr.*, iii, 91 s.) are : scribae ii virorum 1200 HS, scribae aedilium 800, accensi 700, lictores 600, viatores 400, librarii 300, haruspices II virorum 500 (aedilium 300), praecones 300, tibicines 300.
 190, 26. scribae. On the signification of *scriba* see Mommsen, *SIRE*, i², pp. 346, 1.
 190, 33. law. *Ibid.*, 352, 5.
 190, 39. knights. See vol. i, p. 141.
 191, 3. covered. Vitruv., vii, 9, 2.
 191, 9. boats. Gruter, 391, 1.
 191, 17. statues. *CIL*, ii, 4536-4548.
 191, 28. debtors. Manilius, v, 315-322.
 191, 35. Praetorian. Mommsen, *Die röm. Gardetruppen*, in *Hermes*, xvi, 643 ff. Marquardt, *StV*, ii², 475 ff.
 191, 36. cohorts. *Id. id.*, 475 ff.; cf. Mommsen, *StR*, ii², 1067, 4.
 192, 5. used. Marquardt, *StV*, ii², 141 ff.
 192, 8. pension. *Ibid.*, 564 ff.
 192, 11. rack. *Digg.*, xlix, 16, 3, 1; 18, 3 etc.; Hartmann, *De exilio*, p. 58, 5.
 192, 13. excesses. Juv., *Sat.*, 16, 7-34.
 192, 18. violence. Herodian., ii, 4.
 192, 20. voluntarily. Mommsen, *Conscriptionsordnung*, in *Hermes*, xix, 58.
 192, 23. 37. Tac., *Hist.*, iv, 4 : quia plerumque inopes ac vagi sponte militiam sumant.
 192, 23. 42. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, 542, 6.
 192, 24. frontiers. *Id. ib.*, p. 560 ff. A proof of the celibacy of the soldiers is given also in Liban., ed. R., i, 184, 20, where he says that in the good old times the soldiers *οὐκ ἐγάμουσαν, ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ δὲ δεήσονται γάμων εὐρητο*; apparently this means permission to keep concubines.
 192, 26. rob. Philo, in *Flacc.*, i, p. 518 M. Avillius Flaccus kept the soldiers in Egypt at first in good discipline, also τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἵνα μὴ τὰς μισθοφορίας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀφαιρούμενοι πρὸς ἡσυχίας καὶ ἀρπαγὰς αὐτοὺς ἀλείψωσι.
 192, 30. familiar. Quintilian xi, 1, 86.
 193, 1. executed. Apulei., *Metam.*, ix, p. 205 sqq.

- 193, 4. *privates*. Oscar Bohn, *Ueber die Heimath der Prætorianer* (1883), p. 9 f.
- 193, 8. *Cohorts*. Dosith., *Adrian. sent.*, § 2.
- 193, 14. *City*. Bohn, pp. 5 and 10, 9; Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 442 and 451.
- 193, 14. *garrison*. Mommsen, *Conscriptionsordnung*, in *Hermes*, xix, 58, 2.
- 193, 17. *Italy*. Tac., *A.*, iv, 5; cf. *Hist.*, i, 84.
- 193, 28. *fire*. Mommsen, *Edict des Claudius*, in *Hermes*, iv, 118. (The doubts there expressed on *καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας* in Dio, lxxiv, 2 were afterwards withdrawn by Mommsen, *Hermes*, xix, 52, 2). Cf. Bohn, p. 4 f.; Mommsen, *Hermes*, xix, 53.
- 193, 35. *men*. *Latercula militum prætor.*, *CIL*, vi, 2375-2403. Cf. *Eph. epigr.*, vi, n. 887; *Bull. com. d. R.*, iv, 76; v, 77. *Laterc. cohort. urb.*, *CIL*, vi, 2404 sq.; cf. 2384 and 3884; Bohn, p. 7 f.
- 193, 40. *Syrians*. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 53 f.
- 94, 1. *polished*. Henzen, *Monumenti di pretoriani* (second half of the third century) in *AdI*, 1864, p. 19 sqq.; cf. esp. p. 25.
- 194, 5. *legion*. Henzen, 6686 = *CIL*, v, 1, 923. Marquardt, *StV*, ii², 479, 1.
- 194, 7. *bandits*. Dio, lxxiv, 2.
- 194, 8. *caliga*. *Militare in caliga*, *CIL*, vi, 2440; *Inscr. de l'Alg.*, 544; 7 leg. iii Aug. qui et caligatus stip. xiiii m[eruit].
- 194, 9. *centurion*. Marquardt, *StV*, ii², 376.
- 194, 9. *position*. P. Ann. Flori fr., in Jahn, ed. Flor., p. xlv.
- 194, 14. *year*. Juv., 14, 194 (ut locupletem aquilam tibi sexagesimus annus adferat; cf. Marquardt, 354, 1). Revolts of Moors and Britons under Hadrian, see *Hadrian*, c. 5. and 12. On the inscription of Bulla regia (*CIL*, viii, 10,579); p.p. *prærogativo tempore factus* (a) d. Hadriano, cf. the note by Mommsen.
- 194, 17. *fair*. J. Karbe, *De centurionibus Rom. quaestiones epigr.* (Halis, 1880), pp. 1-8. Marquardt, *StV*, ii², 376 f.; *CIL*, xiv, 349 (Ostia): . . . p[rimi]p[ilaris] f[ilio] p[rimi]p[ilaris] n[e]poti]. It is at least doubtful whether the *primipilares* received the sum of 600,000 S: (Sueton., *Gai.*, 44; Karbe, p. 8, 15). Of their privileges we only know one that they received from Hadrian, 'vacatio a tutela' (Karbe, *ib.*).
- 194, 18. *knights*. J. Schmidt, *Die Rangklasse der Primipilaren* (*Hermes*, xxi. 1886, p. 90 ff.), is not successful in his attempt to prove that it always happened from the time of Augustus.
- 194, 18. *sons*. Karbe, pp. 10-12.
- 194, 19. *tone*. Cf. e.g. Horace, *S.*, i, 6, 72; Persius, 5, 189; 3, 77.
- 194, 22. *Decurio*. Appian., *B. civ.*, v, 128. Madvig, *Verf. und Verw.*, ii, 12.
- 194, 24. *patrons*. Karbe, pp. 12-14.
- 194, 26. *trustworthy*. *Id.*, p. 15. Cf. *Did. Jul.*, c. 5: Nigrum misso primipilario occidi praeceperat.
- 194, 35. *militiis*. Marquardt, *StV*, ii², 378-380; Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 543 ff.
- 194, 40. *procuratorship*. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, 379.
- 195, 1. *encouraged*. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, 547.

- 195, 3. appointed. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 547, 4. Marquardt, 458 f.
 195, 8. veterans. Mommsen, 547, 5.
 195, 14. ways. For numerous examples see the German original, ed. 6, 1888, i, 378 f.
 195, 21. banished. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 4.
 195, 36. live. Horace, *Epp.*, i, 7, 46 sqq.
 195, 39. tradition. Marquardt, *Prl.* i², 204 ff.
 196, 4. chairs. Juv., 7, 144 sqq. In the epitaph of a certain Manlia T. l. Gnome (*CIL*, vi³, 21,975) are the words: *clientes habui multos*.
 196, 4. imputation. Marquardt, *op. cit.*
 196, 6. disposal. Manil., v, 61 sqq.
 196, 8. food. On this and on the signification of *sportula* cf. Appendix xiv.
 196, 12. Cottae. Aurelius Cotta, Tac., *A.*, xiii, 34 ?
 196, 12. times. Martial, xii, 36, 8 ; iv, 40, 1 ; Juv., 5, 108-113 (*modici amici*, as often, *clientes*).
 196, 16. clients. Colum., *praef. lib.*, i, 9 and 12.
 196, 19. valued. Juv., 5, 12-18.
 196, 20. cloak. Pers., i, 54.
 196, 21. sometimes. Martial, x, 11, 6.
 196, 22. land. Juv., 9, 59.
 196, 25. property. Cf. vol. iii, p. 61, also vol. i, pp. 160 and 161.
 196, 28. Lupus. Martial, v, 56 ; x, 48, 6.
 196, 31. must. *Id.*, xi, 18.
 196, 34. conducting. Columella, *praef. lib.*, i, 12 (the words '*qui vectigalis esse non possit*' Gesner recognized to be a gloss). The '*cotidianum tributum*' is the '*meritoria salutatio*' (Seneca, *Brev.*, v, 14, 6).
 196, 35. lodgings. *Digg.*, vii, 8, 2 § 1, 3 ; ix, 3, 5 § 1. Also *contubernium* (cf. Gierig, *Plin. Epp.*, ii, p. 545 sqq., de *contuberniis Romanorum*) implies sometimes a real client-relationship.
 196, 37. expected. Martial, ii, 32 ; x, 18.
 196, 39. clients. Tac., *A.*, xvi, 22.
 197, 1. pale. Martial, iii, 38, 11.
 197, 3. *toga*. *Id.*, x, 18.
 197, 4. paid. *Id.*, x, 75, 11.
 197, 5. barely. *Id.*, iii, 30 ; Juv., i, 119 sqq.
 197, 9. atrium. Seneca, *Epp.*, 22, 7.
 197, 13. call. Martial, x, 70, 5. A number of passages in Casaubon on Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 53.
 197, 14. digestion. Stat., *Silv.*, iv, 9, 48.
 197, 18. orbit. Juv., 5, 19.
 197, 20. sleep. Martial, x, 74.
 197, 22. repose. *Id.*, iii, 4 ; xii, 68 ; xiv, 125.
 197, 28. worn. *Id.*, ix, 100 ; x, 96, 11 ; xii, 18, 5.
 197, 32. school. *Id.*, xii, 57, 4 ; cf. Juv., 7, 225 ; Martial, xiv, 223.
 197, 32. home. Pliny., *Epp.*, iii, 12.
 197, 33. snow. Martial, iii, 36 ; x, 82 ; xii, 26 ; Juv., 5, 76.
 197, 33. deterred. Seneca, *Beneff.*, iv, 39, 3 (Kölle) *Rom. im Jahre 1833*, p. 197 : 'As soon as the snow lies, lawcourts and schools

- are closed. When it rains fairly heavily no hawkers or beggars are to be heard'.
- 197, 34. dirty. Juv., 3, 247.
- 197, 35. distances. Martial, i, 108; v, 22.
- 197, 38. waggons. *Id.*, v, 22, 7; Juv., 3, 243 sqq.
- 197, 40. gout. Martial, vii, 39.
- 198, 3. following. *Id.*, ii, 18, 5; iii, 46; x, 10, 7.
- 198, 4. visits. *Id.*, ix, 100, 3.
- 198, 6. Titus. *Id.*, iii, 36.
- 198, 7. elbow. *Id.*, iii, 46; Cic., *In Pisonem*, 122.
- 198, 9. chariot. Hor., *Epp.*, i, 7, 75.
- 198, 11. signal. Martial, x, 10.
- 198, 14. scullions. *Id.*, vi, 48; xi, 24. Persons who were not clients were of course also hired for this purpose: Quintilian, xi, 3, 131; Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 14, 4; Juv., 13, 29-31.
- 198, 18. two people. Seneca, *De ira*, iii, 8, 6.
- 198, 25. relegation. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 19-21.
- 198, 26. elections. *CIL*, vi, 822, 933, 1011, 1016, 593.
- 198, 27. atrium. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxiv, 17.
- 198, 34. porter. Columella, *praef. lib.* i, 9.
- 198, 37. out. Martial, v, 22.
- 198, 40. clients. Juv., iii, 184-189.
- 198, 41. inside. Seneca, *Benef.*, vi, 34, 1.
- 199, 1. frown. Seneca, *Ad Serenum*, 14, 1.
- 199, 4. return. Juv., *loc. cit.*
- 199, 6. answer. Seneca, *Brev. vit.*, 14, 4.
- 199, 9. name. Petron., c. 44.
- 199, 11. king. Mommsen thinks that the 'ordo regalium', who dedicated a statue at Formiae to a 'patronus coloniae' (*CIL*, x, 6094), was perhaps a collegium clientum, quale est Aeserninum cultorum statuarum et clipeorum L. Abulli Dextri (ix, 2654). Quod si quis cum hoc ordine mirum illum collegii ministrum interregem hominem libertinum (6071) componet, fortasse non errabit (?).
- 199, 12. reward. Martial, ii, 68; cf. i, 112; vi, 88; ix, 92. On the other uses of the address *Domine* at this time cf. Appendix xv.
- 199, 13. presence. Martial, x, 14, 9.
- 199, 14. change. *Id.*, iii, 36.
- 199, 15. enraged. *Id.*, iii, 37.
- 199, 16. generosity. *Id.*, xii, 13.
- 199, 17. client. Juv., 3, 125.
- 199, 18. burdensomely. Martial, xii, *praef. init.*
- 199, 19. expect. *Id.*, ii, 55.
- 199, 26. evident. Cf. also Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 48; Pliny, *H. N.*, p. xiv, 91; Musonius in Stob., *Floril.*, i, 298, 13, ed. Meinecke: $\delta \mu \eta \nu \epsilon \mu \omega \nu \iota \sigma \alpha \tau \circ \iota \varsigma \sigma \upsilon \nu \epsilon \sigma \theta \lambda \omicron \upsilon \sigma \iota \nu$. Petron., c. 31: vinum dominicum ministratoris gratia est.
- 199, 34. himself. Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 6.
- 199, 40. obscuring. Martial, i, 20; iii, 60; iv, 85; vi, 11; x, 49.
- 200, 2. love. Seneca, *Epp.*, 9, 6.
- 200, 17. guests. Juv., 5.
- 200, 21. laughter. Cic., *In Pisonem*, 104-115.

- 200, 32. hands. Epictet., *Diss.*, iv, 4, 37; *Man.*, 25, 2; 33, 13; *Diss.*, iii, 24, 39.
- 201, 1. freedman. Fronto, *Epp. ad L. Ver. Aug.*, (ed. Nieb.), 6, 2.
- 201, 2. Galen. Galen, vi, 758.
- 201, 6. haste. Lucian, *Nigrin.*, 21 sqq.
- 201, 8. favourers. Tertullian, *Patient.*, c. 16; *Apolog.*, c. 38.
- 201, 29. Juvenal. Juv., 5, 130.
- 201, 32. throne. Sueton., *Claudius*, c. 25.
- 201, 34. through. Lucian, *Pro lapsu in salutando*, 16.
- 201, 38. Agrippina. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 21.
- 201, 41. Soranus. *Id.*, xvi, 32.
- 202, 10. crowds. Seneca, *Brev. vit.*, 2, 4.
- 202, 12. waited. Horace, *Epp.*, i, 5, 31.
- 202, 13. refusal. Seneca, *Brev. vit.*, 14, 4.
- 202, 13. requests. Martial, i, 49, 33 and iv, 88, 4.
- 202, 14. secrets. Martial, vii, 62, 4.
- 202, 15. freedmen. Juv., 5, 25 sqq.
- 202, 16. birthday. Marquardt, *Priv.*, i², 250, 6.
- 202, 18. angling. Martial, v, 18.
- 202, 21. gold. Martial, v, 19, 14.
- 202, 23. fame. Lucian, *Cronosolon*, 15 sq. The *πέρητες* throughout the work are all clients.
- 202, 27. commission. Lucian, *ib.*
- 202, 28. pounds. Martial, vii, 53.
- 202, 32. treatment. Lucian, *Cronosolon*, 17 sq.; *Epp. Saturn.*, i, 22; 4, 38.
- 203, 2. Caesar. Sueton., *Caesar*, c. 42.
- 203, 3. freedmen. Mommsen, *L. col. Genetivae*, in *Eph. ep.*, ii, 133.
- 203, 4. Corinth. Strabo, viii, 6, 23.
- 203, 10. scum. Lucan, vii, 405.
- 203, 13. Orontes. Juv., 3, 58 sqq.
- 203, 16. Pontus. Athen., i, 36.
- 203, 19. Jews. Joseph., *A. J.*, xvii, 11, 1.
- 203, 20. Sardinia. Tac., *A.*, ii, 85; Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 36, mentions Jews only. Joseph., *A. J.*, xviii, 3, 5.
- 203, 24. decline. Tac., *A.*, iv, 27.
- 203, 27. sorts. Dio, lvi, 33.
- 203, 32. ingratiated. Martial, vii, 64; Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxiv, 11. Cf. vol. i, p. 145 (Ctesippus, etc.).
- 203, 34. shameful. Dionys. Halicarn., iv, 24.
- 203, 38. brought. Juv., i, 104 106; 2, 58. Cf. vol. i, p. 145 (Philostorgos).
- 204, 15. philosopher. Petron., c. 76; cf. 29 and 71.
- 204, 19. million. Petron., c. 38.
- 204, 20. talents. Plutarch, *Pompei.*, c. 2.
- 204, 22. slaves. Martial, iii, 31; cf. iii, 93, 22; iv, 5, 10.
- 204, 27. properties. Seneca, *Epp.*, 27, 5. Libertinae opes, Martial, v, 13, 6.
- 204, 29. mine. Tertullian, *Apol.*, c. 6.
- 204, 30. waterfalls. Seneca, *Epp.*, 86, 7.
- 204, 32. dowries. *Id.*, *Q. N.*, i, 17, 10.
- 204, 37. marks. Martial, vi, 64, 26; x, 56, 6. Scribon. Larg., 231.

R.L.M.

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- 204, 40. Theatre. Martial, ii, 29.
 205, 8. silence. *Id.*, ii, 16, 19, 42, 58, 81; iii, 29, 82; iv, 77; v, 79; vi, 91; xi, 12, 30, 37, 54, 85, 92; xii, 54.
 205, 9. bread. *Id.*, ii, 19.
 205, 14. descent. Cf. vol. i, pp. 108 (last line) and 109.
 205, 14. families. Hirschfeld, *V6*, 301. In the survey of the families of the equestrian nobility (contained in Hirschfeld's list of the magistrates from Augustus to Diocletian) the imperial family names are very frequent, so that the descent of a large part of these families from imperial freedmen is very probable.
 205, 20. outdo. Cic., *Pro Quinct.*, 8, 31.
 205, 40. refuge. Juv., 8, 231-275.
 206, 1. sport. *Id.*, 11, 162-176.
 206, 2. cobbler. *Id.*, 8, 181 sq.
 206, 7. Hermes. *Id.*, 8, 39-35.
 206, 8. sense. *Id.*, 8, 73: *Rarus enim ferme sensus communis in illa Fortuna.*

IV. ROMAN SOCIETY.

- 207, 6. prominent. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 6, 93 sqq.
 207, 14. sound. Seneca, *Beneff.*, vi, 34, 4.
 207, 15. shoes. Juv., 3, 417 sqq.; 5, 137.
 207, 16. cause. Seneca, *Ad Marciam*, 10, 1; *Epp.*, 84, 12; *Beneff.*, vi, 34, 4.
 207, 19. clients. Seneca, *Beneff.*, vi, 28, 5. Cf. Juv., 3, 239; Martial, ix, 22, 9; xiv, 129.
 207, 21. consul. Pliny, *Paneg.*, 61. Cf. Mommsen, *StR*, i³, 376, 1. Consuls and praetors as *salutatores*, see Juv., 3, 126; Martial, x, 10; cf. Stat., *Silv.*, i, 2, 232.
 207, 26. patron. Lucian, *De mercede cond.*, c. 10.
 207, 29. table. *Id.*, *Nigrin.*, 24; *Piscator*, 34.
 207, 30. consulate. Martial, xii, 26; Epictet., *Diss.*, iv, 10, 20.
 208, 1. tribunate. Juv., 7, 90 sqq.
 208, 2. flies. Plutarch, *loc. cit.* Cf. also Martial, ix, 92, 5.
 208, 9. whipping. Seneca, *Ad Seren.*, 14, 2; cf. also *De ira*, iii, 37, 2.
 208, 10. shut. Epictet., *Man.*, 33, 13.
 208, 13. capacious. Vitruv., vii, 5, 1.
 208, 17. fall. Dio, lviii, 5; cf. Becker, *H.d.R.A.*, ii, 2, 124, n. 281.
 208, 18. portraits. Martial, i, 55, 5; ii, 90, 5.
 208, 22. bribed. Seneca, *Ad Seren.*, 14, 1; Epictet., *Diss.*, i, 30, 7.
 208, 23. lists. Seneca, *Beneff.*, vi, 33, 4.
 208, 23. memorist. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxix, 19: *aliena memoria salutamus.*
 208, 25. doors. Seneca, *Beneff.*, vi, 33, 4; 34, 1.
 208, 27. levee. Pliny, *H. N.*, xv, 38: *mala Mulviana jam et virorum salutatoris cubilibus inclusa, simulacris noctium consciis imposita.*
 208, 30. secured. Dio, lxxvi, 5.
 208, 33. seen. *Id.*, lviii, 5.

- 208, 34. porters. Tac., *A.*, vi, 8 and iv, 74.
 208, 36. friends. Plutarch, *De amicor. multil.*, 3.
 208, 38. morning-receptions. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 56.
 208, 39. eminent. *Id.*, *Dial. de orat.*, 6.
 208, 40. wave. Virgil, *G.*, ii, 461.
 209, 8. receive. Jerome, *Epp.*, 43, 2.
 209, 9. Symmachus. Symmachus, *Epp.*, viii, 41.
 209, 13. bribe. S. Orientius, *Commonitor. lib. ii de ebrietate* (Gallandi, x, p. 191).
 209, 16. inexpensive. Sidon. Apoll., *Epp.*, i, 9.
 209, 18. humble. Paulin. Petrocord., *Eucharistic.*, 436: nec pompa minor polleret honoris Instructa obsequiis et turbis fulta clientum.
 209, 21. morning. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 77: si vel officii vel sacri causa maturius evigilandum esset. Cf. Marquardt, *Pril.*, i², 125, 8; Casaubon on Sueton., *Aug.*, 53, who erroneously assumes that the *officia* were partly held at night. One had to get up by night to be there in time. So also Symmach., *Epp.*, i, 23: certe antelucano somno indulseris, ut detur aliquod tempus officiis.
 209, 26. avoid. Sueton., *Claud.*, 2.
 209, 28. daybreak. Stat., *Silv.*, i, 2, 229; cf. Juv., 2, 132.
 209, 29. celebrated. Festus, p. 343 M.
 209, 30. digestion. Seneca, *Beneff.*, iv, 39, 3; cf. Stat., iv, 9, 48.
 209, 35. mentioned. Becker, *Hdb. d. R. A.*, ii, 2, 124. Cf. Mommsen, *StR.*, i³, 616, 3.
 209, 35. dignitaries. *E.g.* Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 5, 11.
 209, 36. praetors. *Hadrian.*, c. 9.
 209, 40. functions. Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 1, 8.
 209, 41. Pliny. *Id. ib.*, iv, 17, 6.
 210, 4. considered. *Id. ib.*, viii, 37.
 210, 6. tribune. Martial, iv, 78.
 210, 9. retinue. Ammian., xxvi, 1, 1.
 210, 10. funerals. Seneca, *Tranq. an.*, 14, 4.
 210, 18. banquet. Plutarch, *De amicor. multil.*, 6.
 210, 27. compose. Martial, x, 70.
 210, 34. Rome. Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 9.
 210, 36. assessors. Epictet., *Man.*, 25, 1; Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 20, 12; xi, 6, 1; cf. Juv., 3, 162.
 211, 1. legacy. Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 20, 10.
 211, 3. received. Seneca, *Beneff.*, iii, 15, 3.
 211, 3. wills. *Digg.*, xxix, 3, 4-7.
 211, 4. manumissions. Martial, ix, 87.
 211, 5. ranged. Juv., 3, 82: me prior ille Signabit fultusve toro meliore recumbet? Cf. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 76. In the inscription *CIG*, 1732b (decision in a boundary dispute of the Daulians in Phocis, 118 A.D.) the participators in the proceedings signed as follows: , Παρήσαν' Κούρριος Αὐτόβουλος κέκρικα καὶ τὴν πρώτην ἐσφράγισα. Νικήφορος Λυκομήδους κέκρικα. Ἀγασίας Τελμωνος κέκρικα. Π. Αἰλῖος Δαμόξενος ἐσφράγισα τετάρτην. Εἰσίας πέμπτην etc. Cf. *testamentum Porcelli* (Petron., ed. Buechler, p. 232, 16-18). On the number seven of the witnesses (for wills,

private declarations of public consequence such as weddings and divorces, copies of public documents etc.), see Bruns, *Die sieben Zeugen d. Röm. Rechts, Comment. Mommsen.*, p. 489 ss.

- 211, 6. *étiquette*. Marquardt, *Prl.*, i², 303-308.
- 211, 7. Seneca. Seneca, *Ad Seren.*, 10, 2; *De ira*, iii, 37, 4.
- 211, 9. Ages. Marquardt, *Prl.*, i², 308, 1.
- 211, 10. congratulations. *Ibid.*, p. 250, 5.
- 211, 11. visits. Horace, *Epp.*, ii, 2, 65-70; *Sat.*, i, 9, 17.
- 211, 11. condolences. Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 2, 4.
- 211, 13. official. Epictet., *Diss.*, i, 19, 24.
- 211, 14. governor. Sueton., *Caes.*, 71.
- 211, 15. assessorship. Seneca, *Tranq. an.*, 12, 4.
- 211, 16. weeks. *Id.*, *Brev. vit.*, 77; cf. *Epp.*, 8, 6.
- 211, 19. fires. Juv., 3, 9.
- 211, 22. forum. Cic., *Pro Murena*, 33, 69.
- 211, 27. established. Cf. Appendix xiv.
- 211, 34. fruitlessly. Martial, x, 58, 7.
- 212, 1. congratulating. Manil., v, 61.
- 212, 4. bore. Phaedr., *Fab.*, ii, 5.
- 212, 17. *da capo*. Seneca, *Tranq. an.*, 12.
- 212, 19. kisses. Martial, viii, 44.
- 212, 24. excuse. *Id.*, iv, 78; cf. vol. i, p. 210.
- 212, 30. breaks. Galen, *Metk. med.*, i, 1, ed. K., x, 3.
- 212, 37. aim. Horace, *Sat.*, ii, 5, 8; cf. i, 1, 62.
- 212, 39. emigrated. For 'Martial' read 'Juvenal'. Juv., 3, 162 sq.
- 213, 4. virtues. Pliny, *H. N.*, xiv, 5.
- 213, 6. supreme. Juv., 1, 112.
- 213, 7. ideals. Galen, x, 2 and 172.
- 213, 14. Pliny. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxix, 20. Cf. Cic., *Cluent.*, 14; Lucian, *Dial. mort.*, 7. Cf. vol. i, p. 182.
- 213, 25. advantage. Tac., *A.*, iii, 25.
- 213, 26. calm. Cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, i², 73 f.
- 213, 31. Haterius. Seneca, *Beneff.*, vi, 38, 3.
- 213, 40. presents. Martial, iv, 56; Horace, *Sat.*, ii, 5, 12; *Epp.*, i, 1, 78; Ovid, *A. a.*, ii, 271; Martial, ii, 40; v, 39; vi, 27, 9; ix, 48; Juv., 4, 18; 6, 38-40 and 97.
- 214, 4. spending. Martial, ix, 9.
- 214, 5. observed. Horace, *Sat.*, ii, 5, 93.
- 214, 5. nursing. Ovid, *A. a.*, ii, 319 sqq.; Epictet., *Diss.*, iv, 1, 148.
- 214, 9. men. Martial, xii, 90; Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 20; Juv., 12, 98 sqq.
- 214, 10. given. Martial, xi, 83.
- 214, 11. fire. Juv., 3, 221.
- 214, 11. defend. Horace, *Sat.*, ii, 5, 27 sqq.
- 214, 16. friends. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 52.
- 214, 17. panegyricized. Horace, *Sat.*, ii, 5, 74.
- 214, 18. Cornutus. Aelian, ed. Hercher, ii, 227, fr. 83.
- 214, 21. subserved. Martial, xii, 40.
- 214, 22. Ladies. Horace, *Sat.*, ii, 5, 75; Petron., c. 140.
- 214, 25. crones. Martial, ix, 100, 4.
- 214, 26. colleague. Juv., 3, 128 sqq.
- 214, 31. heir. Martial, xi, 55.

- 214, 33. invalidity. *Digg.*, xxx, 64 (66, v, 63 ss.). Gaius (libro xv ad edictum provinciale); Captatoriae scripturae simili modo neque in hereditatibus neque in legatis valeant. Cf. Mühlenbruch, *Lehrb. d. Pandektenrechts*, 4. Ausg., iii, § 649; Bynkershoek, *De captatoriis institutionibus* (OPP., i., p. 359 sqq.). Cf. also Lucian, *Dial. mort.*, 8.
- 214, 36. burst. Martial, ix, 88.
- 214, 41. will. *Id.*, xi, 67; xii, 73.
- 215, 1. year. *Id.*, v, 39.
- 215, 2. illness. Seneca, *Brev. vit.*, 7, 3: simulatus aeger, anus efferendis heredibus lassa.
- 215, 2. cough. Martial, ii, 26.
- 215, 5. paleness. Pliny, *H. N.*, xx, 160; cf. Sillig's note.
- 215, 9. Caecuban. Martial, ii, 40.
- 215, 11. show. Petron., c. 117.
- 215, 13. bit. Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 18.
- 215, 16. gifts. *Id. ib.*, v, 1.
- 215, 22. buried. Stat., *Silv.*, iv, 7, 33.
- 215, 32. plague. Petron., C., 116.
- 215, 39. incentive. *Id.*, c. 141.
- 216, 3. popularity. Tac., *A.*, xv, 19.
- 216, 4. legacy-hunting. *E.g. Epp.*, 19, 4; 68, 4; 95, 44; *Beneff.*, iv, 20, 3; vi, 38, 3.
- 216, 4. accused. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 42: Romae testamenta et orbos velut indagine ejus capi.
- 216, 10. disown. Seneca, *Ad Marc.*, 19, 2.
- 216, 12. honour. Pliny, *H. N.*, xiv, 5.
- 216, 13. influential. Tac., *A.*, i, 73.
- 216, 14. Germany. *Id.*, *Germ.*, c. 20.
- 216, 18. burden. Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 15.
- 216, 19. barrenness. Plutarch, *De amore prolis*, c. 4. Cf. Epictet., *Diss.*, iv, 1, 148 (cf. vol. i, p. 214).
- 216, 23. hen. Juvenal, 12, 93 sqq.
- 216, 25. perversities. Lucian, *Nigrin.*, 17. Cf. also *Adv. indoct.*, 19, and on the spread of legacy-hunting in Greece, *Dial. mort.*, 5-9.
- 216, 29. forced. Tertullian, *Patient.*, c. 16; cf. Lactant., *Instit.*, v, 9; Ammian., xiv, 6, 22; xviii, 4, 22; Ambrose, *De offic.*, iii, 9: aucupia quaesitae hereditatis, continentiae atque gravitatis simulatione captatae, quod abhorret a proposito Christiani viri.
- 216, 35. 'stations'. Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 13, 2; ii, 9, 5; Juv., 11, 4.
- 216, 35. walks. Martial, vii, 97, 11.
- 216, 35. baths. Athen., i, p. 1 E.; cf. Gell., iii, 1, 1.
- 216, 35. temples. Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 1.
- 216, 36. libraries. Martial, xii, *prooem.*; Preller, *Reg. d. St. Rom.*, p. 219.
- 216, 36. book-shops. Gell., v, 4, 1; xiii, 31, 1; xviii, 4, 1; Athen., i, p. 1 E.
- 216, 36. apothecaries' shops. Rein, *StRE*, vi, 2029 and Heindorf on Horace, *Sat.*, i, 7, 3. Clem. Alex., *Paedag.*, iii, 11, 75, p. 297, Pott: μή τοίνυν μηδὲ οἱ ἄνδρες ἐπὶ τῶν κοιρῶν καὶ καπηλείων διατρίβοντες ἀδολοσχόντων στωμυλευμένοι, καὶ τὰς παριούσας θηρώμε-

- οὐ γυναῖκας παυσάσθων ποτὲ πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ βλασφημοῦντες εἰς γέλωτα οὐ παύονται. Also Jerome, *Epp.*, 50, 5, speaks of *garrire per angulas et medicorum tabernas*. Even in the public latrines (*conclavia*) people lay in wait for their acquaintances, Martial, v, 44; xi, 77.
- 217, 6. rewarded. Becker, *Topogr.*, p. 631 and Strabo, v, p. 236; Horace, C., i, 8, 3; iii, 12, 8; A. P., 379; Ovid, A. a., iii, 383; *Carm. in Pison.*, 165 sqq.; Martial, ii, 14, 4.
- 217, 11. *poetarum*. Martial, iii, 20 (where in l. 10 for 'porticum terit templi' should perhaps be read *p.t. Magni*) iv, 61.
- 217, 15. Argonauts. Martial, xi, 1; cf. Becker, *Topogr.*, p. 572.
- 217, 20. advertised. Martial, vii, 97.
- 217, 21. nickname. Athen., i, p. 1 E.
- 217, 27. occupation. Martial, v, 20, 8.
- 217, 29. gatherings. *Circuli* are simply rings of persons standing or sitting together for conversation, playing at ball (Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 6, 27) etc.; *circulus* differs from *corona* only by the circumstance that the latter always refers to a person stationed in the middle. The words occur together in *Quintil.*, xii, 10, 74; Apulei., *Metam.*, ii, p. 120. *Circuli* and *convivia* stand in the same relation as in *Juv.*, 11, 4: *convictus, thermae, stationes, omne theatrum*, and Martial, vii, 97: *convivia, forum, aedes, compita* etc. Cato in *Quintil.*, vi, 3, 105: *qui in sermonibus circulis conviviis, item in contionibus . . . ridicule commodeque dicet*. Livy, xlv, 22: *In omnibus circulis atque etiam (si diis placet) conviviis sunt, qui exercitus in Macedoniam ducant*. Cic., *Pro Balbo*, c. 26: *more hominum invident, in conviviis rodunt, in circulis vellicant*. Cic., *Ad Att.*, ii, 18, 1: *sermo in circulis duntaxat et conviviis est liberior quam fuit*. Tac., A., iii, 54: *nec ignoro in conviviis et circulis incusari ista et modum posci*.
- 217, 38. Plutarch. Plutarch, *Quaest. conviv.*, vii, 8, 4.
- 218, 3. moulders. Plutarch, *loc. cit.*, 12, 4, 2.
- 218, 7. obscenities. Jahn, *Proll. ad Pers.*, p. lxxxiv, sqq.; Pliny, *Epp.*, ix, 17. *Γέλωστοι* and *μίμοι* at table, Athen., xi, p. 464 E; xiv, 613 D.
- 218, 9. impertinences. Marquardt, *Pril.*, i³, 152 f.
- 218, 14. applause. Plutarch, *De vitioso pudore*, cap. 6.
- 218, 18. loud. Martial, ix, 77, 5.
- 218, 19. banquets. Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 15; ix, 17, 40; Martial, v, 78; cf. vol. ii, p. 349 bottom.
- 218, 21. anecdote-tellers. *Juv.*, 11, 179.
- 218, 26. Forum. Meyer, *Anthol.*, 1361 = *CIL*, vi, 2, 10,097 (l. 11 adque meos mecum evigilare locos (locos auctorum quibus recitandis convivae exhilarabantur?).
- 218, 27. Homerists. Athen., xiv, 620 B: *τοὺς δὲ νῦν Ὀμηριστὰς ὀνομαζομένους πρῶτος εἰς τὰ θέατρα παρήγαγε Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς*. A wandering Homerist with a box full of costumes, in *Achill. Tat.*, iii, 20, 4, 6.
- 218, 28. certain. Petron., c. 59: *cum Homeristae Graecis versibus colloquerentur, ut insolenter solent*.
- 218, 29. compositions. Becker-Göll, iii, 373.

- 218, 31. vice. Juv., i, 88; 8, 10; 14, 4.
 218, 41. Stoic. Galen, xvi, 310.
 219, 5. judicial. Ambrose, *De Tobia*, c. 11, 38; cf. Cyprian, *De aleat.*, 5-11.
 218, 10. play. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 71.
 219, 11. book. *Id.*, *Claud.*, c. 33.
 219, 17. restriction. Tac., *A.*, iii, 54.
 219, 28. arrest. Champagny, *Les Antonins*, ii, 193 s.
 219, 32. reports. Cf. the chronologically arranged collection of fragments in Huebner, *De senat. pop. q. R. actis*, pp. 41-58. A 'proc. Aug. ab actis' of the equestrian order is named as editor of the *acta*; he held this office as the first procuration next after the legionary tribunate. Freedmen ab actis, *CIL*, vi, 8674 and an adjutor ab actis, *ibid.*, 8695, were probably his subordinates. J. Schmidt, *Addit. ad CIL viii*, in *Ephem. epigr.*, v, p. 522, n. 1175, with Mommsen's note.
 219, 34. walls. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 80; *Aug.*, c. 70; *Tiber.*, c. 52; *Nero*, c. 45; Tertullian, *Ad nation.*, i, 17: festivos libellos quos statuæ sciunt et illa obliqua nonnumquam dicta . . . quæ circi sonant; Schol. Juv., i, 109 (Valla).
 219, 35. stage. Vol. ii, p. 94.
 219, 36. licence. Vol. ii, p. 3.
 220, 6. Burrus. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 6.
 220, 10. Embassy. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 19.
 220, 13. omen. *Id. ib.*, ii, 91.
 220, 15. publicity. *Id. ib.*, iii, 54.
 220, 25. news. Martial, ix, 35.
 220, 30. East. Juv., 6, 402 sqq. Cf. Appendix lviii; also vol. i, p. 14.
 220, 38. dock. Martial, x, 48.
 220, 40. word. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 1.
 221, 3. speaker. Seneca, *Beneff.*, iii, 26: Sub Tiberio Caesare . . . excipiebatur ebriorum sermo, simplicitas jocantium.
 221, 5. noted. Tac., *A.*, vi, 24.
 221, 9. silenced. *Id.*, *Agric.*, 2.
 221, 18. model. Duncker, *Gesch. d. Alterth.*, iv⁴, 542 (the king's ears).
 221, 21. cautious. Dio, lii, 37.
 221, 22. Livia. *Id.*, lv, 18.
 221, 31. suicide. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 18.
 221, 35. ghosts. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxx, 15.
 222, 1. follow. Epictet., *Diss.*, iv, 13, 5.
 222, 2. spies. Marquardt, *StV*, ii², 493. To the passages mentioned by Marquardt, *loc. cit.*, add Dio, lxxvii, 17.
 222, 3. house. See vol. i, p. 79 of this work.
 222, 5. eulogy. Aristid., *Or.*, ix, was written in the year 155 after peace was concluded in Syria in February between Vologeses, king of the Parthians, and Antoninus Pius. Waddington, *Mém. de l'Inst.*, 1867, p. 255, cf. 259, 3.
 222, 9. restored. Aristid., *Or.*, ix, p. 62, Jebb, ed. Dindorf, i, p. 105.
 222, 14. ate. Philostrat., *Vit. Apollon. Tyan.*, iv, 185, ed. Kayser, p. 84, 7.

- 222, 17. free. *Id. ib.*, viii, 348, ed. K., p. 162, 12.
 222, 20. ears. Lucian., *Adv. ind.*, 22.
 222, 24. senators. Dio, lxxvii, 17.
 222, 26. depraved. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 23.
 222, 34. ramified. Cf. especially Liban., ed. R., i, p. 567 sq. (here too the spies are called *οἱ βασιλέως ὀφθαλμοί*, p. 568, 14); Ammian., xiv, 1, 6; Aurel. Victor, *Diocletian*, c. 39, and the other passages mentioned by Gothofredus on *C. Theod.*, vi, 29, 1.
 222, 40. hushed. Tac., *A.*, xi, 27: in civitate omnium gnara et nil reticente.
 223, 5. safety. Seneca, *De tranquill. an.*, 12.
 223, 8. clients. Martial, vii, 62, 4.
 223, 16. cockcrow. Juv., 9, 102-129. Cf. Martial, ii, 82.
 223, 18. deaf. Mart., xi, 38.
 223, 21. Cicero. Cic., *Pro. Coel.*, 16, 38: At fuit fama. Quotusquisque istam effugere potest in tam maledica civitate?
 223, 23. later. Jerome, *Epp.*, 127, 3: difficile est in maledica civitate et in urbe in qua orbis quondam populus fuit, palmaque vitiorum (vitiosorum?), si honestis detraherent puraque ac munda macularent, non aliquam sinistri rumoris fabulam contrahere.
 223, 25. pieces. *Id. ib.*, 43, 2.
 223, 26. fee. Prop., ii (iii), 32, 26.
 223, 28. gossip. *Id.*, ii, 20, 21 sq.; iii, 20, 28; 25, 1; Ovid, *Amm.*, iii, 1, 17; Horace, *Epod.*, ii, 8.
 223, 30. embrace. Stat., *Silv.*, i, 2, 27-31.
 222, 31. happy. Juv., 6, 403 sqq.
 223, 34. Titus. Martial, vii, 10.
 223, 36. talk. Seneca, *Epp.*, 122, 4.
 223, 36. death. Juv., i, 145 sq.
 223, 37. theatres. *Id.*, ii, 1-5.
 224, 3. talking. Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 18.
 224, 4. tragedy. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 2.
 224, 5. dance. Horace, *Sat.*, ii, 6, 70.
 224, 11. culture. Tac., *Dial. de orator.*, c. 29.
 224, 12. method. Seneca, *Epp.*, 23, 1; 67, 1; cf. Juv., 4, 88 sq.
 224, 13. cultivated. Horace, *Sat.*, ii, 6, 44; *Epp.*, i, 18, 19.
 224, 15. persons. Epictet., *Man.*, 33, 2; *Diss.*, iii, 16, 4.
 224, 27. fellow. Martial, iii, 63.
 224, 31. intercourse. Plutarch, *Qu. conv.*, ii, 1, 1, 2.
 224, 39. escarpment. Epictet., *Diss.*, i, 25, 15.
 225, 2. would. Plutarch, *loc. cit.*, 3, 8.
 225, 5. inculcate. Cf. also Martial, ix, 77; Quod optimum sit, disputat, convivium Facundi Prisci pagina etc.
 225, 6. tables. Plutarch, *Qu. conv.*, v, 5, 2, 9.
 225, 7. alone. Martial, xi, 35.
 225, 9. Muses. Gell., xiii, 11.
 225, 10. sociability. Plutarch, *Qu. conv.*, i, 1, 5, 4.
 225, 14. common. Cic., *Ad fam.*, ix, 24, 3.
 225, 15. pleasure. Martial, xii, *prooem.*: bibliothecas, theatra, convictus, in quibus studere se voluptates non sentiunt.
 225, 19. translate. Fronto, *Ad L. Ver. Aug.*, 6, 11.

- 225, 21. cold-hearted. M. Antonin., *Comment.*, i, 12. As emperor he calls Fronto φιλόστοργε ἀνθρώπε. Fronto, *De fer. Als.*, in f., ed. Naber, p. 231.
- 225, 25. salt. Juv., 9, 10.
- 225, 26. urbanity. Quintil., vi, 3, 17.
- 225, 30. elements. Cic., *Ad fam.*, ix, 15, 2 (written 708).
- 225, 31. born. Martial, vi, 44; vii, 76; ix, 97, 10.
- 225, 34. lecture-room. Plutarch, *Qu. conv.*, i, 4, 3, 1; Horace, C., iii, 11, 6.
- 225, 35. Pliny. *Epp.*, ix, 17, 3.
- 225, 38. aesthetic. Jahn on Pers., i, 30-40, p. 85 sq.
- 225, 39. women. Juv., 6, 433 sq.
- 226, 3. dessert. Plutarch, *De sanit. praec.*, 20, p. 133 E.
- 226, 6. riddles. *Id.*, *Qu. conv.*, v, *prooem.*, 5.
- 226, 8. circles. *Id. ib.*, i, *prooem.*, 4.
- 226, 13. dishes. *Id. ib.*, i, 2 and 3; iv, 4.
- 226, 14. questions. Cf. vol. iii, p. 252 f.
- 226, 15. hen. Plutarch, *ib.*, ii, 3; ix, 2.
- 226, 18. how. *Id. ib.*, i, 8; vi, 6; viii, 9.
- 226, 20. Venus. *Id. ib.*, v, 8 and 10; vi, 9; ix, 4.
- 226, 23. music. *Id. ib.*, v, 1; vii, 5.
- 226, 28. eye. *Id. ib.*, iv, 5, 6, 7 (cf. on the planetary names of the days of the week De Rossi, *Inscr. christ.*, p. lxxi; Mommsen, *Röm. chronol.*², 313 f.); v, 2; viii, 1 and 8.
- 226, 33. excuses. Lucil., *Epigr.*, 28 sqq., in Jacobs, *Anthol.*, iii, p. 35.
- 226, 36. relieved. Plutarch, *Qu. conv.*, i, 1, 5, 4.
- 226, 38. Varro. *Gell.*, xiii, 11, 4. Cf. Plutarch, *De sanit. praec.*, 20.
- 226, 40. table. *De profect. in philos.*, c. 8.
- 277, 1. neighbours. Epictet., *Diss.*, i, 26, 9.
- 227, 3. syllogism. *Id. ib.*, ii, 19, 8.
- 227, 8. exchanges. Goethe, *Unterhalt. m. d. Kanzler Müller*, p. 19.
- 227, 9. were. Lehrs, *De Aristarchi stud. Hom.*, ed. 3, p. 208 sq.

V. THE POSITION OF WOMEN.

- 228, 8. birdie. Cf. Schol. Pers., 3, 16; Salvian., *Epp.*, iv, and Appendix xvi.
- 228, 10. language. Lucret., v, 226.
- 228, 10. suck. Schol. ad Pers., 3, 17.
- 228, 12. child. Epictet., *Diss.*, iii, 19, 4.
- 228, 13. teeth. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxviii, 78. Serenus Sammonicus, 1038-1043. Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart*², 369. Dioscorid., π. εὐποριστῶν, i, 74. Among the aids for easy teething μὲν οἱ κατοικίδιοι ἐσθιόμενοι. Julian, *Orat.*, 7, p. 206 D.: ὥσπερ αἱ τίτθαι περὶ τὰς ὀδοντοφυίας κνησιῶσιν αὐτοῖς (τοῖς παιδίοις) σκύνια ἄττα προσπατῶν [εἰσβάσι] τῶν χειρῶν, ἵνα αὐτῶν παραμυθῶσινται τὸ πᾶθος.
- 228, 14. amulets. On the whole subject cf. Jahn, *Ueber den Aberglauben des bösen Blickes bei den Allen*, in *Ber. d. Sächs. Ges.*, 1855, p. 82 ff., and Marquardt, *Prl.*, i², 84.
- 228, 16. garlic. Serenus Sammonicus, 1044-1048.
- 228, 17. windows. Preller, *RM*, ii², 238.

- 228, 19. vow. Juv., 10, 289.
 228, 24. observed. Galen, vii, 28.
 228, 28. figures. Terence, *Eunuch.*, ii, 3, 22 sqq. From the allusion in Auson., *Praef. Idyll.*, 4 it seems that this description still held good for his time.
 228, 29. peas. For 'like as peas' read 'thin as reeds'.
 229, 1. nurses. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 29; *Germ.*, c. 20.
 229, 1. barbarians. Favorin., ap. Gell., xii, 1, 17; cf. Orelli, 2677.
 229, 5. infancy. Plutarch, *Cons. ad ux.*, c. 2.
 229, 6. Soran. Ephes., *De mul. affect.*, c. 31; Galen, vi, 45.
 229, 11. bow-leggedness. Soran., *ib.*, c. 38.
 229, 13. amber. Ovid, *Metam.*, x, 262; Jerome, *Epp.*, 128, 1; Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, 701b.
 229, 14. played. Cf. the relief *Adl*, 1857, *Tav. d'Agg.* B, C, and my explanation, p. 144 ss., and Ersilia Caetani-Lovatelli, *Sopra una statua marmorea rappresentante un fanciullo che giuoca alle noci*, in *Bull. d. commiss. arch. d. Roma*, 1882, pp. 55-62, *Tav. xi* (sarcophagus from Ostia, on which children of both sexes are playing the game *delle castella*: Gerhard, *Ant. Bildw.*, lxxv. See also *Anthol. Gr.*, ed. Jacobs, iii, 57 (Glaucus, *epigr.*, i).
 229, 15. dolls. Jahn ad Pers., *Sat.*, 2, 70; Lactant., *Instit.*, ii, 4, 13 sq.; Jerome, *loc. cit.*
 229, 16. tombs. Becq de Fouquières, *Jeux des anciens* (1869), p. 28s.
 229, 19. toys. Plutarch, *loc. cit.*
 229, 37. well. Cf. Appendix xvii.
 229, 39. occupation. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 541f. *Pictor acu*; *Bull. comun. d. Roma*, iii (1875), p. 158. Cf. Seneca, *Herc. Ost.*, 665.
 229, 41. able. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, 542 note.
 230, 4. sisters. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 64.
 230, 7. spinner. Praise of Turia (Mommsen, *Abhandl. d. Berl. Acad.*, 1863, p. 461), ii, 30.
 230, 9. Propertius. Prop., i, 3, 41; iv, 6, 15.
 230, 15. hair. Tibull., i, 3, 85.
 230, 18. decay. Columella, xii, *praef.* 9. The account of the *pensa* of 11 female slaves, on the wall of the *textrinum* in a house at Pompeii, Garrucci, *Graffiti*, pl. 20, no. 11. Ritschl, *Mon. Pr. Lat.*, tab., xvi, 1, *Enarr.*, p. 20.
 230, 18. Musonius. Muson. Ruf. (Stob., *Floril.*, ed. Meineke, iv, 222).
 230, 19. Tertullian. Tertullian, *Exhort. ad castit.*, c. 12.
 230, 20. spinners. Orelli, 4639, 4860. *Anthol. lat.*, ed. Meyer, 1376 = *CIL*, ii, 1699.
 230, 20. loom. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 58, 2.
 230, 22. evidence. P. E. Mueller, *Gen. aev. Theodos.*, i, 79.
 230, 23. pass. Auson., *Parental.*, 2, 3; 16, 4.
 230, 25. example. Symmach., *Epp.*, vi, 67 and 79. Cf. also *Digg.*, xxiv, 1, 29 § 1, 30 and Cujac., *Obs.*, ix, 30.
 230, 29. master. Martial, ix, 68.
 230, 33. crowd. *Id.*, viii, 3, 15.
 230, 35. girl. Nissen, *Hermes*, i, 147; Anson., *Id.*, 4, 33 says in

his description of the school for his grandchild: *Haec olim genitorque tuus genetrixque secuti* etc. Cf. also Philostrate., *Imagg.*, i, 12. Rohde (*D. gr. Roman*, 146, 2) finds this passage almost unintelligible, considering the Greek custom, and he asks if slaves are meant; cf. 424, 1. However, in the case of a foundation of 34,000 *drachmae* for education in Teos (G. Hirschfeld, *Hermes*, ix, 1875, p. 502) co-education seems also to be intended, for it is arranged that three *γραμματοδιδάσκαλοι* (with yearly salaries of 600, 550 and 500 *drachmae*) *διδάξουσιν τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς παρθένους*. Scipio the Younger mentions in his oration *contra legem judicariam* *Ti. Gracchi* the 'ludus saltatorius': plus . . . in eo ludo vidi pueris virginibusque quinquaginta, in his unum . . . puerum bullatum . . . non minorem annis duodecim (the others were therefore younger). Macrobi., *Sat.* (ii, 10), iii, 14, 7 Eyssenhardt. Also in the empire of the Khalifs boys and girls were taught in the same public schools, and had their love-affairs there (Kremer, *Culturgesch. d. Orients*, ii, 133).

230, 37. age. Paul. Aegin., i, 14.

230, 41. love-stories. Ovid, *Trist.*, ii, 369.

231, 1. schools. Martial, viii, 3, 13.

231, 3. Sappho. Claudian, *De nupt. Honor. et Mariae*, 232 sqq.

231, 6. Terence. Cl. Marii Victor., *Ep. ad Salmonem* (Werned., *Poet. min.*, iii, p. 108), v, 72 sqq.; Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 16. Instruction of a girl in reading: Jahn, *Columbarium der Villa Pamfili*, plate v, 15; cf. *Antich. di Ercolan.*, vii, 53 and 58.

231, 9. intrigue. Sueton., iii, gr. 18.

231, 11. danger. Quintil., i, 2, 4.

231, 15. honest. Sallust, *Catiline*, 25.

231, 18. pupils. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 10, 98.

231, 21. dancer. Ovid, *Amores*, ii, 4, 25 sqq.; *id. ib.*, ii, 11, 31: — legisse libellos, Threiciam digitis increpuisse lyram. A girl of eight years is praised in her epitaph thus (*CIL*, vi, 3, 18,324): lascivia surgere . . . Coeperat et dulces fingere nequitias. Quodsi longa tuae mansissent tempora vitae, Doctior in terris nulla puella foret.

231, 22. skilled. Propert., ii, 3, 17–20.

231, 27. virtue. Stat., *Silv.*, iii, 5, 63.

231, 28. typifies. Jahn, *Darstellg. d. Handwerks*, in *Abhandl. d. Sächs. Ges.*, 1868, 291, 107. Cf. the epitaphs Or., 4851, *CIL*, vi, 3, 17,050, and that of one Petronia Musa, Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 551.

231, 31. either. Jerome, *Epp.*, 107, 8.

231, 35. charm. Ovid, *A. a.*, iii, 299.

231, 37. gait. Or., 4848.

231, 39. exciting. Quintilian, i, 10, 31.

231, 39. dances. Horace, *Carm.*, iii, 6, 22.

232, 2. procession. Marquardt, *Handb. d. R. A.* (1. Aufl.), iv, 56, n. 338; Ovid, *Trist.*, ii, 23.

232, 3. singing. Horace, *Carm.*, 6, 41–44.

232, 5. dirge. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 100.

232, 7. themes. Herodian., iv, 2, 5. Rufus (under Trajan) in

Oribas., iii, p. 85, Daremberg, says in a paragraph on the education of girls: *ἐοικε δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν χορῶν ἐξευρῆσθαι οὐ μόνον εἰς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς ὑγιειαν. διπλοῦς δὲ ἐνταῦθα ὁ πόνος, καὶ τῇ ὀρχήσει καὶ τῇ ᾠδῇ.*

- 232, 10. wife. Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 19.
 232, 11. pedagogues. Cf. also Cic., *Ad Att.*, xii, 33.
 232, 15. 108. Mommsen, *Hermes*, iii, 46; Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 16.
 232, 26. high. Dressel, *BdI*, 1881, p. 14: D.M. | MINICIAE | MARCELLAE | FVNDANI F. | V.A.XII M XI D VII |. The urn found in the same vault with the inscription D.M. | STATORIAE | M.FIL. | MARCELLAE is apparently that of the mother who died before her daughter, because Pliny does not mention her. So also Lanciani, *Bull. comun. d. Roma*, 1881, pp. 23-25.
 232, 29. year. Rossbach, *Die röm. Ehe*, p. 417 ff.
 232, 31. marriage. Mommsen, *IRN*, 1609 = *CIL*, ix, 1817.
 232, 33. twelfth. Pomponius, *Digg.*, xxiii, 2, 4.
 232, 34. accused. Ulpian, i, ii, *de adulteriis*, *Digg.*, xlvi, 5, 13 § 8.
 232, 36. Cf. Appendix xviii.
 232, 38. Oribas., iii, p. 83, Daremberg.
 232, 40. provisions. Rossbach, *op. cit.*, p. 418. The age restrictions were first inserted in the *Lex Papia Poppaea*, a supplementary law more severe than the *Lex Julia*; Joers, *Ueber das Verhältniss der lex Julia de marit. ordinib. zur lex Papia Poppaea* (Bonn, 1882), pp. 6 and 10.
 233, 6. bridegroom. Ulpian, *Digg.*, xxiii, 1, 12.
 233, 27. provide. Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 14.
 233, 29. procurable. Horace, *Epp.*, i, 6, 36 sq.
 233, 31. bride. Juv., 3, 161.
 233, 33. support. Tac., *Agric.*, c. 6.
 233, 35. age. Ulpian, xvi, 1, 2; Gal., ii, 111, 286; Tertullian, *Adv. gent.*, 4.
 233, 36. *Quadratus*. Cf. Appendix xi, p. 70. Pliny, *Epp.*, vii, 24.
 233, 37. *Agricola*. 'At the end of 62 or the beginning of 63' (he was born in 40), Mommsen, *Hermes*, iii, 80, 4. Cf. Urlichs, *De vita et honoribus Agricolae*, p. 11.
 233, 38. *Tacitus*. Nipperdey, *Einkl. zu Tac. A.*, p. 5; cf., however, Urlichs, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
 233, 39. *Lucan*. Genthe, *De Lucani vita et scriptis*, p. 23.
 233, 40. *Ovid*. *Ovid, Trist.*, iv, 69.
 234, 1. husband. *Apulei., Met.*, 4, 26.
 234, 4. exceptions. Marriage (of a gladiator) at the age of 15, *CIL*, v, 2, 5933 = *Orelli*, 2572; at 17 years, *CIL*, iii, 1, 2868; *CIL*, vi, 3, 23,115; 18-19 years, *CIL*, v, 2, 7946; vi, 3, 21,474; 20-21 years, *CIL*, iii, 1, 2272; v, 1, 1074; vi, 3860; vi, 3, 19,172, 20,116, 21,714. *Ephem. epigr.*, iii, p. 50; *Paullin. Petrocord., Eucharist.*, 176-181. 22-23 years, *CIL*, v, 2, 7404; vi, 2160; 26 years, *CIL*, vi, 2256.
 234, 6. boys. Nissen, *Ital. Landesk.*, i, 412.
 234, 10. son-in-law. Tac., *Hist.*, iv, 5; Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 35.
 234, 12. child. Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 23, 8.
 234, 13. betrothed. Cf. Appendix xviii.

- 234, 14. intermediaries. Ulpian, *D.*, xxiii, 1, 18.
 234, 16. business. *Id.*, *D.*, i, 14, 3; cf. *Cod.*, v, 1, *de sponsalibus et arrhis sponsalitiis et proxeneticis*, and Cujac., *Observ.*, xi, 18.
 234, 19. celebrated. Cic., *Ad Quint. fr.*, ii, 6; Fest., ed. M., p. 343. Seneca, *Beneff.*, iv, 39, 3; Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 9; Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 53 (in turba sponsaliorum die vexatus). Tertull., *De idolol.*, 16. *Sponsalia* forbidden in Pisa on the anniversary of C. Caesar's death, *Or.*, 643 (i, 164, 5).
 234, 23. eager. Pliny, *H. N.*, ix, 117.
 234, 31. loan. Artemidor., i, 15; iii, 41; Martial, vii, 10, 14; poscit jam dotem filia grandis.
 234, 32. however. Gai., l. i, *ad l. Jul. et Pap.* (*D.*, xxiii, 1, 17).
 234, 33. know. Seneca, *De matrimo.*, in Jerome, *Ad Jovinian.*, i, p. 190 sqq.
 234, 40. Greece. Lehrs, *Populäre Aufsätze*², p. 112 f.
 234, 41. bride-gifts. *Digg.*, xvi, 3, 5; cf. *Cod. Just.*, v, 1-3; *Cod. Theod.*, iii, 5.
 235, 1. worn. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 514, 3; 517, 3.
 235, 23. return. On the engagement ring cf. Pliny, *H. N.*, xxviii, 12; Juv., 6, 25; *Digg.*, xxiv, 1, 36, 1. Cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, i², 41 f. Tertullian, *Apol.*, 6, and Clem. Al., *Paed.*, iii, 11 § 57, p. 287 P., mention a golden ring. Cf. Reifferscheid, *De Hercule et Junone diis Italorum conjugalibus*, *Adl.*, 1868, p. 356 and *lav. d'agg.* H. In Venice too in the sixteenth century the man gave his betrothed a golden ring as a pledge of faithfulness, Molmenti, *Vie privée à Venise*, p. 278.
 235, 11. larger. Pliny, *Epp.*, vi, 32.
 235, 12. jewelry. *Id. ib.*, v, 16, 7.
 235, 13. bridegroom. *Maximin. Jun.*, c. 1.
 235, 15. life. Persius, 2, 70, c. adn. Jahn, p. 138, and Marquardt, *Prl.*, i², 43, 12.
 235, 16. decked. Claud., *De vi cos. Honor.*, 523 sqq.
 235, 18. exposed. Roszbach, *Die röm. Ehe*, p. 278; Juv., 2, 129: segmenta et longos habitus et flammea sumit. In the following description I have only mentioned those details of the wedding ceremony for which there is express evidence for the period in question.
 235, 20. clients. Stat., *Silv.*, i, 2, 229 sqq.; Juv., 2, 132. Cf. on these *officia* Roszbach, *op. cit.*, note 920.
 235, 20. witnesses. Even in later times ten witnesses were usual, Marquardt, *Prl.*, i², 48, 3.
 235, 22. opened. Seneca, *Controv.*, vii, 21.
 235, 23. twigs. Stat., *ib.*, 231; Juv., 6, 239; Lucan, *Phars.*, ii, 354; Claudian, *Nupt. Honor. et Mariae*, 206 sqq. Cf. generally Apulei, *Metam.*, iv, 81 and Tac., *A.*, xi, 27.
 235, 25. sacrificed. Marquardt, p. 49 and 52. Cf. Karlowa, *Formen der röm. Ehe und manus*, p. 10; Sidon. Apoll., *Epp.*, ii, 10: novam nuptam nihil minus quam pulchrior pronuba decet; *Id. ib.*, i, 5 s.: cyclade . . . pronuba honoratur.
 235, 28. stands. Juv., 6, 79; cf. Heinrich's note and Tac., *A.*, xiv, 13.

- 235, 30. torches. Martial, xii, 42, 3.
 235, 31. bonfires. Statius, *loc. cit.*, 231. Cf. *Epithal. Laurentii*, in *Anthol. lat.*, ed. Riese, 742, l. 59.
 235, 32. songs. Rossbach, p. 340 ff.; Marquardt, p. 54.
 235, 32. threshold. Marquardt, p. 55, 11.
 235, 34. home. *Ibid.*, p. 52 f.
 235, 35. bride. Dio, xlviii, 44; Juv., 2, 120; Tac., *A.*, xi, 29.
 235, 39. regarded. Gell., ii, 24; Rossbach, p. 326.
 236, 5. Africa. Apulei., *Apol.*, 539.
 236, 13. daughters. Ovid, *Trist.*, 11, 501; cf. also Choric., *Apolo-gia des mimes*, ed. Ch. Graux, in *Rev. de philol.*, N.S., i (1877), p. 222 s.
 236, 16. ears. Varro, ap. Non., 247, 18 (*Sat. Menipp. vell.*, ed. Bücheler, ii, not in contradiction to Martial, x, 98, 3 and Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 32).
 236, 24. dower. Rossbach, p. 55.
 236, 30. senators. Marquardt, *Hdb. d. R. A.*, ii¹, n. 885.
 236, 33. Alcestis. Martial, iv, 75; ix, 30.
 236, 39. leave. Apulei., *Apol.*, 523.
 237, 1. freedmen. Martial, xii, 49; *CIL*, viii, 8993: *libertus et procurator patronae piissimae*.
 237, 4. Justus. *BdI*, 1856, p. 141, 4.
 237, 11. prince. Orelli, 639 = *CIL*, vi, 9449; cf. Borghesi, *Œuvres*, v, 296–298, and his annotation to Nipperdey's Tac., *A.*, vi, 40. *Videtur autem titulus, qui Lepidam non obscure reprehendit, post damnationem ejus positus esse, i.e. non statim post obitum Pudentis.* Mommsen, *CIL*, v, 2, p. 57*, no. 592*. Cf. also *CIL*, x, 3399 (procurator ejus).
 237, 17. cunning. Cic., *Pro Caecin.*, 5, 14.
 237, 24. managing. Martial, v, 61; on Aufidius Chius cf. Teuffel, *RLG*⁴, 328, 1.
 237, 38. crime. Seneca, *Controv.*, vii, 5 (20).
 237, 40. lover. Seneca, *De matrim.* (ed. Haase, iii, 429).
 238, 1. ladies. Firmicus Maternus, *De mathesi*, iii, 7, 9; 8, 7; iv, 6, 1 etc.
 238, 2. procurators. Jerome, *Epp.*, 54, 13; 79, 9; Lebas-Wadding-dington, ii, 243*; will of a woman sealed by her *φροντιστῆς καὶ κύριος*.
 238, 4. lineage. Martial, v, 37, 22 (conjugem) *superbam, nobilem, locupletem*. Cf. v, 17.
 238, 6. mastery. Horace, *Carm.*, iii, 24, 19.
 238, 7. wife's. Martial, xiii, 12.
 238, 9. million. *Id.*, xii, 75, 6.
 238, 10. intolerable. Juv., 6, 460; cf. 136 ss.
 238, 12. rule. Jahn ad Persium, 5, 169, p. 207.
 238, 16. book. Seneca, ed. Haase, iii, p. 434.
 238, 17. law-abiding. Martial, v, 75.
 238, 19. rivals. Tertullian, *Patient.*, c. 16.
 238, 21. demur. Jerome, *Epp.*, 16.
 238, 24. Callistus. Hippolyt., *Refut. haeres.*, ix, 12; Tertullian, *Ad uxor.*, ii, 8; cf. De Rossi, *Bull. di archeol. cristiana*, 1866, p. 26*.

- 238, 27. mistresses. Fabretti, *Inscr. dom.*, 290; Orelli, 3024-3031; *CIL*, x, 5920; *Bull. com.*, 1886, p. 229, 1267.
- 238, 28. legalized. Ulpian, l. xxxiv, *ad Sabin.*, *Digg.*, xxiii, 2, 13; cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, i², 77, 1; *CIL*, v, 2, 7768 (Genoa): patrono conjugue suo.
- 238, 34. repute. *CIL*, vi, 2, 15, 106.
- 238, 38. man. Orelli, 4649 = *CIL*, v, 1, 1071.
- 238, 40. Justinian. Ulpian, l. xlvii, *ad edict. D.*, xxxviii, 11, 1, un. § 1. Joers, *Verhältniss der lex Julia*, etc., p. 19 f.
- 238, 9. front. Cornel. Nep., *praef.*, 8.
- 239, 15. gradated. Cf. Naudet, *De la noblesse*, p. 100 s. On the title *femina clarissima* see vol. i, p. 133, and Appendix xii.
- 239, 18. consulars. *Elagabal.*, c. 4.
- 239, 20. acted. Ulpian, l. ii, *de censibus* (*Digg.*, i, 9, 12). Marcianus later obtained senatorial rank, as in 213 he was *Arvalis*. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 468, 4.
- 239, 24. rank. Dio, lxxix, 15.
- 239, 27. uncertain. Ulpian, l. ii, *de censibus* (*Digg.*, i, 9, 1) *CIL*, ii, 1174 (Hispani): FABIAE Q.F. H(adrianil?) LAE CONSV-ALARIS [f. senatoris uxori] SENATORIS SORORI SENATORIS MATRI. Hübner's restoration 'senatoris uxori' is wrong according to Ulpian. *CIL*, viii, 8993 (cf. *ib.*, 1435; Azafun in Mauret. Caesar.). Fabatiae Luci filiae Pollae Fabiae Domitiae Gelliolae consulari feminae lampadiferac N N libertus et procurator patronae piissimae. *CIL*, ix, 6414b (Asculi) Mariae Aurel. Violentillae Perpetui cons. viri (apparently L. Marius L. f. Maximus Perpetuus cos. ii a. 222) fil. consul. femin. cojugi Egnati Procul. cos. dec. et pleb. Ascul. ob sing. erga se amor. More often *ἡλική* is found in the Greek part of the empire (*CIG*, 3104, 3908, 4380 b2, 4774). Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 468, 3.
- 239, 30. held. *Elagabal.*, c. 4.
- 239, 30. ancient. Livy, v, 25; xxvii, 37; cf. Becker, *Topogr.*, n. 1247.
- 239, 35. beaten. Sueton., *Galba*, c. 5.
- 239, 38. nobody. Seneca, *De matrimonio*, ed. Haase, iii, p. 428, 49.
- 240, 1. priestess. Orelli, 3740, already compared by Henzen, *BdI*, 1846, p. 73, and Franz, *CIG*, iii, p. 748, with the inscription from Naples, *CIG*, 5838.
- 240, 35. ladies. Orelli, 805; cf. Henzen, iii, p. 82. Cf. Mommsen, *Epigraph.*, *Anal.*, 14 (*Ber. d. Sächs. Ges.*, 1850, p. 298) and *CIL*, i, 1343 (fragment from Cosa, where *matronae* and *magistrae* are mentioned).
- 240, 13. shoes. *Elagabal.*, *loc. cit.* (where after Symiamira there is a lacuna). On the *pilenta* and *carpenta* of the matrons cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 735.
- 240, 17. referable. *Aurelian.*, c. 49. Jerome, *Epp.*, 43 (*ad Marcellem*): matronarum quotidie visitetur senatus.
- 240, 23. honorarily. Huebner, *Comment. in hon. Mommseni*, p. 104 sqq., where the inscriptions of *stolatae feminae* are collected; cf. also Lebas-Waddington, *Asie mineure*, Additions,

- 1606 (Aphrodisias) : ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ἀδλίας Ἰουλίαν Ἀφρόδιαν ματρῶναν στολάδιαν. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 575 ff.
- 240, 28. *donna*. The oldest example of the form *domna* is in a *graffito* at Pompeii : ROGO DOMNA. De Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, 3 serie, ii (1877), p. 107.
- 240, 32. life. Juv., 6, 212 sqq.
- 241, 2. way. Seneca, *De matrimonio*, ed. Haase, iii, 429.
- 241, 11. modesty. Pliny, *H. N.*, xvii, 245.
- 241, 16. wives. Vellei., ii, 67.
- 241, 19. morals. Dio, liv, 16.
- 241, 23. overflowed. Horace, *C.*, iii, 6, 17 sqq.; cf. iii, 24, 20.
- 241, 28. Penelopes. Propert., iii, 32, 49 sqq.; 13, 15-24; cf. iii, 6, 25; iv, 12, 17.
- 241, 30. angry. Ovid, *Am.*, i, 8, 43; iii, 4, 37; iii, 19.
- 241, 38. relatives. Tac., *A.*, ii, 85; Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 35; cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, i², 79, 2.
- 241, 40. credulity. Seneca, *Controv.*, ii, 15, p. 172.
- 242, 1. faith. *Id.* *Consol. ad Helv.*, 16, 3. Cf. also *Ad Marc.*, 24, 3.
- 242, 4. fee. Cf. Marquardt, p. 78, 8.
- 242, 4. girls. Seneca, *De benef.*, i, 9, 3.
- 242, 9. old-fashioned. In the passage of Seneca, *De benef.*, iii, 16, 3, there is a lacuna apparently not yet noticed : quam invenies tam miseram, tam sordidam, ut illi satis sit unum adulterorum par . . . nisi singulis divisit horas (et non sufficit dies omnibus) nisi apud alium gestata est (?) apud alium mansit.
- 242, 14. slaves. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 13.
- 242, 17. no. Martial, iv, 71.
- 242, 19. spirit. Tac., *German.*, c. 19.
- 242, 22. youths. *M. Anton.*, c. 23.
- 242, 24. senators. Mommsen, *StR.*, ii², 125, 1.
- 242, 29. publicly. Dio, lxxvi, 16.
- 242, 31. cuckold. Salmas. ad Tertull., *De pall.*, p. 301 sq.; Huschke, *Anall. crit.*, p. 168 sq.
- 242, 36. marriages. In France in the first three years after the law of September 20, 1792, there were 27,000 divorces on the ground of incompatibility; Sybel, *Gesch. d. Revolutionss.*, iv, 12; cf. Taine, *Origines de la France contemp., révolut.*, iii, 108, 1.
- 242, 38. adultery. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 43.
- 242, 40. divorcing. *Id.*, *Tiber.*, c. 35.
- 243, 3. speculation. Martial, x, 41.
- 243, 3. counted. Seneca, *Benef.*, iii, 16, 2.
- 243, 7. years. Juv., 6, 223.
- 243, 8. divorce. Tertullian, *Apol.*, 6; cf. Martial, vi, 7.
- 243, 19. refused. Mommsen, *Abhandl. d. Berl. Acad.*, 1863, p. 461 (i, 27 f.), 462 f. (ii, 31-50); *CIL*, vi, 1527.
- 243, 22. reputation. Petron., c. 74.
- 243, 23. three. Cf. Ovid, *Trist.*, iv, 69 sqq., and on Pliny, Mommsen, *Hermes*, iii, 35.
- 243, 24. five. Marquardt, *Prl.*, i², 72; *CIL*, vi, 3, 18,659: tres uxores h[abui; eas] quidem dolui, set non sunt. Quam velim] modo quartaria sort[e] ductam su[perstitem habeam]; cf. the note.

- 243, 26. seventh. To this refers (according to Henzen, *BdI*, 1865, p. 252 ; Klotz, *Neue Jahrb.*, 1866, p. 366 = *CIL*, xiv, 2553) the following distich in the epitaph of one Secunda, wife of one Orbius Natalis (the urn is speaking) : Hic ego securis (mortuis) jaceo super omnibus una, Natalis quia nos septimus ussit amor. Otherwise interpreted by Wilmanns, *E. I.*, 575.
- 243, 28. profitable. Martial, x, 43. A man who poisoned four wives, iv, 69.
- 243, 29. Tullia. Marquardt, *op. cit.*
- 243, 31. Poppaea. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 45.
- 243, 31. Messalina. Schol. Juv., 6, 434.
- 243, 32. attempts. Martial, vii, 58.
- 243, 33. eight. *Id.*, ix, 78.
- 243, 33. suspected. *Id.*, ix, 15.
- 243, 36. Roman. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 66 f.
- 243, 37. lax. A rescript of Antoninus (Caracalla ?) acknowledges in the *Cod. Gregorian.*, xiv, 2 (in Augustine, *De conj. adult.*, ii, 7) : periniquum autem mihi videtur esse, ut pudicitiam vir ab uxore exigat, quam ipse non exhibet.
- 244, 2. debauches. Plutarch, *Praec. conjug.*, 16.
- 244, 6. liked. Juv., 6, 281 sqq.
- 244, 10. boat. Martial, xii, 58.
- 244, 15. steward. *Id.*, vi, 39 ; cf. i, 81 ; xii, 49, 4 ; Juv., 6, 331, 336 sqq. Petron., c. 45 and 126 ; *Digg.*, xlviii, 5, 24 and 33 ; *Philogel.*, 251. Similarly in Neapolitan society of the sixteenth century the women 'chiefly gratified their sensuality with slaves (specially Moors, but sometimes also Christian Bulgars or Circassians). They had accustomed themselves to regard these men as mere instruments of lust, with no wills of their own' ; Gothein, *Culturentwicklung Süditaliens*, pp. 411-413.
- 244, 22. prick. Juv., 6, 475-495 ; Ovid., *A.a.*, iii, 239-242. Cf. *Am.*, i, 14, 16-19 ; Martial, ii, 66.
- 244, 24. island. *Digg.*, i, 6, 2.
- 244, 25. murder. *Hadrian*, c. 18.
- 244, 25. crucify. Juv., 6, 219-223.
- 244, 38. verses. Cholevius, *Gesch. d. deutsch. Poesie*, i, 391.
- 245, 2. severe. Martial, x, 64.
- 245, 4. girls. Prop., ii, 6, 27-34.
- 245, 5. pictures. Seneca, *Controu.*, x, 5, 34, 14 ed. K. ; R. Rochette, *Peinture antique*, p. 263 ss. ; Marquardt, *StV*, iii², 71, 1.
- 245, 12. licentious. Rousseau, *Nouv. Héloïse*, p. v, l. 2.
- 245, 14. Tacitus. Tac., *Germ.*, c. 19. Ugly old women as train of a lady per convivia, porticus, theatra, Mart., viii, 79.
- 245, 20. Paris. Juv., 6, 87.
- 245, 22. circus. Stat., *Silv.*, iii, 5, 15.
- 245, 24. Ovid. Tertullian, *Spect.*, c. 25 ; *Id.*, *De cultu fem.*, c. 11 ; Clem. Alex., *Paedag.*, iii, 11 § 76, p. 298 Pott. : ἀναμύξ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν συνιδόντων ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλλήλων θέαν.
- 245, 26. bees. Ovid, *A.a.*, i, 93-100.
- 245, 30. Pliny. Tac., *A.*, xii, 56 ; Dio, lx, 33 ; Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxiii, 3, 63.
- 245, 37. clients. Juv., 7, 143. Cf. vol. i, p. 164.

R.L.M

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- 245, 41. maid. Juv., 6, 350; Dittricus, *De cathedris feminarum Romanarum*, p. 14 sq.
- 246, 2. visit. Apulei., *Metam.*, vi, 16; Plutarch, *Consol. ad uxorem*, c. 4, p. 619: *ἐλ μηδέποτε καλλωπισαμένη περὶ θέατρον ἢ πομπὴν κ.τ.λ.*
- 246, 5. spectacles. Prop., ii, 19, 9.
- 246, 6. resorts. Ovid., *loc. cit.*
- 246, 11. girl. Juv., 11, 201 sq.
- 246, 13. cushions. Ovid., *A. a.*, i, 135 sqq.
- 246, 15. hot. *Id.*, *Am.*, iii, 5.
- 246, 20. seen. Tertullian, *De spectac.*, c. 25.
- 246, 22. profligacy. Clem. Alex., *loc. cit.*
- 246, 32. sullied. Cyprian, *Ad Donat.*, p. 5, ed. Oxon.; Clem. Alex., *Paedag.*, iii, 11 § 77; P. E. Mueller, *Gen. aev. Theodos.*, ii, 64.
- 246, 36. gladiators. Tertullian, *De spect.*, c. 22, names quadrigarii, scenici, xystici, arenarii.
- 247, 1. games. Juv., 6, 78–113.
- 247, 5. disguise. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 45.
- 247, 6. citharist. *Pertin.*, c. 13.
- 247, 7. dear. Juv., 6, 73–77 (solvitur his magno comoedi fibula etc.); Martial, xiv, 215.
- 247, 12. husband. Juv., 6, 379–397.
- 247, 18. partner. Seneca, *Qu. nat.*, vii, 32, 3.
- 247, 23. passed. Dio, lvii, 21: *ὅτι τὰς τε γυναῖκας ἤσχυον καὶ σπάρσεις ἤγειρον*. Tacitus (*A.*, iv, 4) mentions an expulsion of *histriones* in the following year (23). His words 'foedo per domos temptari' may allude to similar immorality. If he refers to the same expulsion, he must have quoted inexactly from the speech of Tiberius, as it would seem from the mention of the 'Oscum ludicrum' as if only or primarily actors of *fabulae Atellanae* were involved.
- 247, 26. Messalina. Dio, lx, 22, 28, 31; Tac., *A.*, xi, 4, 36.
- 247, 30. Domitian. Sueton., *Domitian.*, c. 3, 10; Dio, lxvii, 3; Aurel. Vict., *Caes.*, 11, 7; *Epit.*, 11, 1.
- 247, 33. pantomimes. *M. Anton.*, c. 23.
- 247, 37. betrayed. Galen, *De prognosi ad Epig.*, p. 457, K., xiv, 631 (cf. 626).
- 248, 5. modesty. Quintilian, *Inst. or.*, i, 2, 8: *omne convivium obscenis canticis strepit, pudenda dictu spectantur*. He was thinking perhaps of the *vasa adulterii caelata*, Pliny, *H. N.*, xiv, 140, or of pastry in obscene shapes (e.g. Martial, xiv, 69). The latter was also common in the Middle Ages (Baudrillart, *Hist. d. luxe*, iii, 462). I have not been able to see Rochholz, *Gebildbrot*.
- 248, 8. *alm's*. Juv., 11, 162 sqq.; cf. Jahn, *Ber. d. Sächs. Ges.*, 1851, p. 168. Jerome, *Adv. Helvid.*, 20 (ed. Vallarsi, ii, 228) says of Christian banquets: *ingrediuntur expositae libidinum victimae et tenuitate vestium nudae impudicis oculis ingeruntur*.
- 248, 10. present. Plutarch, *Qu. conv.*, vii, 8, 4, 4.
- 248, 12. Circus. Ovid, *A. a.*, i, 229 sqq.
- 248, 15. assenting. Pliny, *H. N.*, xiv, 141 (for 'marito' read 'mariti', which, however, is probably only a gloss).

- 248, 18. parties. Cf. Appendix xix.
- 248, 26. seem. *Epp.*, 16, 241 sqq., 225 sqq.; 17, 75-90.
- 248, 28. men. Marquardt, *Prl.*, i², 301; cf. *e.g.* ibis ut accumbas, Ovid, *Am.*, i, 4, 16.
- 248, 28. indecent. Marquardt, *StV*, iii², 46, 4.
- 248, 33. customs. Valer. Max., ii, 1, 2.
- 248, 35. sexes. It is at least doubtful whether Tac., *A.*, xvi, 34, refers to such an assembly. It is said there of Thræsea who was awaiting his sentence: *illustrium virorum feminarumque coetus frequentes egerat*. I know of no other mention.
- 248, 37. gardens. Ovid, *A. a.*, i, 67 sqq., 491 sqq.; iii, 387 sqq.; *R. A.*, 627; Prop., ii, 23, 5; iii, 32, 11.
- 248, 37. page. Martial, xi, 73, 6.
- 248, 38. mistress. Ovid, *Am.*, ii, 2, where the name Bagoas signifies a eunuch.
- 248, 38. hold. Ovid, *A. a.*, ii, 209; cf. *Am.*, iii, 11, 17.
- 248, 39. walked. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 2, 98: *custodes, lectica, cini-fiones, parasitæ*; Juv., 6, 359.
- 249, 3. absolute. Dio, lvii, 15: *σκιμποδίῳ καταστέγῳ αἱ τῶν βουλ-ευτῶν γυναῖκες χρῶνται*. There are instances at various periods of women who were not of senatorial rank using litters, see Lipsius, *Elect.*, i, 19.
- 249, 5. days. Reifferscheid, *Sueton. vell.*, 357; Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 43.
- 249, 6. Domitian. Sueton., *Domit.*, c. 8.
- 249, 9. fixedly. Plutarch, *De curios.*, c. 13, p. 522 A.
- 249, 12. tyrannous. Seneca, *Beneff.*, i, 9, 3; *De remed.*, 16, 7.
- 249, 14. position. Clem. Alex., *Paedag.*, iii, 4 § 27, p. 269 P.
- 249, 14. carriages. Cf. vol. i, p. 20 and Appendix vi.
- 249, 15. drove. Ovid, *Am.*, ii, 16, 49; Prop., v, 8, 23.
- 249, 20. Coan. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², p. 493. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 2, 101.
- 249, 23. centuries. Alw. Schultz, *Höf. Leben. z. Z. d. Minnesinger*, i, 190 (second half of the thirteenth century); Baudrillart, *Hist. d. luxe* (Court of Isabeau de Bavière); Falke, *Deutsche Trachten- und Modenwelt* (1858), i, 67, 213 f., 278, 284 f., cf. 297 f.; ii, 200 (in the Thirty Years' War), 253 f. (in the second half of the seventeenth century), 311 (*à la grecque* and *à la sauvage*); cf. 322 ff.
- 249, 25. Mme. Tallien. Louandre, *Revue des Deux mondes*, 15 Mai, 1876, p. 313; Lacroix, *Directoire, Consulat, Empire*, p. 33; cf. p. 83 (*à la sauvage*).
- 249, 26. Lulli. E. v. d. Brüggén, *Polens Auflösung*, p. 320.
- 249, 29. imponderability. Lacroix, *ibid.*, p. 498.
- 249, 30. historians. Prop., iv, 13, 1-14.
- 249, 34. modern. Cf. vol. ii, p. 173 ff.
- 249, 38. drilled. Juv., 6, 246-267; cf. 421; Martial, vii, 67.
- 249, 39. carousals. Juv., 6, 429 sqq.; Seneca, *Epp.*, 95, 20.
- 249, 40. pleaded. Juv., 6, 242-245. I do not see the slightest reason to believe that this is an exaggeration, as Geib does (*Criminalprocess*, p. 519), on the ground that women did not possess the right of bringing actions at law, for all that was needed was a man of straw.

- 249, 41. Juvenal. Juv., 2, 53 (in the speech he places in the mouth of Laronia): *luctantur paucae, comedunt colyphia paucae*.
- 250, 4. world's. Juv., 6, 398-412.
- 250, 12. Caligula. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 23.
- 250, 14. say. *Id.*, Aug., c. 84.
- 250, 18. benefits. Julian, *Or.*, 2, p. 155 CD.
- 250, 22. Domna. Philostrat., *Vitt. sophist.*, ii, 30.
- 250, 28. justified. Juvenal, 4, 208.
- 250, 32. quaestorship. Seneca, *Ad Helv.*, 19, 2.
- 250, 33. Poppaea. Josephus, *A. J.*, xx, 11, 1.
- 250, 38. librarianship. *CIL*, vi, 2131 and 2132; cf. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 267n.
- 250, 40. Rome. Epictet., *Diss.*, iii, 7, 13.
- 250, 41. sons. Seneca, *ib.*, 14, 2.
- 251, 2. signed. Zangemeister, *Ephem. epigr.*, i, p. 51, 154.
- 251, 7. Piso. Tac., *A.*, ii, 55.
- 251, 9. 39 A.D. Dio, lix, 18.
- 251, 17. armies. Tac., *A.*, iii, 33.
- 251, 19. havoc. Juv., 8, 128; cf. vol. i, p. 122; Martial, ii, 56.
- 251, 23. father. Quintilian, i, 1, 6.
- 251, 24. chaste. Martial, xii, 97.
- 251, 27. specious. Ovid, *A. a.*, ii, 281; *Anthol. Gr.*, ed. Jacobs, iv, p. 275 (*Adesp.*, 721c. epitaph of one Messia: ἡλικίῃ μορφῇ φρεσὶ Μούσαις σωφροσύνῃ τὴν Ἐν πᾶσιν πρέψασα).
- 251, 32. Octavia. Plutarch, *Poplic.*, c. 17 extr.
- 251, 34. fainted. Verg., ed. Ribbeck (ed. min.), p. xxviii, 1.
- 251, 41. Germanicus. Cichorius, *Rom und Mytilene*, p. 56 ff.
- 252, 3. learned. Servius ad Verg., *Bucol.*, 3, 20; if this statement, coming as it does from a confused traditional source (Teuffel, *RLG*⁴, 225, 2), is trustworthy.
- 252, 4. poet. Ovid, *Trist.*, iii, 7; see note on l. 41, below.
- 252, 5. Statius. Stat., *Silv.*, ii, 7, 83.
- 252, 7. Pliny. Tac., *A.*, iv, 53; Pliny, *H. N.*, vii, Ind., vii, 46.
- 252, 10. oratory. Schol. Juv., 6, 434.
- 252, 13. equal. Teuffel, *RLG*⁴, 401, 7. One 'Firmia Philologis quae et Julia', *CIL*, vi, 2, 15,053, perhaps acquired this *cognomen* from her literary erudition.
- 252, 22. love. Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 19.
- 252, 25. deadened. Ovid, *A. a.*, iii, 479.
- 252, 30. influence. Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 16, 6.
- 252, 32. marriage. Cf. vol. i, p. 231.
- 252, 35. language. Lucret., iv, 1160 sqq.
- 252, 36. intolerable. Juv., 6, 185 sqq.; Martial, x, 68.
- 252, 38. Sapphos. Lucian, *De mercede cond.*, 36.
- 252, 41. critic. Ovid, *Trist.*, iii, 7. Lines 12 and 45 show that Perilla stood in a filial relation to Ovid, and it is not impossible that she was his twice married daughter mentioned in *Tr.*, iv, 10, 75; but more probably she was a daughter of his third wife by a former marriage (cf. *Tr.*, iii, 7, 3).
- 253, 3. Horace. Haupt, *Hermes*, v, pp. 32-34. Cf. Teuffel, *Studien*, 365 ff.
- 253, 4. compared. Propert., ii, 3, 19.

- 253, 5. magpies. Pers., *Prolog.*, 13.
 253, 7. gifted. Martial, vii, 69.
 253, 11. unprudish. *Id.*, x, 35 and 38.
 253, 13. inscribed. *CIG*, 4725, 29, 30; cf. 31, 4739-41.
 253, 13. pride. Letronne, *Rec. des inscr.*, ii, pp. 350-367.
 253, 18. wisdom. *CIG*, 5904; cf. Appendix xii.
 253, 35. nothing. Juv., 6, 434-456, according to the scholiast referring to Statilia Messalina, cf. p. 252 of vol. i.
 253, 36. life-wish. Martial, ii, 90, 9; xi, 19: Quæris cur nolim te ducere, Galla? Diserta es. Saepe soloecismum mentula nostra facit. Under Nero lived Pamphila of Epidaurus (Suidas) or Egypt (Phot.), daughter of the learned Soteridas, and wife of the learned Sokratidas, authoress of σύμμικτα ἱστορικὰ ὑπομνήματα in 33 books, now lost, much used by Diogenes Laertius. Suid., s., παμφίλη. Phot., *Bibl. cod.*, clxxv. Gell., xv, 17 and 23.
 253, 41. regrets. Seneca, *Caes. ad Helv.*, 17, 4.
 254, 2. logic. Muson. Ruf., in the *Exc. s. ms. Flor. Joan. Damasc.* ap. Stob., *Florileg.*, ed. Meineke, iv, 222, 38 sqq.
 254, 4. similarly. Lactant., *Inst.*, iii, 25; Wendland, *Quaest. Musonianæ* (Berol. 1886), p. 23, 3.
 254, 6. have. Stob., ed. M., iv, p. 322.
 254, 8. indispensable. *Id. ib.*, p. 216.
 254, 13. exorcisms. Plutarch, *Conjug. praec.*, c. 18, p. 145.
 254, 20. ill-consequence. *Id.*, *Pomp.*, c. 55; cf. Drumann, *RG*, ii, 50.
 254, 22. publication. Drumann, *RG*, vi, 324, 51. Cf. Cic., *Ad Att.*, xiii, 21, 5.
 254, 25. Aereus. Seneca, *Ad Marc.*, 4 and 5.
 254, 26. dedicate. Plutarch, *Poplic.*, c. 17 extr.; cf. vol. i, p. 251.
 254, 30. science. Dio, lxxv, 15. If the address to a female admirer of Plato in Diog. Laert., iii, 47 is borrowed with other matter from a collection of lives of the philosophers composed in the first century under Nero or one of the Flavian emperors (Usener, *Epicurea*, p. xxxiii), the unknown lady addressed must also have lived in this period.
 254, 30. rhetoricians. Philostrat., *Vitt. soph.*, ii, 30.
 254, 32. Tyana. *Id.*, *Apoll. Tyan.*, ed. K., p. 3, 2.
 254, 33. equally. Martial, vii, 69, 4. See vol. i, p. 253.
 254, 36. Plato. *De theriac. ad Pison.*, p. 458 K.; xiv, p. 218; cf. *StRE*, i², 1762, 44.
 254, 37. dedicates. Diog. Laert., iii, 47; cf. Menag., here and on the title of the work.
 254, 40. books. Horace, *Epod.*, 8, 5.
 155, 1. Utopia. Epictet., *Fragments*, 53 ed. Duebner.
 255, 4. apprehension. Lucian, *Fugitivi*, 18.
 255, 15. mantle. *Id.*, *De merc. cond.*, 32 and 36.
 255, 26. Icaria. Porphyry, *Vita Plotini*, c. 9 and 12: τινα πόλιν κατὰ Καμπανίαν γεγενῆσθαι λεγομένην ἀλλως δὲ κατηριπωμένην ἤξειον ἀνεγείρειν καὶ τὴν περὶ ἡ χώραν χαρίσασθαι οἰκισθεῖσιν τῇ πόλει. *Id.* Richardus Schoene perquam probabiliter refert ad Pompeios, *CIL*, x, p. 1006.
 255, 30. initiated. *Id.*, *Ad Marcellam*, c. 1-9.

- 256, 8. woman. Orelli, 4859; cf. the praise of Turia, vol. i, p. 264 of this work.
- 256, 12. offensive. Plutarch, *Conjug. praec.*, 19.
- 256, 20. temple. Juv., 6, 511 sqq.
- 256, 28. assuage. *Id.*, 6, 532 sqq.; Tibull., i, 3, 23 sq.; cf. Marquardt, *StV*, iii², 77 ff.; Boissier, *Relig. rom.*, i, 402-406.
- 256, 33. condemned. Marquardt, *op. cit.*
- 257, 1. goddess. Joseph., *A. J.*, xviii, 3, 4.
- 257, 3. Juvenal. Juv., 9, 22-26.
- 257, 9. Tertullian. Cf. Ebert, *Tertullians Verhältniss zu Minucius Felix*, and Hartel in *Ztschr. f. öst. Gymn.*, xx, 348-368.
- 257, 8. brothels. Minuc. Fel., *Octav.*, p. 67, Muralt.; Tertullian, *Apol.*, c. 15.
- 257, 12. sweeping. *Id.*, *De pudic.*, c. 5.
- 257, 15. Cynthia's. Prop., ii, 19 (iii, 11), 10.
- 257, 16. Jewish. Ovid, *A. a.*, i, 75 sqq.
- 257, 20. religion. Joseph., *A. J.*, xx, 8, 11; 11, 1; *Vit.*, 3.
- 257, 22. Julii. Tac., *A.*, xvi, 6.
- 257, 27. practices. See vol. i, p. 203.
- 257, 31. appropriated. Joseph., *A. J.*, xviii, 3, 5; cf. Tac., *A.*, ii, 85.
- 257, 33. Sabbath. Martial, iv, 4.
- 257, 38. women. Athenagor., *Suppl.*, 11.
- 257, 38. slaves. Orig., *C. Cels.*, iii, 44.
- 257, 39. East. *Acts App.*, xvii, 4 (in Thessalonica), 12 (at Beroea), 34 (Damaris).
- 258, 8. attachments. Vol. i, p. 262. Cf. Tac., *A.*, xvi, 10; cf. my *programm*, *De Pomponia Graecina superstitionis externae rea*, in *Acad. alb. Regim.*, 1868, iv. When I wrote this I was ignorant of the discovery of the inscription of Pomponius Graecinus. That 'superstitio externa' does not necessarily mean Christianity is proved by the expression 'alienigena sacra' (Seneca, *Ep.*, 109, 22) which are the same rites of which Tacitus speaks in *Ann.*, ii, 85, and which are also called 'superstitio' by both authors. Similarly the words 'externa sacra' in Pliny, *H. N.*, ii, 21 refer to Egyptian and Jewish religion. V. Schultze (*Die Katakomben*, p. 315) inclines to the view that Pomponia Graecina was a Jewish proselyte.
- 258, 12. converts. De Rossi, *Roma sotteranea*, ii, 345s.; cf. tav. xlix, no. 27. On De Rossi's repeatedly expressed supposition (*R. s.*, i, 314, ss.) that Pomponia was identical with the eldest Lucina of the legend, I express no opinion, any more than upon his attempt to maintain the credibility of the tradition concerning a certain Plautilla, alleged sister of the consul Clemens, in the acts of SS. Domitilla, Nereus and Achilleus (cf. my *programm* mentioned above, p. 6 f.).
- 258, 14. Christian. Sueton., *Domit.*, c. 15.
- 258, 17. practices. Dio, lxvii, 14. Euseb., *Chron.*, l. ii, ad Ol. 218; *Hist. eccl.*, iii, 18. See Pliny, *Epp.*, vii, 3 and Jerome, *Epp.*, 86 (27) ad Eustoch. virg.
- 258, 25. Christian. Cf. vol. i, p. 64.
- 258, 26. converted. Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*, v, 21.

- 258, 28. protection. Tertullian, *Ad Scapul.*, c. 4.
- 258, 29. lectures. Tillemont, *Hist. des emp.* (ed. 1712), iii, 1, 290, 452; Gibbon, *Hist.*, ch. xvi, 115.
- 258, 32. clothing. Tertullian, *De cultu fem.*, ii, 4; cf. Commodian., *Instr.* (238 A.D.), ii, 178.
- 258, 36. preference. Hippolyt., *De refutat. omn. haeres.*, ix, 12: ἐπέτρηνεν . . . ἔνα ἔχειν . . . σύγκοιτον εἰτε οἰκίτην εἰτε ἐλεύθερον, where De Rossi, *Bull. di arch. crist.*, 1866, p. 238, proposes (probably rightly) ἀπελεύθερον instead of ἐλεύθερον. In the Christian epitaph: D. m. Flaviae Sperandae conjugii sanctissimae . . . Onesiforus c. f. cojux benemerenti fecit, he believes he recognizes a [unique] example of such a marriage, explaining 'c. f.' as 'clarissimae feminae' (*Bull. crist.*, 1880, pp. 67-69). But these letters in the position where they stand cannot mean this; perhaps they mean (as Hirschfeld suggests) 'cum filiis'. The latter interpretation is supported by another Christian inscription, *CIL*, xi, 1, 4025: castissime femine Numisie Paule—Agrippa maritus cum filis benemerenti fecerunt. Hirschfeld, however, recognizes an example of the marriage of a Christian woman of rank with a Christian of humble birth (*Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Narbonens. Provinz, in Westd. Ztschr.*, 1889, pp. 21, 57) in the inscription *CIL*, xii, 675 (Arelate, third century): Hydriae Tertullae c(larissimae) f(eminae) conjugii amantissimae et Axiae Aelianae filiae dulcissime Terentius Museus hoc sepulcrum posuit (where the husband's standing is inferred from the *cognomen* Museus, and the absence of a *praenomen* and of a title).
- 259, 1. name. De Rossi, *R. s.*, i, p. 309; ii, p. 366 s.
- 259, 3. family. *Ibid.*, i, p. 3158. A Christian inscription: Luria Januaria c. f. Caelio Felicissimo v. e. conjug. kariss. is (according to De Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, 1880, p. 318. and 1018.) of about the third century.
- 259, 11. incite. Orig., *C. Cels.*, iii, 9 and 55, ed. Klotz.
- 259, 18. divorce. Justin., *Apolog.*, ii, 2 (Euseb., *H. eccl.*, iv, 17).
- 259, 23. runs. De Rossi, *Epigrafe mutila di strano senso*, in *Bull. crist.*, 1877, 11888, Cf. *ib.*, 1879, p. 24, 1880, p. 65 (apparently from the time immediately after the religious edict of Milan): quod filia mea inter fideles fidelis fuit, inter alienos (i.e. paganos) pagana.
- 259, 26. pagans. Tertullian, *Apolog.*, c. 3.
- 259, 28. community. *Id.*, *Ad uxorem*, 2, 3; *De corona*, c. 13. Baur, *Das Christenth. . . der drei ersten Jahrh.* (second ed.), p. 479.
- 259, 37. death. Porphyry, ἐκ λόγιων φιλοσοφίας, ap. Augustine, *C. D.*, xix, 23. 'Pessima in speciosis? ferro juncta mors' has not yet been adequately explained. Nauck, *Ztsch. f. Alterthumsw.*, 1855, p. 120, believes that the oracle translated by Augustine was already corrupt and meaningless at this point, perhaps δεινοτάτη ἐν εἰδεσσι σιδηρόδετος κτάνε μοῖρα instead of an original δεινοτάτη νηλής τε, or some words to that effect. G. Wolff, *Porphyry de philos. ex oraculis haer. ll. vell.*, 1858, p. 158, restores the end of the oracle thus: ὅν τε δικασπολίσαιον ὕπ'

- ὀρθονοῦσιν ἅλονται Δεινὸν ἐν ἐμφανέεσσι σιδηρόδετος μόρος ἔκτα, where ἐν ἐμφανέεσσι means 'on a hill'. Cf. also Cyprian, *Εφρ.*, 24.
- 259, 38. belief. Strabo, i, 7, p. 297: πάντες γὰρ τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας ἀρχηγούς οἰοῦνται τὰς γυναῖκας.
- 260, 4. upper. Cf. vol. i, pp. 69 and 184 ff.
- 260, 9. consulted. Juv., 6, 553-591.
- 260, 14. horoscope. Sext. Empir., 739, 29, quoted by Hippolyt. *Refutat.*, iv, 4.
- 260, 21. astrology. Augustine, *Conf.*, vii, 6, 8.
- 260, 29. wine. Cf. Horace, *Epod.*, 5; Ovid, *Am.*, i, 8; Propert., iv, 5; Martial, ix, 29; Lucian, *Dial. meretr.*, 4.
- 260, 32. mentions. Plutarch, *Conjug. praec.*, 5 and 48. Cf. also O. Hirschfeld, *De incantamentis et devinctionibus amatoriis apud Graecos Romanosque* (Regimonti, 1863), p. 17.
- 260, 36. Julian. Zeller, *Philos. d. Gr.*, iii, 2, 611, 5; Suidas, s. 'Ιουλιανός.
- 260, 38. enchantment. Apulei., *Apol.*, c. 27.
- 261, 2. East. In Lucian's *Philopseudes* appear a Libyan (performing sympathetic cures, 7), a Babylonian τῶν Χαλδαίων (as medical conjurer and snake charmer, 13), a Hyperborean (magician, 13), a Syrian ἐκ τῆς Παλαιστίνης, who cures demoniacs (Joseph., *A. J.*, viii, 2, 5: μέχρι νῦν παρ' ἡμῶν ἡ θεραπεία πλείστον ἰσχύει), an Arab (magician, 17).
- 261, 12. catacombs. Lucian, *Philopseud.*, 3, 4.
- 261, 4. linen. *Id. ib.*, 16; cf. Apulei., *Metam.*, ii, 39; Philostrat., *Apollon. Tyan.*, i, 8.
- 261, 19. position. Lucian, *Alexandr.*, 3, 11, 39, 42.
- 261, 26. incredible. Philostrat., *Vitt. soph.*, ii, 5.
- 261, 33. guilt. Tac., *Agric.*, c. 6.
- 261, 34. light. *CIG*, iii, 6184.
- 262, 2. plunged. Pliny, *Epp.*, vi, 24.
- 262, 7. tears. Tac., *A.*, vi, 10.
- 262, 9. faithless. Vellei., ii, 67. See vol. i, p. 241 of this work.
- 262, 12. husbands. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 3; *A.*, xv, 71.
- 262, 26. last. Tac., *A.*, xv, 10 sq.
- 262, 31. manner. *Id. ib.*, xvi, 30 sqq.
- 262, 36. death. *Id. ib.*, xv, 64.
- 263, 1. survived. *CIG*, iii, 5757. Franz's supposition that Cassius Philippus belonged to the followers of Egyptian and Jewish superstition, who were banished by Tiberius in the year 19 to Sardinia, is without foundation. Vincent. Crespi, *De Atiliae Pomptillae monumento Calaritano*, in *Ephem. epigr.*, iv, 1881, pp. 484-494, with Tab. i and ii; concludes (p. 488) from the writing that it dates from the second century, which view is supported by the line in the inscription 7, 4: 'tempore tu, dixit, vive, Philippe, meo,' apparently a reminiscence of Mart., i, 36, 6: vive tuo, frater, tempore vive meo.
- 263, 3. substitution. Cf. also Aristid., *Or.*, 27, p. 351s., and vol. iii, p. 160. It might also be the sacrifice of an animal; thus a woman at Ngaus in Numidia who dreamed that her sick husband could be kept alive by the sacrifice of a proxy: 'anima

- pro anima, vita pro vi[ta], sanguine pro sanguine', offered a lamb; *CIL*, viii, 4468.
- 263, 6. children. *Anthol. Gr.*, iv, p. 256, *epigr. adesp.*, 658.
- 263, 10. records. Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 16.
- 263, 38. Greek. *CIL*, x, 5920: L. Cominio L. f. L. n. Pa(l). Firmo pr. q. aer. et al[im.] Oppiae Sex et C. l. Eunoeae. l. 3: Accipite hanc animam numeroque augete sacrato Arria Romano et tu Graio Laodamia.
- 263, 41. deprive. Tac., *A.*, xvi, 34.
- 263, 14. returned. Mommsen, *Ind. Plin.*
- 264, 23. men. Orelli, 4636 (Rome).
- 264, 25. shews. *Ib.*, 4860 = *CIL*, vi, 2, 10,230. Cf. Rudorff, *Ueber die Laudation der Mordia*, in *Abhandl. d. Berl. Acad.*, 1868, pp. 226-235.
- 264, 34. industrious. Lanificio.
- 264, 39. honourable. Mommsen, *Abhandl. d. Berl. Acad.*, 1863, p. 461. Praise of Turia, i, 30-34.
- 265, 3. incomparable. *CIL*, vi, 1398: veteris sanctitatis matronae et lectissimae pudentissimaeque conjugii; 1404: matronae et uxori supra omnia exempla; *CIL*, viii, 78: exemplum sanctimoniae conjugalis; *CIL*, ix, 1913: que antiqua vita vixit fidei ac diligentiae gravis(simae); *CIL*, vi, 3, 22,657: a virginitate sine ulla macula; 23,282: sine ullo crimine.
- 265, 11. spun. Orelli, 4848 = *CIL*, vi, 3, 15,346, according to Mommsen, *RG*, i⁵, 58.
- 265, 12. rare. Or., 2742 (= Fabr., 31, lix, wife of a centurion); 4530 (wife of one Marcus Aurelius Augg. lib.); Grut., 748, 4; 1141, 1; Reines., 742; *BdI*, 1862, p. 220 (Puteoli) . . . univirae . . . virginali suae pro castitate; (Virginii, *CIL*, iii, 1, 2217; cui virgo nupsit, *CIL*, xiv, 1641); *CIL*, ii, 738: vix. ann. xxxii uno contenta marito; *BdI*, 1871, 71 (univira); *CIL*, v, 2, 7763; Wilmanns, 224 = *CIL*, xiv, 963; *Inscr. de l'Algérie*, 1987: d. m. Geminia Ingenua univira conservatrix dulcissima mater omnium hominum parens omnibus subveniens innocens castissima praestans rarissima v. annis lxxxix o. v. (?) b. p.; *Ephem. epigr.*, v, 531, 1205: univira unicuba; *CIL*, vi, 2, 14,404: In cineres versa est tumuloque inclusa: cicadae Diceris coniunx una fuisse viri (i.e. a cicada per aetatem canente, Mommsen); Mart. x, 63, 7, 8; *Anthol. Gr.*, iv, 252, *adesp.* 641, 5: μονόγαμος θνήσκω; *ib.* 649, 5: μόνω ἐπιζώνην ἀνέρι λυσαμένη; *CIG*, ii, 2471 (Thera): Κάπρος τὰν ἰδίων γυναῖκα Σωσίδα ἀφηρώξεν τὰν μόνανδρον; Garrucci, *Cimit. degli antichi Ebrei*, p. 68. Cf. Letronne, *Recherches*, p. 374. Cf. Minuc. Fel., c. 26, 5; Tertullian, *Exh. ad cast.*, 13; *De monogam. extr. Ad ux.*, i, 7; *H. Aug.*, *Trig. tyr.*, c. 32; Jerome, *Adv. Jovin.*, i, 6. Cf. also Marquardt, *Prl.*, i², 42, 6.
- 265, 15. suck. *CIL*, vi, 3, 16,592.
- 265, 16. nurse. Orelli, 2677 = *CIL*, vi, 3, 19,128.
- 265, 19. beloved. *CIL*, i, 1103 = Marini, *Inscr. Alb.*, p. 100 (Romae): OSSA HEIC SVNT | VRBILIAE PRIMI MIHI ME PLVRIS | DECESSIT AN. XXIII CARISSVMA | SVIS.
- 265, 22. remarry. Orelli, 4623 (Pisa).

- 265, 24. husband. *CIL*, viii, 8123 (Rusicade).
 265, 26. done. Henzen, 7388 (Beneventum); *BdI*, 1862, p. 62 : ego tu mi quod facere dibuisti, mi qui faciat nescio.
 265, 28. lie. *CIL*, ii, 3596 (Ondara, Tarraconensis).
 265, 29. another. Or., 4746 (wrongly suspected) = *CIL*, v, 1, 3496 (Verona).
 265, 31. awaiting. Orelli, 4662 (Narbo); *CIL*, vi, 2, 11,252 : Domine Oppi marite, ne doleas mei (*sic*) quod praecessi, sustineo in aeterno toro adventum tuum.
 265, 32. endured. Orelli, 4626 sq. (Rome, Pola).
 265, 33. ill word. Orelli, 4530 (Rome).
 265, 36. unwearied. *CIL*, v, 2, 7066 (Turin) : quae cum eo vixit sine litibus et jurgis; *CIL*, x, 8192 (Puteoli) : stomachum mihi null(um) umquam fecit nisi quod mo(rtua est); *CIL*, vi, 3, 15,696 : sine verbo scabro; 18,393 : sine ullo stomacho; 22,423 : sene stomacho; 18,434 : sine ulla bile; 18,918 : sine bile.
 265, 37. desire. *CIL*, vi, 3, 15,317 : cujus nulla(m) cupiditate(m) est expert(us).
 265, 39. gold. Henzen, 7386 (Sassina); similarly *CIL*, vi, 3, 19,175.
 266, 1. followed. J. Schmidt, *Add. ad CIL viii*, in *Ephem. ep.*, v, p. 303, 365.
 266, 2. similar. *CIL*, vi, 3, 17,690.
 266, 13. heavy. Orelli, 7382 (Rome).
 266, 21. length. Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 20. Cf. vol. i, p. 260.
 266, 24. still. Orelli, 4803.
 266, 26. night-time. Orelli, 4575 = *CIL*, vi, 3, 18,817.
 266, 35. noble. *CIL*, iii, 2, p. 922 ad 754 (Desjardins, *AdI*, 1868, p. 50).
 266, 38. pious. Orelli, 4639 = *CIL*, vi, 2, 11,602 (Rome). Cf. Buecheler, *Carm. Saturn.*, Bonn, 1876, 4, p. 15. (According to Gudius the letters are of the time of Trajan or Hadrian.) *CIL*, v, 2, 7116 : casta pudica decens sapiens generosa probat(a) Some Christian epitaphs : De Rossi, *Inscr. christ.*, 62 (341 A.D.) : amatrix pauperorum et operaria; *Ib.*, 98 (348) : miri (*sic*) bonitatis atq. sanctitatis; *Ib.*, 99 (348) : mire industriae adque bonitatis.

VI. MEANS OF COMMUNICATION.

- 268, 5. now. Heinrich Stephan, *Das Verkehrsleben im Alterthum*, in *Raumers hist. Taschenbuch*, 4. Folge, 9. Jahrg., 1868, p. 120.
 268, 11. century. Näher, *Die röm. Militärstrassen und Handelswege in Südwestdeutschland, Elsass-Lothringen und der Schweiz*, 1887, p. 33, says that the Middle Ages always maintained a high standard in road-making in these countries (and in Germany generally), and that the roads (many of which fell into decay in the Thirty Years' War) were constructed, ballasted and paved in the same fashion as those of the Romans (p. 42 f.). This no more contradicts the passage in the text than does the fact that the Roman roads were surpassed by those of the nine-

- teenth century (F. Berger, *Ueber die Heerstrassen d. röm. Reichs*, i, 1882, p. 20).
- 268, 15. traffic. Heinrich Stephan, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
- 268, 26. things. Newton and Pullan, *Discoveries at Halicarnassus*, i, p. 695.
- 269, 2. concentrated. Philo, *Leg. ad. Gai.*, p. 566 sq. The verbal correspondence in the praises of the beneficence of Augustus found in Philo and Suetonius, *Aug.*, c. 98 (per illum se vivere, per illum navigare, libertate atque fortunis per illum frui) is plausibly attributed by Lumbroso, *L'Egitto*, p. 159s., to hymns, which were sung to him in Alexandria.
- 269, 6. united. Plut., *De fort. Roman.*, c. 2; cf. Ranke, *Weltgesch.*, iii, 1, 53.
- 269, 9. prosperity. Appian, *praef.*, 6.
- 269, 11. countries. Philo, *loc. cit.*, p. 552 sq.
- 269, 12. pirates. Epictet., *Diss.*, iii, 13, 9.
- 269, 13. majesty. Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, xiv, 2.
- 269, 14. anchorage. Plut., *De fort. Roman.*, c. 2.
- 269, 16. eternity. Pliny, *op. cit.*, xxvii, 2 sq.
- 269, 25. locked. Aristid., *Εἰς βασιλέα*, p. 66 Jebb.
- 270, 2. bloom. Aristid., *Encom. Romae*, p. 224, 18 J. etc.
- 270, 14. remedy. Tertullian, *De anima*, c. 30. (For 'saxa panguntur' I suggest 's. franguntur'.)
- 270, 21. Rome. Stephan, *op. cit.*, p. 101.
- 270, 25. culture. *Id. ib.*, p. 118 f.
- 270, 35. at breast. Read 'abreast'.
- 270, 39. polish. Procop., *B. Goth.*, i, 14. Cf. the description in Statius, *S.*, iv, 3, 40 sqq. of the very solidly built and carefully paved *via Domitiana*.
- 271, 1. cost. Marquardt, *StV*, ii², 92 (in the year 123-124: *CIL*, ix, 6072, 6075). 'One German geographical mile of high road costs in Westphalia, where stone is cheap, an average of 30-50,000 thalers (£4,500-7,500) without the cost of the ground' (H. Delbrück, *Preuss. Jahrb.*, March 1885, p. 358). Five Roman miles = 0.998 German geographical mile, therefore with similar conditions the cost is almost the same.
- 271, 4. feet. Before the Latin graves only 3.87 m. The width of the raised side-walks varies very much, according to the proximity of the monuments to the kerbstone, and ranges from 2.15 to 3.50 m. Before the Latin graves it is 3.20 m. For all these measurements I am indebted to the courtesy of Herr F. O. Schulze.
- 271, 4. smaller. Cf. Nissen, *Pompejan. Studien*, p. 539. The road before the Herculaneum gate of Pompeii is at its narrowest about 9 metres broad (including the footways), the Via Valeria 7.25, the Salaria 6.1; *ibid.*, p. 526 f. In the Alpine passes a pavement of only 2-2½ metres is found. Near Avenches and Delémont the paved carriage-way of the Roman road was 2½ metres wide; the same at Ettlingen; the roads from Windisch to Regensburg (Switz.), and Breisach to Ehl 3, Strassburg to Zabern 4 metres. Therefore 'the Roman military roads were not broader than 4 metres, the trading roads 3 metres, with 3

- and 2 metres pavement respectively.' J. Näher, *Die röm. Militärstrassen u. Handelswege in Südwestdeutschland, Elsass-Lothringen und der Schweiz* (1887), pp. 37-42.
- 271, 5. track. The wheel tracks 1·4 m. wide in the Roman roads over the Alps were probably made by wagons (see Näher, p. 38).
- 271, 9. Gregory. Hübner, *Sixtus V.*, i, 84.
- 271, 11. to-day. Cf. Näher, pp. 37 f. and 42, also F. Berger, *Ueber die Heerstrassen des röm. Reichs*, i (1882), p. 19 f.
- 271, 14. gravelled. Plutarch, *Gracch.*, c. 7; Cic., *Ad Quint. fr.*, iii, 1, 2, 4; Strabo, iv, 1, 42 (he calls the main road between Spain and Italy *θέρους μὲν εὐβατον . . . χειμῶνος δὲ καὶ ἔσρος πηλώδη καὶ ποταμόκλυστον*) in Berger, *op. cit.*, p. 6. Näher says (p. 42) that the stone pavement of the Roman roads was 0·7 to 0·8 metres thick. A breach in the road from Breisach to Ehl 'shows that the ballasting is about 0·4 m. deep, and that the uppermost layer consists of coarse pieces of wacke'. Cf. also the description of the covering of the road from Augst to Mayence, p. 39.
- 271, 16. started. Stephan, *op. cit.*, p. 101 ff. I repeat in the text the essential part of his lucid description, verbally or summarily.
- 271, 19. Messana. *Itinerar.*, p. 490, 1 Wess.
- 271, 25. Puteoli. *Id.*, p. 493, 13: so stadia ∇ CCL cannot be right: ∇ CCCL would suit. The numbers in the Itineraries still await critical examination.
- 271, 28. hours. *Itinerar.*, p. 495, 5.
- 271, 35. Berenice. The Itineraries mention only the latter.
- 272, 5. hour. *Itin.*, 330, 10.
- 272, 38. miles. *It. Burdigal.*, pp. 563-571.
- 273, 10. imperial. Mommsen, *RG.*, v, 67.
- 273, 20. Cenis. Nissen, *Ital. Landesk.*, 158, 3.
- 273, 21. Simplon. See Kiepert, *Lehrb. d. allg. Geographie*, §§ 323, 343; *CIL.*, v, 6649; H. Meyer, *Die röm. Alpenstrassen in der Schweiz*, in *Mitth. d. antiq. Ges. in Zürich*, xiii (1861), p. 127.
- 273, 41. Quarnero. Nissen, 157-166; Strabo, iv, p. 208; vii, p. 314.
- 274, 3. rutted. A. B. Meyer, *Die alten Strassenzüge des Obergailthales (Carinthia)*, 1886 (*Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxxiii [1887], pp. 217-219).
- 274, 10. Empire. Nissen, p. 166.
- 274, 15. unable. Planta, *Das alte Rätien*, p. 91. On the column on the Julier cf. *Mitth. d. antiq. Ges. in Zürich*, xv, p. 64.
- 274, 19. force. Julian, *Orat.*, 2, p. 72 A.
- 274, 21. twenty-two. Nissen, p. 154.
- 274, 31. used. Ammian., xv, 10, 4 and 5.
- 274, 34. giddy. Strabo, iv, p. 204.
- 275, 21. out. Bergier's estimate (repeated by Stephan, *op. cit.*, p. 118) of 51,000 Roman miles is too high; for he evidently added the principal amounts in the Itineraries, without the deductions which are necessary on account of the repeated mention of the same portions of the road on the longer routes.
- 275, 24. For '680 geographical' read '3,800 English.'
- 275, 26. For '1,000' read '5,750'.

- 275, 32. miles. Stephan, *op. cit.*, p. 118. For '1824' read '10,500'.
- 275, 35. century. The first turn-pike road in Germany was built in 1753 between Oettingen and Nördlingen. The Prussian state had in 1816 about 2,300 English miles of made roads (Treitschke, *Deutsche Gesch.*, iii, 464).
- 276, 8. oases. *CIL*, viii, p. 275 sq.
- 276, 10. inscription. *Ib.*, 10, 230.
- 276, 14. bridge. Maltzan, *Drei Jahre im Nordwesten von Afrika* (1868), iii, 96.
- 276, 15. Emperors. *CIL*, viii, p. 859.
- 276, 20. mule-paths. Hesse-Wartegg, *Tunesien*, p. 160 f.
- 276, 24. Constantinople. I do not know Dr. Constantin Jirecek's book, *Die Heerstrasse von Belgrad nach Constantinople und die Balkanpässe* (Prague, 1877).
- 276, 35. traced. Jirecek, *Archäol. Fragmente in Bulgarien*, iii, *Römische Strassen*, in *Archäol. epigr. Mittheil.*, x (1886), pp. 85-104.
- 276, 38. water-supply. Strabo, v, p. 235.
- 277, 1. wonderful. Stephan, p. 80. Cf. vol. ii, p. 257 f. Hadrian also caused a branch-road to be made to Hypata from the great road from Thessalonica to Athens. U. Köhler, *Mitth. d. archäol. Inst. in Athen*, i, 350 f.
- 277, 3. road-building. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 269.
- 277, 10. vanished. Schnars, *Erlebnisse auf einer Reise durch die Provinz Basilicata*, in *Ausland*, 1847, No. 261 ff.; cf. 1843, No. 317 ff.
- 277, 11. kilometer. *Im Neuen Reich*, 1875, No. 30 (*Die sicilische Frage*).
- 277, 13. *fiumari*. Nissen, *Ital. Landeskunde*, i, 398.
- 277, 17. guide. *Id.*, *Pompej. Studien*, 538.
- 277, 19. coast. *Id. Ital. Landeskunde*, i, 365, 5.
- 277, 26. Braga. Stephan, p. 113.
- 277, 37. fields. Baumgarten, *Gesch. Spaniens*, vol. i, p. 87.
- 278, 3. Rome. The inscriptions are in *CIL*, xi, 1, 3285-3292. Cf. Henzen, *Alterthümer von Vicarello*, in *Rhein. Mus.*, N. F., x, 1853, p. 20 ff. The Vicarello lists of stations are older than the *Itinerarium Antonini*, which is of Diocletian's time (p. 31); the *Itin.* No. 3 is nearest in point of time to the *Itin. Antonini*, No. 1 is the oldest, and No. 2 is intermediate (p. 34). The fourth, which was discovered later than the others, was edited with them by Garrucci, *Dissertaz. archeolog.* (1864), p. 160 sqq. The route is here divided into sections: Ab Hispali Cordybae, Ab Cordu a Tarracone, A Tarracone Narbone, A Narbone Taurinos.
- 278, 5. offerings. Preller, *R. M.*, ii³, 144, 3; Lersch, *Gesch. d. Balneologie* (1863), p. 45 ff.; *Bonner Jahrb.*, 1864, p. 135 f. Roman coins found near (not in) the spring of Pyrmont, *ibid.*, 1865, p. 53 f. Cf. Genthe, *Alterthümer aus d. Fürstenthümern Waldeck und Pyrmont* (1877), p. 16 ff. Roman coins in the fountain of Nîmes, Stark, *Städteleben in Frankreich*, p. 98 f.; in the sulphur spring of Fumades, *CIL*, xii, p. 360; in the spring of Baden near Zurich, Keller, *Mitth. d. antiq. Ges. zu Zürich*,

- xii, 298. Hübner, *Der Fund von Procolitia* (votive offerings for the spring of Conventina by Hadrian's Wall in Britain), *Hermes*, xii (1877), 257 ff. *Id.*, *Die Heilquelle von Umeri* (near Santander), *Archäol. Ztg.*, xxxi (1874), p. 115, pl. ii.
- 278, 25. barrenness. *Itinerar.*, ed. Pinder et Parthey, p. 549, 564, 572, 577, 585, 604, 606, Wess.
- 278, 29. heroes. *Ib.*, p. 524 sqq.
- 278, 30. post. Marquardt, *StV*, i², 558 ff.
- 278, 32. couriers. Aristid., *Or.*, xxiv, p. 304 Jebb: οὔτε γὰρ οἱ τὰς ἀγγελίας κομίζοντες τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἡμᾶς γε παρήλθον.
- 278, 35. apart. So throughout the *Itinerar.* *Hierosolymitanum*. Sulpic. Sever., *Dial.*, i, 4: Betleem . . . ab Alexandria . . . xvi mansionibus abest. S. *Silviae Aquil. peregrinatio ad loca sancta*, ed. Gamurrini (*Bibl. storico-giuridica*, iv [1887]), c. 47: et hic locus (Edessa) de Jerusalem vicesima et quinta mansione est (and so often).
- 278, 39. Gaul. *CIL*, v, 2108. Libanius, ed. R., i, 530, 15, who says that Julian (at Nicomedia) was σταθμοῖς πλεοσύν ἢ τριακοσίοις distant from Gallus at the latter's death (near Pola), hardly intended to make anything like a precise statement.
- 279, 11. Severus. Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 98 ff.
- 279, 17. ready. Stephan, *op. cit.*, p. 42; Marquardt, *StV*, i², 560, 8.
- 279, 20. vague. Henzen, *BdI*, 1875, p. 5; but cf. Mommsen, *StR*, ii³, 1030, 3, also Appendix ix.
- 279, 28. *jumentarii*. Marini, *Atti degli frat. Arv.*, p. 775, and *Iscriz. alb.*, p. 106, confuses them with the imperial *jumentarii*, a *jumentis* (*superjumentarius*, Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 2). Were the *junctores jumentarii* of some Italian high roads, who set up inscriptions to Caracalla in 214 and 226 together with the *mancipes* of the roads (Lanciani, *Bull. mun. d. R.*, 1884, p. 8, 709 and 710) different from the *jumentarii*?
- 279, 29. guilds. Cattaneo, *Equeiade*, p. 83ss.; Marini, *loc. cit.*
- 279, 32. *cisiarii*. Fabretti, *Inscr. ant.*, p. 9, n. 179.
- 279, 32. Republican. *CIL*, 1129.
- 279, 36. accidents. Eunap., *Aedes.*, 61: διὰ δὲ εὐδαιμονίαν ἐπὶ τετρακύκλου ὁχήματος ἐφέρετο· συμβαίνει δὲ πολλὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῖς ὁχήμασι πᾶθῃ.
- 279, 40. Trypho. Vergil, *Catal.*, 8.
- 280, 2. suits. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 39.
- 280, 3. Mediolanum. Marini, *loc. cit.*
- 280, 3. Ariminum. Tonini, *Rimini*, p. 369s.
- 280, 4. Sempronii. Henzen, 4093.
- 280, 4. Tuder. Orelli, 2413.
- 280, 45. Praeneste. *CIL*, i, 1129 = xiv, 2874.
- 280, 5. Cales. Henzen, 6983.
- 280, 5. Pompeii. *Ib.*, 5163. It is doubtful whether the *juven(es) cisiiani* of Ostia (*CIL*, xiv, 409, 15/16) were *cisiarii*.
- 280, 9. gates. See note on Appendix vi.
- 280, 19. Hercules. Seneca, *Apocol.*, c. 6, 1.
- 280, 26. six days. The distance from Antioch to Constantinople in the *Ilin. Antonini*, p. 139, 1 Wess.; cf. the note by Parthey

and Pinder, p. 65. Liban., *Or.*, 21, i, 685 R. Cf. H. F. Stobbe, *Z. Chronol. der Briefe des Plinius*, in *Philol.*, 1870, p. 381 ff.

- 280, 30. eight days. Plutarch, *Caes.*, c. 17.
 280, 31. miles. *Itin. Anton.*, Wess., p. 289, 3, Via Aurelia.
 280, 32. journey. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 57.
 280, 37. required. Cic., *Pro Rosc. Am.*, c. 7, 19.
 280, 39. Clunia. Plutarch, *Galba*, c. 7.
 281, 1. counts. Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, xix, 4. Spanish ships came also to Pyrgi, the harbour of Caere (Martial, xii, 2, 1).
 281, 5. under. From Tarraco to Caesaraugusta 163 miles (*Itin. Anton.*, p. 451W.) thence to Clunia 169 (p. 441).
 271, 7. made. Cervantes, *La fuerza de la sangre* (*Novelas ejemplares*).
 281, 10. four days. *Hist. Aug., Maximin.*, ii, c. 25.
 281, 11. ridden. From Rome to Ariminum (*Itin. Anton.*, p. 126) 216; thence to Bononia (p. 126) 78; thence to Aquileia (p. 281) 217, a total of 511 mi. If one went from Ariminum to Ravenna (33 mi.), thence by water to Altinum, and thence by land again to Aquileia (62 mi., p. 126), the journey by land alone amounted to 311 miles. Casaubon, *op. cit.*, erroneously reckons 200 miles in 24 hours for this journey, and adds: magna sana diligentia, sed non incredibilis; constat hodiernos veredarios Roma Lutetiam saepe diebus sex septem commearae, quae longe major contentio est. *De mortib. persecutor.*, c. 47, (Maximinus) una nocte atque una die . . . Nicomediam alia nocte pervenit, cum locus proelii abesset milia CLX. Gibbon, ch. xiv, assumes that Maximin's flight from Heraclea to Nicomedia took only 24 hours; but according to the text, which is imperfect, it must have been more.
 281, 14. Galba. Tac., *H.*, i, 56.
 281, 16. minutes. Zangemeister, *Westd. Zeitschr.*, 1887, p. 240, 17.
 281, 16. Belgica. Tac., *H.*, i, 12, 18, 55; cf. iv, 59.
 281, 18. Rome. Marquardt, *StV*, i², 267 and 274, 2.
 281, 20. hours. All in Chambalu, *De magistratibus Flaviorum* (Bonn, 1882), p. 8. Statius, *Silvae*, iv, 112 sqq. says that by the new *via Domitiana* one could reach Baiae in one day from Rome (Qui primo Tiberim relinquit ortu, Primo vespere naviget Lucrinum); he must refer to the journey of a courier, for the distance of 141 *millia* (Rome to Sinuessa 108, thence to Puteoli 33) could not otherwise be covered in about 14 hours.
 281, 22. Chatti. So *Valer. Maxim.*, v, 5, 3. Pliny's statement (*Nat. hist.*, vii, 84) that this part of the journey was made in carriages is very unlikely. The distance from Mainz-Castell measured along the oldest roads by Hofheim, Bilbel, Friedberg, Butzbach, Frankenberg, Stadtberge (Marsberg), Haaren, Neuhaus (Elsen), through the Dörenschlucht to the Weser, amounts to 202 Roman miles, to Varenholz 203, to Rehme 207', Zangemeister, *op. cit.*, p. 238, 13.
 281, 31. nine. Cic., *Ad Brut.*, ii, 4, 1, where Sigonius has rightly emended 'a. d. VI Id.' to 'a. d. III Id.' O. E. Schmidt, *De opp. a Cassio et ad Cassium datis* (1877), p. 11.
 281, 32. ten. Ovid, *Epp. ex Pont.*, iv, 5, 3:

Quum gelidam Thracen et opertum nubibus Haemon
et maris Ionii transieritis aquas,
luce minus decima dominam venietis in urbem,
ut festinatum non faciatis iter.

The *Itin.* counts from Rome to Capua 136 miles (p. 612, otherwise p. 108, where the result is 124 mi.), thence to Beneventum 33 (p. 111), thence to Tarentum 157 (p. 120), thence to Brundisium 44 (*ib.*), a total of 370 mi. Strabo, vi, 3, p. 50, gives 75 (360); so also Pliny, *H. n.*, ii. 244.

281, 32. five. Martial, x, 104:—

Illinc (Tarracone) te rota tollet et citatus
altam Bilbilin et tuum Salonem
quinto forsitan essedo videbis.

Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii, 734, 5 supposes change of carriages at the chief stations. There were eight *mansiones* from Tarraco to Bilbilis. *Itin.*, pp. 391 and 437W.

281, 34. 317. Cic., *Ad Fam.*, xi, 6, 1; Bardt, *loc. cit.*, p. 14.

281, 39. Megara. Procop., *Bell. Vand.*, i, 18.

281, 40. foot. *Id.*, *B. Goth.*, i, 15; ii, 78.

281, 41. 136. *Id.*, *B. Goth.*, i, 14.

282, 2. three days. Philostrate, *Apollon.*, vii, 41.

282, 5. on foot. Bardt, *l. c.*, p. 8 sq.

282, 6. undertaken. *Digg.*, ii, 11, 1 (Gaius, l. i, ad edictum provinciale): Vicena milia passuum in singulos dies dinumerari praetor jubet, etc. *Ib.*, xxii, 1, 13, § 2: τῷ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει οὐκ ἐστὶν, ἐν ᾗ κεχειροτόνηται, ἢ ἐν τῷ ἐκατὸν μιλίων, πεντήκοντα ἡμερῶν ἔδωκεν ὁ νομοθέτης προθεσμίαν· τῷ δὲ ὑπὲρ ἐκατὸν μιλία διατρίβοντι καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν δεῖν ἀριθμείσθαι εἰκοσι μιλία ἐκέλευσε, καὶ ἔξωθεν κ.τ.λ. If an ἀνὴρ εὐδῶνος could walk from Antioch to the sea (120 *stadia*) and back, starting at sunrise and returning in the afternoon (ἀμα ἡλῶ κινήσεις ἐνθένδε, κομῶι τι τῶν ἐκείθεν ἐτι μεσημβρίας ἐστώσης, Liban., ed. R., i, 286, 22–24), it was an extraordinary feat.

282, 10. century. Hübner, Sixtus v, p. 84. In the middle of the sixteenth century the journey from Paris to Venice took 9 to 15 days; but in 1509 a despatch from Blois reached the Doge's palace in 7 days (Yriarte, *Vie d'un patricien de Venise au XVI^e siècle*, p. 104), and according to Casaubon (see n. on 281/10–11) couriers even reached Paris from Rome in 6 to 7 days. Light carriages usually took 20 days from Rome to Milan (Montaigne, *Journ. d'un voy. en Italie*, iii, 179); in the eighteenth century they covered only 30 Italian miles a day (Volkmann, *Nachrichten von Italien*, i, 81 f.).

282, 12. Ravenna. Strabo, v, 217. Theoderic's food allowance for 5 days, for the ambassadors of the Heruli travelling by ship from Ticinum to Ravenna (Cassiodor., *Var.*, iv, 45) was therefore a very generous one, and one cannot with Nissen, *Ital. Landesk.*, i, 213, estimate the duration of the voyage from it.

282, 14. home. Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.*, 548M.

282, 15. abroad. *Acts of Apostles*, xxviii, 11.

282, 15. march. Veget., v, 9.

- 282, 19. consecration. *CIL*, i, p. 387b.; Preller, *RM*, ii³, 381 f.
- 282, 20. trolleyed out. Horace, *Carm.*, i, 4, 2.
- 282, 24. pirates. Pliny, *N. h.*, ii, 125.
- 282, 27. Ovid. Ovid, *Trist.*, i, 11, 3 and 7.
- 282, 29. passage. Philo, *In Flacc.*, 535 M.
- 282, 33. shipwrecked. Cic., *Ad Fam.*, xvi, 9.
- 282, 37. Cyclades. Petron., c. 114: *procurrere piscatores parvulis expediti navigiis ad praedam rapiendam*. Cf. Herzberg, *Gesch. Griechenl.*, ii, 494, 19. Julian, *Or.*, vii, p. 210 A.: *διαφέρουσι γὰρ οὗτοι τί . . . τῶν ἐπ' ἐρημίας ληστευόντων καὶ κατειληφόντων τὰς ἀκτὰς ἐπὶ τῷ λυμάλνεσθαι τοῖς καταπλέονσι*.
- 282, 39. branded. Scribon. Largus, 90, 231.
- 282, 40. Manilius. Manil., *Astr.*, v, 402, 435.
- 282, 41. lure. Ulpian, *lib. I Opinionum* (*Digg.*, xlvii, 9, 10).
- 283, 1. coasts. Dio Chrys., *Or.*, 7, 105 M.; cf. p. 109 M.
- 283, 4. alms. Tertullian, *Apolog.*, c. 30. Cf. also vol. i, p. 19 of this work.
- 283, 5. scarcely. Strabo, iii, 2, p. 145 (*ἡ νῦν εἰρήνη τῶν ληστηρίων καταλυθέντων*). Cf. Pliny, *N. h.*, ii, 117. But Cass. Dio, xxxvi, 3, says: *οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἕτε ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐγένετο, οὐδ' ἂν παύσαιτό ποτε, ἕως ἂν ἡ αὐτὴ φύσις ἀνθρώπων ᾗ*.
- 283, 9. Egypt. Josephus, *B. J.*, iii, 9, 2.
- 283, 10. Ocean. Pliny, *N. h.*, vi, 26, 101.
- 283, 11. Black. Strabo, xi, 2, 12.
- 283, 12. nights. Zenob., *Proverb.*, v, 32: *οὐ νυκτικλοεῖς· ἐπὶ τῶν μὴ ἀκριβῶς τι ποιούντων κ.τ.λ.*
- 283, 13. stars. Petron., c. 102.
- 283, 14. worship. *Id.*, c. 99.
- 283, 14. voyages. Gell, ii, 21; Philostrate., *Apoll. Tyan.*, vii, 10, p. 133, ed. K.
- 283, 16. evening. Philostrate., *Apollon.*, vii, 16, p. 137, ed. K. Departure from Puteoli in the morning, *ib.*, viii, 14, p. 164, ed. K.
- 283, 16. Puteoli. *Id.*, vii, 17 p. 138.
- 283, 18. Cicero's. Cic., *Pro Manil.*, c. 12.
- 283, 19. days. Galen, *Meth. med.*, v, 92 (K. x, 393).
- 283, 20. a day. Aemilius Paullus says in Appian, *Rom. hist.*, ix, 17: *ἐς μὲν Κερκύραν ἐκ Βρεντεσίου διαπλεύσαι μίας ἡμέρας κ.τ.λ.* Cic., *Ad Att.*, iv, 1, 4: *Pridie nonas Sext. Dyrrhachio sum profectus . . . Brundisium veni nonis Sext.* A rough passage is described in Gell., xix, 1.
- 283, 21. Aulona. *Itin. Anton.*, p. 497, Wess.
- 283, 23. Hydrus. Cic., *Ad Fam.*, xvi, 9, 1.
- 283, 24. South. *Acts Apost.*, xxviii, 13.
- 283, 26. Messina. Philostrate., viii, *Apoll. T.*, 14, p. 167, ed. K.
- 283, 27. Elis. Pausan., vi, 26, 3: *κεῖται δὲ τετραμμένη τε πρὸς Σικελίαν καὶ ὄρμον παρεχομένη ναυσὶν ἐπιτήδειον, ἐπὶ νειον δὲ οὐσα Ἑλλείων, ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς Ἀρκάδος τὸ ὄνομα εἰληφε*.
- 283, 29. Syracuse. Philostrate., *loc. cit.* (*ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ ἐκβολὰς*).
- 283, 29. Puteoli. *Id. ib.*, viii, p. 133, ed. K.
- 283, 33. Cenchreae. Ships were dragged over the Isthmus Leucadiensium (Kiepert, *Hdb. d. Geogr.*, 264, 2): Julius Hyginus in

- Cinnae propemptico*, quoted in Charis., *Inst. Gr.*, i, ed. Keil, p. 134, 12.
- 283, 35. completed. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 270; cf. *Bull. de corresp. Hellén.*, 1884, Avril et Mai.
- 283, 36. venture. Philostrate, *Vitt. soph.*, ii, 6, ed. K., p. 237.
- 283, 37. Propertius. *Propert.*, iii (iv), 21, 19.
- 283, 38. Tomi. Ovid, *Trist.*, i, 10 and 11.
- 283, 40. Andros. Philo, *In Flacc.*, p. 539 M.
- 283, 41. Asia. For 'of Little Asia' read 'to Asia Minor'.
- 284, 4. Megara. Galen, v, 48.
- 284, 13. all. Arist., *Or.*, 24, p. 305 sq.; J. Masson, *Coll. Hist.*, ed. Dindorf, iii, p. lxi, wrongly believes that the journey from Corinth to Miletus took a fortnight. On the time of the journey cf. Waddington, *Vie du rhéteur Aelius Aristide*, in *Mém. de l'Inst.*, 1867, pp. 203-268.
- 284, 14. Zeuxis. *CIG*, 3920: Φλόδιος Ζεύξις ἐργαστής (negotiator) πλεύσας ὑπὲρ Μαλέαν εἰς Ἰταλίαν πλοῖας ἐβδόμηκοντα δύο.
- 284, 21. winds. Pliny, *Epp. ad Tr.*, 26.
- 284, 36. Troas. Galen, xii, 171 sq.
- 285, 1. imperial. Chambalu, *De magistr. Flav.* (Bonn, 1882, p. 8), supposes, perhaps rightly, that the couriers travelled an average of 160 miles in 24 hours.
- 285, 7. sold. Aristid., *Or.*, 24, p. 305 J.; cf. Masson, *Coll. Hist.*, ed. Dindorf, iii, p. liii.
- 285, 10. Ostia. Ruinart, *Acta mar.*
- 285, 11. false. It is regarded as fictitious by Dierauer, *Gesch. Trajans*, in Büdinger, *Unters. z. Röm. Kaisergesch.*, i, 171, and also by Asbach, *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxii (1882), p. 40. Keim, *Rom und das Christenthum*, p. 529 ff., refers the so-called epistles of Ignatius, which are the basis of the older (shorter) *Acta*, to the age of Commodus (p. 535, cf. 539).
- 285, 15. sailed. Ovid, *Trist.*, i, 10.
- 285, 17. took. *Id.*, *Epp. ex P.*, iv, 11, 15.
- 285, 19. Pisa. Orelli, 643 (Cenotaph. Pisan.).
- 285, 23. sail. Diodor., iii, 34.
- 285, 26. nine. Pliny, *N. H.*, xix, 1.
- 285, 32. suggestion. Philo, *In Flacc.*, p. 521 M. The author of the Homilies of Clement embarks at Portus for Judaea, but is driven by the weather to Alexandria (*Homil.*, i, 8). Thence εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἀπέπλευσα καὶ δεκάπεντε ἡμερῶν εἰς Καισάρειαν ἀπήνησα τὴν Στράτωνος. Unless the numeral is corrupt, the author has perhaps transferred to the last stage a statement referring to the whole journey from Portus by Alexandria to Judaea.
- 285, 34. Syria. Philo, 583 M. Jerome's journey from Rome by Portus, Regium, Malea, the Cyclades, Cyprus, Antioch to Jerusalem lasted from August till the winter; thence he travelled to Egypt, the convents of the Nitria and Bethlehem. Jerome, *C. Rufin.*, iii, 22, ed. Vallars; ii, 551.
- 285, 35. required. *Digg.*, xlv, 1, 122 § 1: Callimachus mutuum pecuniam nauticam accepit a Stichos servo Seji in provincia Syria civitate Beryto, usque Brentesium, idque creditum esse in omnes navigii dies ducentos sub pignoribus et hypothecis,

- mercibus a Beryto comparatis et Brentesium perferendis et quas Brentesio emturus esset et per navem Beryto [read -um] invecturus etc.
- 285, 37. letter. Bardt, *Quaest. Tull.*, p. 30; Cic., *Ep. ad Fam.*, xii, 10, 12.
- 285, 40. Syria. Cic., *Ad Att.*, xiv, 9.
- 285, 1. 107. Mommsen, *Epigraphische Analecten*, Ber. d. Sächs. Ges., 1850, 2, 61.
- 286, 3. considered. Bardt, *Quaest. Tull.*, p. 30; Cic., *Ad Fam.*, xvi, 21, 1; xiv, 5, 1.
- 286, 4. Brundisium. Bardt, *loc. cit.*; Cic., *Ad Fam.*, xvi, 9, 2.
- 286, 6. twenty-nine. Bardt, *loc. cit.*, p. 33; Cic., *Ad Qu. fr.*, iii, 1, 13, 17, 25; *Ad Att.*, iv, 17, 3.
- 286, 6. Africa. Bardt, *loc. cit.*, p. 22; Cic., *Ad Fam.*, xii, 25, 1.
- 286, 7. Senate. Pliny, *N. H.*, xv, 74.
- 286, 13. mild. *Id. ib.*, xix, 1.
- 286, 14. Marseilles. Sulp. Sever., *Dial.*, i, 1.
- 286, 16. fast. *Id. ib.*, 1, 3 (quinto die portum Africae intravimus . . . libuit animo adire Carthaginem); i, 6. The voyage from Alexandria to the British Isles in 20 days, in Leontius, *Vita S. Joannis eleemosynarii*, 13, 15 (*Acta Sanctorum*, published at Brussels, 1863, iii, p. 115, 23 Jan.), is there described as supernaturally fast.
- 286, 18. describes. Vitruv., x, 9, 7.
- 286, 22. lowest. Marcian, *Peripl. mar. exte.*, ii, 5, *Geographi minor.*, ed. Mueller, i, 543.
- 286, 23. stadia. Marcian, *Epitome peripl. Menipp.*, *ib.*, p. 568.
- 286, 24. average. Scylax., *Peripl.*, 69, *ib.*, p. 58.
- 286, 30. stadia. Herodot., iv, 86; cf. ii, 149.
- 286, 31. testify. Aristid., *Or.*, xlviii, p. 360.
- 286, 40. day. Diodor., v, 16 and 17.
- 287, 3. Strabo. Strabo, x, 4, 5. Cf. Stephan, *op. cit.*, p. 50 n.
- 287, 4. Britain. Strabo, iv, 1, 14.
- 287, 10. equator. O. Peschel, *Gesch. d. Erdkunde*, p. 18, n. 1. (after James Smith, *St. Paul's Voyage and Shipwreck*, 1880, p. 181 ff., Diss. iii, *On the Ships of the Ancients*).
- 287, 17. mantle. Also if one wished to travel fast one obviously preferred the horse to the carriage; Apulei., *Florida*, iv, 12. Cf. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 6, 105, and the relief of Aesernia, *Bull. Nap.*, iv, pl. i, no. 4.
- 287, 19. slave. Lucian, *Luc.*, 1: ἀπῆεν ποτὲ εἰς Θερραλλαν . . . ἱππος δὲ με κατήγε καὶ τὰ σκεῖα καὶ θεραπείων ἠκολούθει εἰς. Dio Chrysost. (*Orat.*, 40, p. 486 M.) wandered, it is true, οὐ μόνον δοῖκος καὶ ἀνέστιος, ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ ἀκόλουθον ἕνα ἐπαγόμενος.
- 287, 20. carriage. Seneca, *Ep.*, 87.
- 287, 37. baggage. Vol. i, p. 117. In the nineteenth century arrangements for travel reminding one of those of the ancients are of course exceptional. The wife of Marshal Ney ('elle avait pris l'habitude d'un extrême luxe') travelled to a spa, 'avec une maison entière, afin d'être servie à son gré: un lit, des meubles à elle, une argenterie de voyage faite tout exprès, une suite de fourgons, nombre de courriers, disant que la femme

- d'un maréchal de France ne pouvait voyager autrement'. *Mém. de Mme. de Rémusat*, ii, 383.
- 287, 38. Republic. Plutarch, *Cato minor*, c. 20, 1 : εἶτα πολλοῖς τισιν ὑποφυλοῖς καὶ σκεύεσι καὶ ἀκολούθοις ἀπαντήσας καὶ πιθόμενος Νέπωτα Μέτελλον εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπ'ανέρχεσθαι κ.τ.λ.
- 287, 40. female. Cic., *Pro Mil.*, c. 10.
- 287, 41. Mosaic. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 46.
- 288, 1. circus. Plutarch, *Anton.*, c. 9, 4 ; Cic., *Philipp.*, 2, 24 ; Plutarch, *Crass.*, c. 21 (journey of the Parthian Surenas) ; *Elagabal.*, c. 31.
- 288, 6. gorgeously. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 30 ; cf. *Elagabal.*, c. 31.
- 288, 8. milk. Pliny, *N. H.*, xi, 238 ; xxviii, 183 ; xxxiii, 140.
- 288, 10. inwrought. Julian, *Or.*, 3, p. 110 D.
- 288, 11. Seneca. Seneca, *Epp.*, 123, 6.
- 288, 14. gladiators. *Id. ib.*, 87, 9.
- 288, 16. runners. *Id. ib.*, 123, 6 ; Martial, x, 6, 7 ; 13, 1 ; xii, 24 ; Galen, *Quom. morb. simul.*, ed. K., xix, 4 : δούλος δ' ἦν οὗτος τῶν παρατρεχόντων ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς τῷ δεσπότῃ. A 'collegium cursorum et Numidarum' formed part of the imperial suite at Carthage (J. Schmidt, *Eph. epigr.*, v, p. 312, n. 428 ; an 'exercitator cursorum', *ib.*, n. 366), who were probably employed not only 'ad tabularii negotia ordinanda' (Mommsen, *ib.*, p. 113), but also as forerunners and outriders on the emperor's journeys in the provinces.
- 288, 17. horses. Seneca, *Epp.*, 87, 10.
- 288, 21. worth. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxiv, 163 ; Martial, iii, 72. Cf. the golden carriage of Count Besborodko (under Catherine II) : Brückner, *Potemkins Glück und Ende*, in *Balt. Monatschrift*, N. F., i, 517.
- 288, 22. rarities. Propert., iv (v), 8.
- 288, 25. faces. Seneca, *Epp.*, 87, 10.
- 288, 29. harness. Philostrat., *Vitt. soph.*, ed. K., p. 228.
- 288, 35. Cicero. Martial, i, 2 ; xiv, 188. Julian was given by Eusebia a library to take with him to Gaul ; Julian, *Or.*, 3, p. 123 sq.
- 288, 39. sleeves. Becker, Göll, i, 63 f., 87 ; Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 5.
- 288, 41. mules. *Digg.*, xxxiv, 2, 13 [14] ; Scaevola [libro xv Digestorum]. δορυμῶριον in *Dioclet. Edict. de pret.*, c. xv, Mommsen. Cf. Becker-Göll, iii, 20.
- 289, 1. dice. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 33 (solitus etiam in gestatione ludere).
- 289, 4. used. *Pertin.*, c. 8. For the odometer see vol. i, p. 286, and Beckmann, *Beitr. zur Gesch. d. Erfindungen*, i, 16.
- 289, 8. friends. Cic., *Ad. Att.*, x, 10, 5. Cf. Becker-Göll, iii, 11.
- 289, 14. Herod. Nicol. Damasc., *De vita sua* (Mueller, *Hist. Graec. fr.*, iii, p. 350).
- 289, 21. Southern. Plutarch, *Cato minor*, c. 38, 2 : τοῦδε ἀκρι Κερκίρας φυλάξας ἐν ἀγορᾷ κατεσκήνωσε, τῶν δὲ ναυτῶν διὰ τὸ μισοῦν πυρὰ πολλὰ καίωντων τῆς νυκτὸς ἠφθόησαν αἱ σκηναί. *Id.*, *Anton.*, 9, 4 (cf. Apoll. Sidon., *Epp.*, iv, 8). The conditions are or were similar in the interior of Russia (Haxthausen, *Studien über die innern Zustände Russlands* [1847], i, 96 f.) ; and in the

- interior of Sicily (Parthey, *Wanderungen durch Sicilien und die Levante* [1834], i, 338).
- 289, 28. houses. Epictet., *Diss.*, ii, 23, 36.
- 289, 30. says. Strabo, xvii, 1, 17, p. 801.
- 289, 35. wells. *Id.*, xii, 17, p. 578. Cf. also the obviously corrupt passage, Pliny, *N. H.*, xxix, 23.
- 290, 7. burdens. Kuhn, *Verf. d. röm. Reichs*, i, 61, 104.
- 290, 10. escape. Pliny, *N. H.*, ix, 26.
- 290, 18. often. Plutarch, *Cato minor*, c. 12.
- 290, 22. Tarracina. Cic., *Ad Fam.*, vii, 23. Cf. Drumann, *RG*, vi, 394.
- 290, 26. fares. Ulpian, *lib. xxxi ad Edictum*, Digg., xvii, 2, 52, § 15.
- 290, 39. Pergamus. Aristid., *Or.*, xxvii, pp. 347-350 Jebb.
- 290, 39. uncivilized. *Id.*, *l.c.*, p. 304.
- 291, 3. inns. Seneca, *De benef.*, vi, 15, 7.
- 291, 6. ground. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 72. Cf. also Hippolyt., *Refut. haeres.*, v, 23: εἰ τις ὁδὸν μακρὰν βαδίζων παρατυχὼν καταλύματι ἀναπαύεσθαι δοκεῖ.
- 291, 7. inn. S. Luke, x, 34 sq.
- 291, 8. Bethlehem. *Id.*, ii, 7. Wetzstein, *Inscripfien aus dem Hauran und den Trachonen*, in *Abhandl. d. Berl. Acad.*, 1863, nos. 111 and 112 (two δημόσια πανδοχεῖα in the year 397 A.D.); 133 (στάβλον καὶ τρικλίνιον—stabulum et triclinium). Cf. Lebas-Waddington, 2480, 2462, 2463. If a place built a ξενὼν the inhabitants were free from quartering: *ib.*, 2524, Julian, *Epp.*, 49 (ἀρχιερεὶ Γαλατίας) 430 B.: ξενοδοκεῖα καθ' ἐκάστην πόλιν κατὰστημα πικνὰ κ.τ.λ. Two πανδοχεῖα for pilgrims to the dwelling of S. Simon Stylites (died A.D. 460), Telmissus (479 A.D.): 2691, 2692.
- 291, 11. erected. Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 8, 6.
- 291, 13. found. Read 'founded'.
- 291, 14. slaves. Muratori, 470, 7 (Zagaroli). Hospitium Hygini Firmi: Mau, *Scavi di Pompei*, Bd I, 1882, p. 116.
- 291, 17. hotel. Wilmanns, *E. I.*, 762 = *CIL*, viii, 5341.
- 291, 19. select. Plutarch, *De vitioso pudore*, c. 8, p. 532.
- 291, 23. profitable. Cf. Becker-Göll, iii, 34.
- 291, 25. officials. *CIL*, iii, 6123.
- 291, 27. provided. *Rev. Archéol.*, xxi (1870), p. 314.
- 291, 29. Marshes. *Acts apost.*, xxviii, 15.
- 291, 32. Strabo. For 'To the Gay' read 'The Party-coloured (Inns)'. Strabo, v, 3, 9, p. 237 C. Cf. the index of the *Itinera-ria*, ed. Pinder et Parthey, s.v. *Tabernae*, *Ad medias*, *Ad novas*, *Veteribus*. *Tabernae* need not always mean inns. (Hefner, *Die röm. Töpfercolonie Tabernae, das heutige Rheinzabern*, in *Münch. gel. Anzeigen*, 1860, No. 21).
- 291, 38. camel. Artemidorus, *Onirocr.*, i, 4, p. 12 (ed. Reiff, p. 17).
- 291, 40. Sittius. Jordan, *Ueber röm. Aushängeschilder*, in *Archäol. Ztg.*, iv (1871), p. 75.
- 291, 40. cock. Orelli, 4330 = *CIL*, xii, 4377.
- 292, 3. Olives. Jordan, *op. cit.*, Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 474 f.
- 292, 3. tabards. Read 'inn-signs.'

- 292, 5. fashion. Marini, *Atti*, ii, p. 532 (near Bologna and on the via Nomentana, 8 Italian miles from Rome) = Wilmanns, *El*, 2719.
- 292, 6. Apollo. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, *CIL*, xi, 1, 721.
- 292, 9. stay. Orelli, 4329. The *hospitium ad lucum Decidiorum* in an inscription from Capua is unconnected; cf. Mommsen, *CIL*, x, 4104.
- 292, 11. tariff. *CIL*, xii, 5732.
- 292, 23. guest. Virgil, *Copa*.
- 292, 27. frequented. Sueton., *Vitell.*, c. 7.
- 292, 29. jeers. Plutarch, *De sanitate praec.*, c. 16, p. 130.
- 292, 34. guests. Apoll. Sidon., *Epp.*, viii, 11.
- 292, 36. bugs. Pliny, *N. H.*, xvi, 58 (coma arundinis) pro pluma strata cauponarum implet. He calls the fleas (ix, 154) cauponarum aestiva animalia. In the *Vita Hadriani*, c. 16, 'culices' certainly should be read 'cimices'; cf. Becker-Göll, iii, 36.
- 292, 36. spiders. Dioscorid., *De venenis*, ii, *praef.*, ed. Sprengel, ii, p. 5.
- 293, 1. bread. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 472.
- 293, 5. treatment. S. Luke, x, 34.
- 293, 6. brought. Plutarch, *Apophth. Lacon. var.*, 44. Cf. Bursian in the *Lit. Centralblatt*, 1869, no. 17.
- 293, 11. pandars. Ulpian, *Dig.*, iii, 2, 4, § 2; xxiii, 2, 43, 1; *ib.*, § 9.
- 293, 13. bought. *Cod.*, iv, 56, 3.
- 293, 16. herself. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 471, 5.
- 293, 19. gamblers. Tertullian, *De fuga in persecut.*, c. 13.
- 293, 20. wine. Cf. Becker-Göll, iii, 41 f.; Martial, i, 57.
- 293, 21. Aquarius. Petron., c. 39.
- 293, 21. oats. Martial, xiii, 11.
- 293, 24. toll-keepers. Artemidorus, *Onirocr.*, i, 23. Cf. iv, 42 (*ἀρχαῖοι ἢ ἐργαστα*).
- 293, 25. force. *Id. ib.*, iv, 57.
- 293, 30. convicted. Galen, vi, 663; xii, 254.
- 293, 35. restoring. Augustine, *C.D.*, xviii, 18.
- 293, 36. suffered. *Institt.*, iv, 5, 3; *Digg.*, iv, 9 (Ulpianus libro xiv ad Edictum). Cf. *Digg.*, xlvii, 2, 14, § 17, and xlvii, 5, § 6.
- 293, 38. smuggling. Quintilian, *Declam.*, 349 (mille artibus circumscribuntur l. circumscribimur).
- 294, 1. duty. Quintilian, *De curiositate*, c. 7, p. 518; *Id.*, *Declam.*, 359. Marquardt, *StV*, ii², 269 ff.
- 294, 8. pearls. Quintilian, *Declam.*, 349 and 359.
- 294, 8. soldiers. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 50 sq.
- 294, 11. descendants. Philostrat., *Vitt. sophist.*, p. 228, ed. Kayser.
- 294, 14. police. Mommsen, *Hermes*, xxii, 1887, p. 556 f.; *StR*, ii², 2, 1074 f.
- 294, 17. posts. Tertullian, *Apolog.*, c. 2.
- 294, 21. directed. *Cod.*, i, 55, 6.
- 294, 22. brigandage. Cass. Dio, xxxvi, 3. See vol. i, p. 283 of this work.
- 294, 26. fortified. *CIL*, iii, 1, 3385.

- 294, 29. revenged. *Ib.*, iii, 1, 1559, 1579, 1585.
 294, 31. Moesia. *Ephem. epigr.*, iv, p. 81.
 294, 31. Darmstadt. *Bonner Jahrb.*, 1873, p. 151.
 294, 31. Trèves. Brambach, *C. I. Rhen.*, 780.
 294, 32. castles. *CIL*, viii, 2494, 2495 (188 A.D.): burgum [Commodianum] speculatorium inter duas vias ad salutem commean-
 tium nova tutela constitui iussit (Ti. Claudius) (G)ordianus v.
 c. leg. Aug. pr. pr.
 294, 35. avoid. Cyprian, *Epp.*, 68, 3.
 294, 37. stripped. Wilmanns, *E. I.*, 785.
 294, 39. robbers. Lucian, *Alexander*, 44.
 295, 3. Cassius. Burckhardt, *Die Zeit Const. d. Gr.* (2. Aufl.), p.
 120; Dio, lxxi, 4. Rohde, *Der griech. Roman*, 393, 1, 451, 1.
 295, 4. Khalifs. Lumbroso, *L'Egitto al tempo dei Greci e dei Romani*,
 p. 52, 2. (Cf. on robbers in Egypt, p. 52, 3.)
 295, 5. mountainous. Mommsen, *Die röm. Schweiz*, p. 20 f. Mar-
 quardt, *StV*, ii³, 538. J. J. Müller, *Das rom. Nyon*, in *Mith.*
d. antiq. Ges. in Zürich, xviii, p. 194. Hirschfeld, *Gallische*
Studien, p. 43 f. (*Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akad.*, 1883, p. 311).
 295, 8. man. *CIL*, iii, 1, 2399, 2544.
 295, 8. Spanish. *Ib.*, ii, 2968 (Tarracensis), 3479 (Carthago nova).
 295, 10. Gospels. S. Luke, x, 30; Hausrath, *Neutestamentl.*
Zeitgesch., i, 344.
 295, 13. Trachones. Lebas-Waddington, p. 534; *StRE* (Trachoni-
 titis).
 295, 15. smallness. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 323 f.
 295, 19. clean. Strabo, xii, 7, p. 570; 8, 8, p. 574.
 295, 21. legs. Galen, ii, 188.
 295, 23. Byzantines. Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 120 ff. S. *Silviae*
peregrinatio (referred to in note on p. 278, 35), c. 54.
 295, 26. Germanicus. *CIG*, 3612.
 295, 28. forays. Lucian, *Alexand.*, i.
 295, 31. Lucian. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, ii, 494.
 295, 34. cultivated. Varro, *R. v.*, i, 16, 2.
 295, 35. war. Dio, iv, 28.
 295, 37. fight. Tac., *A.*, ii, 85.
 295, 39. savage. Strabo, v, 5, p. 224 sq.
 295, 41. proconsuls. Epictet., *Diss.*, iv, 1, 91.
 296, 2. accompany. Lucian, *Alexand.*, 55.
 296, 9. executed. Herodian, i, 10; Boissieu, *Inscr. de Lyon*, 478,
 iv: a latronibu(s) (in)terfecto.
 296, 10. Italy. Appian, *B. C.*, v, 132.
 296, 12. perilous. Propert., iii (iv), 16.
 296, 12. Augustus. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 32.
 296, 14. Tiberius. *Id.*, *Tiber.* c. 47. Such military posts appear
 again in Italy in the third century: Mommsen, *StR*, ii³, 2,
 1075, 1. Cf. also Juvenal, 3, 305 sqq.; and vol. i, p. 294 of this
 work.
 296, 18. Papal. Grillparzer, *Reiseerinnerungen an Rom und Neapel*,
Werke, x, 243.
 296, 19. crucified. *Digg.*, xlvi, 19, 28, § 15. Petron., c. 111:
 cum interim imperator provinciae latrones jussit crucibus adfigi.

- 296, 20. physician. Galen, ii, p. 385, says that one can see the inside of the body *ἐπὶ ληστῶν ἐν δρεὶ κειμένων ἀτάφων*.
- 296, 24. instructive. *Id.*, ii, p. 221.
- 296, 26. hedges. Casaub. ad Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 31; Ovid, *Fasti*, iv, 177; *Metam.*, i, 493.
- 296, 28. shadows. Juv., 10, 30 sqq.
- 296, 30. dog. Pliny, *N. H.*, viii, 144.
- 296, 36. possibly. *Id.*, *Epp.*, vi, 25.
- 296, 39. landowners. Marquardt, *Prl.*, i², 168, 180.
- 296, 40. herds. Varro, *R. r.*, ii, 10, 3, says that one ought to choose shepherds, qui non solum pecus sequi possint, sed etiam a bestiis ac praedonibus defendere. Digg., xix, 5, 20, § 1: mulae a grassatoribus . . . ablatae.
- 297, 2. cudgelled. Fronto, *Epp. ad M. Caes.*, ii, 13.
- 297, 4. Forest. It still extends along the whole coast from Cuma to Castel Volturno, and abounds in waterfowl; Beloch, *Campanien*, p. 378.
- 297, 6. robber-bands. Strabo, v, 4, 4, p. 243 C.
- 297, 7. Rome. Juv., 3, 305 sqq.
- 297, 11. highwaymen. Dio, lxxiv, 2.
- 297, 35. Dio. *Id.*, lxxvi, 10. Inscription found near the arch of Severus, Gruter, 109, 3 = *CIL*, vi, 234: genio exercitus | qui exstinguendis saevissimis latronibus | fide et devotione Rom. exspectat. et votis omnium satisfacit.
- 297, 38. armed. *H. A.*, *Procul.*, c. 12.
- 297, 41. robber. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman*, 357, 1.
- 298, 2. Tilloboras. Lucian, *Alexand.*, 2.
- 298, 5. collections. Insecurity in the Middle Ages; Stephan, *Verkehrsleben*; Raumer, *Hist. Taschenbuch*, iv, 10, p. 359. In France in the eighteenth century: Taine, *Orig. de la Fr. contemporaine*, i, 498 ss.
- 298, 7. Dover. Stockmar, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, p. 14.
- 298, 13. Greece. E. Burnouf, *Le Brigandage en Grèce*, in *Revue des deux mondes*, 1870, lxxvii.
- 298, 20. alike. Franz Löher, *Karpathenreise*, in *Augsb. Allgem. Zeitg.*, March 1, 1872, Beilage.
- 298, 25. Verlikka. Noe, *Dalmatien und seine Inselwelt*.
- 298, 26. history. On its causes cf. Hehn, *Italien* (1st ed.), i, 129 ff. Under Clement XIII (1758-1769) 11,000 murders (4,000 of them in Rome) were officially registered in the States of the Church: Cantù, *Storia degl' Italiani*, T. vi, l. xv, c. 157 (not accessible to me). Reuchlin, *Gesch. Italiens*, i, p. 14 f. *Id. ib.*, i, p. 134 ff., and 362 ff.
- 298, 26. Mafia. The following facts are taken from Franchetti, *La Sicilia nel 1876*, i (1877). Cf. Reimer, *Zur Gesch. d. sicil. Räuberbanden*, in *Im N. Reich*, 1879, no. 25. Gaudy, *Sicilien im Herbst 1838*, *Werke* v, 113. *Augsb. Allg. Ztg.*, December 18, 1876.
- 298, 30. Sardinia. Gregorovius, *Corsica* (2nd edition), p. 157.
- 298, 40. immune. Baumgarten, *Gesch. Spaniens*, iii, p. 88 f. In the year 1826 the mail coach running between Montpellier and

- Madrid was regularly held up and robbed. Caroline Herschel's *Memoirs* (2nd ed., 1879, p. 202).
- 299, 2. killed. Bernhardi, *Reiseerinnerungen aus Spanien*, p. 245.
- 299, 5. check. Hübner, *Sixtus V.*, p. 237 n.
- 299, 29. duty. Epictet., *Diss.*, iii, 24, 36; cf. iv, 1, 91.
- 299, 31. voyages. Vol. i, pp. 118 ff., and 138 ff.
- 299, 33. journey. Martial, viii, 31.
- 299, 35. Cnossus. Epictet., *Diss.*, iii, 9, 6.
- 299, 39. Rome. Mommsen, *StR.*, ii⁸, 2, 968.
- 300, 2. waiting. Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.*, 572 M. Cf. Tac., *A.*, xvi, 5.
- 300, 10. greetings. Pliny, *Epist. ad Traj.*, ed. K., 43 sqq.; cf. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, ii, 157.
- 300, 11. Vespasian. *Digg.*, i, 7, 4, § 6. Epitaph of a physician, one Patro, who had been ambassador of the Lycians to Marcus Aurelius and L. Verus. Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, p. 219. Embassies at the accession of Decius Trajanus, Lebas-Waddington, 1624.
- 300, 15. Lesbos. Cichorius, *Rom und Mytilene*, p. 41.
- 300, 15. others. See Appendix iv.
- 300, 18. Empire. Dio, lxxviii, 24. Sojourn of an envoy from Arelate in Rome for several years, *CIL*, xii, 594.
- 300, 27. died. Sueton., *Vespasian*, c. 1.
- 300, 30. Myrlea. Lehrs, *Herodian*, p. 434.
- 300, 31. Gaul. Lucian, *Apol.*, 15; cf. *CIL*, ii, 1738: Troilus rhetor Graecus (Tarraco). Noguier, *Inscr. de la Colonie Romaine de Beziers*² (1883); *CIL*, xii, p. 511^b: Φίλων Σωτράδου Μοφεάτης (from Mopsuestia) ῥήτωρ Ἀρτεμιδώρῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ ῥήτορι (about second century).
- 300, 32. Phrygian. Eusebius, *H. E.*, v, 1, 49.
- 300, 35. Clermont. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxiv, 45.
- 300, 36. Gauls. Josephus, *A. J.*, xvii, 8, 3.
- 300, 39. Palestine. Cf. vol. iii, p. 171 ff.
- 300, 40. times. Philo, *De monarchia*, ii, 3.
- 300, 41. Jerusalem. Schürer, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, 639.
- 301, 3. Phrygia. Euseb., *H. E.*, v, 1.
- 301, 4. foreigners. Cf. e.g. the epitaphs of Tarraco which mention the place of origin, *CIL*, ii, 4319-4327, and of Rhodes, *CIG*, 2536-2542.
- 301, 6. natives. Seneca, *Cons. ad. Helv.*, c. 6.
- 301, 12. Egypt. Mommsen, *Die Conscriptionsordnung der röm. Kaiserzeit*, in *Hermes*, xix (1884), p. 21.
- 301, 13. recruits. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
- 301, 16. supply. Harster, *Die Nationen des Römerreichs in den Heeren der Kaiser* (Speier, 1873), p. 25. Julius Jung, *Die Militärverhältnisse der sog. 'provinciae inermes' d. röm. Reichs*, in *Zeitschr. f. d. Osterr. Gymnas.*, xxv, (1874), p. 668 ff. *Id.*, *Römer und Romanen*, p. 48 f.
- 301, 18. Dalmatia. Tac., *A.*, xvi, 13. Cf. also the epitaphs of soldiers who came originally from Vienna; Allmer et Terrebasse, *Inscr. antiques de Vienne*, i, pp. 345-423.
- 301, 21. camps. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 22 f.
- 301, 26. troops. Harster, pp. 26-28.
- 311, 28. Armenia. Stat., *Silv.*, v, 2, 132 sqq.

- 301, 29. provinces. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 65.
 301, 32. Hadrian. *Ibid.*, pp. 50 f., 44, and 56.
 301, 33. fleets. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
 301, 36. West. *Id.*, *Schweizer Nachstudien*, in *Hermes*, xvi (1881), p. 464 f.
 302, 1. garrisoned. *Id.*, *Conscriptionsordnung*, p. 211 f.
 302, 7. Alpine. *Ibid.*, p. 215 f.
 302, 8. Rhaetia. Harster, p. 50.
 302, 11. Britons. Jung, *Die Militärverhältnisse, etc.*, p. 685.
 302, 15. Italy. J. Becker, *Röm. Inschr. des Museums von Mainz*, 135-226. Many epitaphs at Carnuntum of veterans from S. Gaul and Italy, of the 15th legion, which under Nero was replenished with Galatians and Cappadocians; *Oesterr. Mitth.*, x (1886), 15.
 302, 21. married. Mommsen, *CIL*, iii, 2, p. 916.
 302, 25. Syria. *RGDA*¹, p. 119.
 302, 27. without. Marquardt, *StV*, i⁸, 118 ff.
 302, 31. Palestine. Zumpt, *Comment. epigr.*, i, 446. Marquardt, *StV*, i⁸, 229, 315.
 302, 34. settled. Zumpt, *l. c.*, 454.
 302, 39. Italian. Dio, lviii, 2; Mommsen, *StR*, ii⁸, 955, 4.
 303, 1. repeopled. Eutrop., viii, 3.
 303, 11. camp-followers. Hirschfeld, *Epigraph. Nachlese zum CIL iii*, (1874), pp. 4-10; Jung, *Römer und Romanen*, p. 88 ff.
 303, 20. unseen. Cf. vol. i, p. 172.
 303, 24. Mauretania. Cf. vol. i, p. 177. Letter carriers and posts in Palestine: Hertzfeld, *Handelsgesch. d. Juden d. Alterth.* (1879), pp. 158 and 333.
 303, 26. Africa. Vol. iii, p. 37.
 303, 28. Santander. Hübner, *Die Heilquelle von Umeri* (a silver bowl from Castro Urdiales near Santander, on which is a representation of the despatch of water from the spring), *Archäol. Ztg.*, xxxi (1874), p. 115, pl. 11 = Schreiber, *Kulturhist. Bilderatlas*, T. lxxii, 5 and 6.
 303, 30. Alps. Pliny, *N. H.*, x, 52.
 303, 32. cherry. Vol. ii, p. 171.
 303, 36. Spanish. Symmachus, *Epp.*, iv, 62.
 303, 38. trafficked. Cf. my discussion on the games in Marquardt, *StV*, iii⁸, 523, 4.
 304, 4. field. Rodbertus in Hildebrand's *Jahrb. f. Nationalökonomie*, v, 263.
 304, 14. coinage. The foregoing is entirely and in part verbally taken from Mommsen, *Gesch. des röm. Münzwesens*, pp. 729-731.
 304, 21. had. Pliny, *N. H.*, vi, 84; cf. Appendix iv.
 304, 23. wonder. Mommsen, *Gesch. des röm. Münzwesens*, p. 775.
 304, 29. Nero's. *Id. ib.*, p. 771 f.; Tac., *Germ.*, 5; Hultsch, *Metrologie*², 311 f.
 304, 32. service. Cic., *Verr.*, ii, 5, 65, 166; cf. also Sallust, *Jug.*, c. 26.
 305, 4. Japan. *Deutsche Kolonisation*, in *Deutsche Rundschau*, vol. xxxi, April 1882, p. 50 (from Hübbe-Schleiden).
 305, 10. poor. Pliny, *N. H.*, xii, 92.

- 305, 17. travel. H. Stephan, *Das Verkehrsleben im Alterthum*, p. 28.
 305, 20. iron. Horace, *Epist.*, i, 6, 32. Cf. Blümner, *Die gewerbliche Thätigkeit der Völker des class. Alterthums*, pp. 29 and 41 ff.
 305, 23. camel's. Pers., 5, 132 sqq.
 305, 27. winter. Horace, *A. P.*, 117; *Carm.*, iii, 24, 35; *Sat.*, i, 4, 29; i, 6; *Ep.*, i, 16, 71; cf. *Carm.*, i, 1, 15.
 305, 31. gold. Manil., *Astronom.*, iv, 162 sqq. Cf. vol. i, p. 189.
 305, 33. opened. Pliny, *N. H.*, ii, 118.
 305, 36. sailings. *CIG*, iii, 3920 (*ἐργαστής* negotiator).
 305, 38. Spain. Hertzfeld, *op. cit.* (p. 55, 2), p. 154; Jewish merchant-ships which sailed from Gaul to Spain, p. 268, note.
 305, 41. Italy. Horace, *Carm.*, i, 31, 13-15.
 306, 2. West. Borghesi, *Bull. Nap.*, viii, 1860, no. 184; cf. also the mutilated inscription from Sigus in Numidia, *CIL*, viii, 5749.
 306, 8. sun. Juv., 14, 287 sqq.
 306, 11. private. Aristid., *Or.*, xlviii, p. 355.
 306, 14. country. Strabo, iv, p. 200.
 306, 15. commerce. Tac., *Agric.*, c. 24.
 306, 20. India. Pliny, *N. H.*, vi, 101, 104. Peschel, *Handels-geschichte d. Rothen Meers*, in *Abhandlungen z. Erd- u. Völkerkunde*, ii, 86 f.
 306, 26. days. According to Diodorus, iii, 34, many even reached Ethiopia on the tenth day.
 306, 31. resting. On the whole journey see Varges, *De statu Aegypti*, pp. 78-81.
 306, 33. Berenice. Mommsen, *Add. ad CIL* iii, in *Eph. epigr.*, v, pp. 5-11; *RG*, v, 615; Lumbroso, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-33.
 306, 34. Arabia. Strabo, ii, 4, 11, p. 118.
 306, 36. barbs. Pliny, *N. H.*, vi, 101, 173.
 307, 7. February. Varges, *ib.*, p. 81.
 307, 9. Egyptian. According to Mommsen, *RG*, v, 616, 1, Arabian and Indian ships were excluded from the Egyptian ports, or subjected to prohibitive duties, and the chief depôt (611, 2) of the Arabian and Indian trade, Adane (Aden) was destroyed (perhaps under Augustus) to secure the supremacy to Roman-Egyptian trade.
 307, 11. Indies. Horace, *Epp.*, i, 1, 45.
 307, 14. fact. Seneca, *Qu. nat.*, i, *prol.*, 13; Lucian, *Hermotim.*, 4: ἀπὸ Ἑρακλείων στηλῶν εἰς Ἰνδοὺς ἀπελθεῖν—apparently proverbial.
 307, 16. incorporated. Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, iii, 5.
 307, 21. Malabar. Peschel, *Gesch. d. Erdkunde*, pp. 16-18.
 307, 22. Vespasian. Dillmann, *Ueber die Abfassungszeit des Periplus maris Erythraei*, in *Monatsber. d. Berl. Acad.*, 1879, p. 419 ff.
 307, 26. wealth. Dionys., *Perieges.*, 709 sqq.
 307, 35. places. Lassen, *op. cit.*, pp. 5 and 6.
 307, 39. visitors. Ptolemy, *Geogr.*, i, 17.
 308, 5. distinguished. Mommsen, *Gesch. d. röm. Münzwesens*, p. 725 ff.
 308, 7. found. Lassen, iii, 82. The report in Pausanias, iii, 12, 3, of barter with the Indians is, according to Lassen (ii, 48), impossible for that time.

- 308, 8. rarely. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 618 f. According to *The Academy*, 1886, no. 730, p. 416, 13 Roman coins dating from the time of Tiberius to that of Aurelian were found not far from Si-ngan-fu.
- 308, 11. China. Cf. Hirth, *Zur Geschichte des antiken Orienthandels* (*Verhandl. d. Berliner Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde*, xvi, 1889, pp. 46–64). According to Pliny, *N. h.*, vi, 101; xii, 84, the Roman Empire only paid 45 million sesterces annually for Arabian and Seric (Chinese) wares together. We may conclude from the smallness of this sum and from the value of the wares that a large part of these imports were paid for with Roman products. Among these, Hirth, on the authority of Chinese records, includes Syrian carpets with sewn and woven patterns, glass ware (presumably including beads), all the metals used in antiquity, orpiment and realgar, jewels, gems and other objects used for ornament, such as amber and coral, and finally drugs. The so-called embassy of the year 166 was, he thinks, an attempt of Syrian merchants to establish direct relations with China by the sea-route, and to dispense with the Parthian carrying trade, which may have been interrupted by the great pestilence, which perhaps extended over the whole of Central Asia. Hirth places Cattigara in Anam. The goals of voyagers were here or in some port of the Bay of Bengal in the first period of the direct maritime intercourse of the West with China. But as early as the third century A.D. Canton must have been open to foreign trade, for according to a Chinese work on the plants introduced from overseas, composed 300 A.D., jasmine and *Lawsonia inermis* (the latter from Ta-Tsin) had been imported and planted there by foreign merchants, which clearly shows that the latter had been settled at Canton for a considerable time.
- 308, 11. Tokharistan. Peschel, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
- 308, 17. away. Pliny, *N. H.*, vi, 88.
- 308, 21. Issedon. "Sir Henry C. Rawlinson, on the ground of a journey made by Ney Elias, the results of which are still kept secret by the British government, places the silk-route more to the south than I have done, viz. along the Gund, by the Yashyl-Kul and Rang-Kul (two lakes in the Pamirs) to Kashgar, a road taken as late as 1759 by a Chinese army (*Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1887, 89 f.; see also 1884, 503). The course of the silk-route will probably never be determined with certainty, especially as there certainly were several great roads across the Pamir highlands from W. to E. That which I have assumed from Hissar to Kashgar is the most direct and simple. Daraut-Kurgan, I may add, does not mean 'stone fortress', but 'fortress of the Karagu'. Daraut seems to be a proper name." Lullies, as below.
- 308, 30. Si-ngan-fu. Lullies, *Die Kenntniss der Griechen und Römer vom Pamir-Hochlande*, etc. (*Progr. des Wilhelmsgymnasiums zu Königsberg*, 1887), pp. 20–22; Ptolemy, i, 11.
- 308, 39. Syria. Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient* (1885), p. 40 sqq.
- 308, 41. An-ti. *Id. ib.*, pp. 169 and 170s.

- 309, 3. Huan-ti. Cordier, *Sur l'origine des noms que les Chinois ont donné à l'empire Romain* (*Mélanges Graux*, pp. 719-721), believes that the Chinese already knew of Rome through Mark Antony, who when residing at Tarsus sent Lycotas several times to Bactriana. Ta-Tsi was, he considers, originally the Chinese designation for Tarsus and was afterwards transferred to the Roman Empire, just as the designation for the triumvir was transferred to M. Antoninus.
- 309, 9. tortoise-shells. Reinaud, *Journ. asiatique*, series 6, vol. i. (1883), p. 374 ss. and Gutschmid, *Gesch. Irans*, p. 150 f., believe them to have been ambassadors; Letronne, *Mém. de l'acad. des inscr.*, *Nouv. série*, vol. x, p. 227, and Hirth, p. 167 sq., think they were merchants.
- 309, 12. merchants. Hirth, pp. 272-275.
- 309, 15. Gulf. *Id.*, p. 147.
- 309, 19. died. *Id.*, p. 306 sq.
- 309, 20. architecture. *Id.*, p. 238 sqq.
- 309, 21. post. *Id.*, p. 221, sqq.
- 309, 22. Mesopotamia. *Id.*, p. 219 sq.
- 309, 22. Pygmies. *Id.*, pp. 200 and 202 sqq.
- 309, 26. ball. *Id.*, pp. 207-214.
- 309, 29. explored. Ingwald Undset, *Das erste Auftreten des Eisens in Nordeuropa*, German trl. by J. Mestorf (1882), p. 337.
- 309, 35. Carnuntum. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvii, 45.
- 310, 6. Adriatic. Ingwald Undset, *op. cit.*, p. 178 f.
- 310, 13. assigned. I am indebted for the above to Dr. Otto Tischler of Königsberg. Cf. Appendix xx.
- 310, 25. hostile. Tac., *A.*, ii, 62.
- 310, 29. Strabo's. Strabo, xvii, 1, 13.
- 310, 32. India. Xenophon, *Ephesiaca*, iv, 1 (dated about 200 A.D. by Rohde, *Gr. Roman*, 392).
- 310, 34. coast. Diodor., iii, 18.
- 311, 3. cassia. Pliny, *N. H.*, vi, 173 sq.
- 311, 6. Arabia. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 606 f.
- 311, 8. report. Pliny, *N. H.*, vi, 140.
- 311, 9. extant. Lebas-Waddington, 2589 (142 A.D.), 2590 (155), 2596 (193), 2599 (247), 2603 (257/58). Cf. 2606.
- 311, 11. Romans. Strabo, xvi, 4, 15, p. 779. Alleged representations of Petra at Pompeii: Hittorf, *Pompéi et Pétra*, in *Rev. archéol.*, 1862, 7, pp. 1-18.
- 311, 16. commerce. *Peripl. mar. Erythr.*, 30.
- 311, 20. fee. Caes., *B. G.*, iii, 1.
- 311, 21. Belgae. *Id. ib.*, i, 1.
- 311, 23. slave. Diodor., v, 26.
- 311, 25. Nevers. Caes., *B. G.*, vii, 3, 42, 55.
- 311, 28. Delos. Erection of a statue of Lucullus as proquaestor by Italicei—*quei* [in] *insula negotiantur*: Homolle, *Bull. de corr. Hellén.*, 1884, p. 75 sqq.
- 311, 28. Alexandria. Cf. the Delian inscriptions, *Eph. epigr.*, v, pp. 609-612 (?); Mommsen, *RG*, v, 577, 2.
- 311, 28. Numidia. Sallust, *B. Jugurth.*, c. 21, 26.
- 311, 30. barbarians. Dio, liii, 26.

- 311, 32. forts. Procop., *B. Goth.*, iv, 2, p. 466.
 311, 35. river. Arrian, *Peripl. Pont. Eux.*, 12.
 311, 39. interpreters. Pliny, *N. H.*, vi, 15.
 311, 40. garrison. Arrian, *Peripl. Pont. Eux.*, 14.
 312, 2. Russia. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 293 f.
 312, 6. camps. Mommsen, *Hermes*, vii (1872), 298 ff.
 312, 6. commerce. *CIL*, iii, 1351 (Dacia): I. O. M. Terrae Dac. et Genio P. R. et Commerci.
 312, 9. opened. Ammian., xv, 11.
 312, 14. books. Cic., *Pro Fonte.*, ii (i, 1).
 312, 17. revolt. Vellei., ii, 110.
 312, 16. 26 A.D. Tac., *A.*, iii, 42.
 312, 20. slain. Mommsen, *RG*, ii⁸, 289.
 312, 23. investing. Cic., *Pro leg. Manil.*, 7, 18.
 312, 24. dealers. Plutarch, *Cato*, c. 59 and 61; Drumann, *RG*, iii, 575.
 312, 26. companies. Caes., *B. Afr.*, c. 97.
 312, 29. class. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 31-33.
 312, 30. merchants. Beside the lists in Lebas-Waddington, ii, 124*, and Mommsen, *Ephem. epigr.*, iv, p. 43, cf. Waddington, i, 143 (Ephesus), 1034* (οἱ ἐν Ἀσσοῦ πρᾶγματεῦόμενοι Π[ωμαῖοι]); 1743* (Abydos): οἱ σκηναῖται (boutiquiers) καὶ ἐργασταὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν Ἰλῳ. Also Mommsen, *Eph. epigr.*, v, 51 (cives *Romani qui ibi negotiabantur*, an inscription at Prymnessus of the early empire). Cf. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 332.
 312, 37. provinces. *CIL*, iii, 5212.
 312, 38. Bourges. Mommsen, *CIL*, iii, p. 711.
 312, 40. traded. *CIL*, iii, 2086: negotiator Daciscus (*sic*). A 'negotiator Gallicanus et Asiaticus' at Mevania, Wilmanns, 2497. Viae Appiae . . . negotias (*sic*), *CIL*, vi, 9663.
 312, 41. Cyzicus. Lebas-Waddington, ii, 248 E.
 313, 1. Gaul. *Oesterr. Mitth.*, viii (1884), p. 248.
 313, 2. African. *CIL*, iii, 5230.
 313, 4. Italy. Mommsen, *CIL*, v, p. 83. Julian, *Or.*, 2, p. 71¹D.: Ἰταλῶν ἐμπόριον . . . μάλα εὐδαιμον καὶ πλοῦτος βρῶν. φέρουσι γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν φορτία Μυσοὶ καὶ Παῖονες καὶ . . . Ἑνετοί.
 313, 4. East. Jerome, *C. Rufin.*, iii, 10, ed. Vall., ii, 540: ut negotiator orientalium mercium, qui et hinc deportata vendere necesse habebat et ibi emere quae huc rursus adveheret, biduum tantum Aquileiae fuerit?
 313, 4. Africa. *Digg.*, xix, 3, 61 (64): freighting of a ship from Cyrene to Aquileia with oil and wine.
 313, 5. population. Herodian, viii, 2.
 313, 8. Puteoli. *CIL*, x, 1634, 1576; Mommsen, *RG*, v, 467, 2.
 313, 8. Tyre. *Tot. orb. descr.*, c. 24.
 313, 11. pay. Mommsen, *Epigr. Anal.*, in *Ber. der Sächs. Ges. Phil. hist. Cl.*, 1850, p. 57 ff.
 313, 12. Alexandrians. *CIG*, 2024, 6.
 313, 15. Verus. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 284, 1.
 313, 18. Lycia. *Acts of Apost.*, xxvii, 6.
 313, 20. settlement. Herzfeld, *Handelsgesch. d. Juden d. Allerthums*, p. 202 ff.; Mommsen, *RG*, v, 471.

- 313, 21. everywhere. In Delos before the Mithridatic war : Mommsen, *RG*, v, 467, 2.
- 313, 22. Portus. *CIG*, 5892 (erection of a statue of Hadrian by the city of Gaza).
- 313, 22. Naples. Procop., *B.G.*, i, 8.
- 313, 22. Ravenna. Apoll. Sidon., i, 8.
- 313, 22. Puteoli. Cf. the inscriptions there referring to Oriental cults in Beloch, *Campanien*, p. 120 f.
- 313, 23. Malaga. *CIL*, ii, p. 251.
- 313, 25. Sirmium. Henzen, 7257 = *CIL*, iii, 2066.
- 313, 27. Lugdunum. Wilmanns, 2498.
- 313, 29. Jupiter. Mommsen, *Ephem. epigr.*, ii, pp. 308, 401.
- 313, 32. Apameans. *CIL*, iii, p. 1060; Mommsen, *RG*, v, 468n.; *Id.*, *Miscell. epigr.* in *Mith. d. Arch. Inst.*, 1888, p. 312 : tomb of one Aurelius Marcianus κώμης Φισώρου ὁρ(ων) Ἀντιοχέων εἶρους ΒΙΠ (482 = 418 A.D.).
- 313, 33. Syrian. *CIG*, 9181-83; Mommsen, *loc. cit.*
- 313, 38. camps. Jerome, *In Ezech.*, 27, v, p. 513 Vallarsi; Mommsen, *loc. cit.*; Ambrose, *De offic.*, ii, 14 : Haec plena laudis et digna primario viro, non communem cum Tyriis negotiatoribus et Galatis mercatoribus habere lucri cupidinem. On the dangers of mercantile journeys, *ibid.*, i, 49.
- 314, 1. cities. Salvian., *De gubern. Dei*, iv, 14 (p. 82 Baluze) : negotiatorum et Siricorum (*sic*) hominum turbas. According to Forcellini, Heyd (*Gesch. d. Levantehandels*, i, 24, 6) takes *Sirici* to mean not Syrians but *sericarii*. He is certainly mistaken. Cf. Marquardt, *Pr.*, ii^a, 498 f.
- 314, 3. psalms. Apoll. Sidon., *loc. cit.*
- 314, 10. Hebrew. Gregor. Tur., *Hist. Franc.*, viii, 1; cf. vii, 31; x, 26.
- 314, 24. assembled. Vol. i, p. 12 f.
- 314, 25. work. Aristid., *Or.*, iii, p. 22, Jebb, *in f.*
- 314, 26. had. *Id.*, *Or.*, xlviii, p. 335 sq., Jebb.
- 314, 27. Libanius. Liban., ed. R., i, 362.
- 314, 30. sea. Rescript of Honorius (Haubold, *Mon. leg.*, p. 296). *CIL*, xii, p. 83^b.
- 314, 35. paper. *Tot. orb. descr.*, § 36.
- 314, 38. harbours. Gregor. Tur., *Hist. Franc.*, v, 5; vi, 6.
- 314, 40. demand. *Tot. orb. descr.*, § 35. Blümner, *Gewerbliche Thätigkeit d. Völker des class. Alterth.*, 16, 1.
- 315, 1. Cornwall. O. Peschel, *Völkerkunde*, 225.
- 315, 4. barter. Leontius, *Vita S. Joannis eleemosynarii*, c. 3, 15; *Acta Sanctorum*, ed. Bruxell. (1863), iii, p. 115 (23rd January).
- 315, 5. anew. *Peripl. mar. Erythr.*, 7, 40, 56.
- 315, 8. throat. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvii, 44.
- 315, 9. scattered. Diodor., v, 13; Blümner, *op. cit.*, p. 117, 9.
- 315, 13. frontiers. Undset, *Das erste Auftreten des Eisens in Nordeuropa*, pp. 289 and 346; cf. pp. 453 and 503, where the Roman Iron Age in North Germany is dated in the middle of the first century, in Denmark somewhat later, in Scandinavia about 100 or rather later.
- 315, 18. Savoy. Undset, *Iscrizioni latine ritrovate nella Scandina-*

- via, *BdI*, 1883, pp. 234-236 (P. CIPI POLIBI(BY) and NIGEL-LI. OF.). Omit 'the'.
- 315, 22. direction. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxv, 161; Blümner, *op. cit.*, 34, 4; cf. 51, 3; 86, 1.
- 315, 25. Hungary. Kiepert, *Hdb. d. a. Geogr.*, 445, 3. Jung, *Römer und Romanen*, p. 186.
- 315, 26. clay. Athen., xi, 784c.; Blümner, *op. cit.*, 15, 8.
- 315, 29. exported. *Tot. orb. descr.*, § 31.
- 315, 30. Tyre. Procop., *Hist. arc.*, 25; Blümner, *op. cit.*, 21, 10.
- 315, 35. Tournay. Mommsen, in *Ber. d. Sächs. Ges.*, 1851.
- 315, 38. imitated. Blümner, *op. cit.*, 28, 3.
- 315, 40. similar. Galen, xiv, p. 77. But Falernian vines were also planted in Baetica; *CIL*, ii, 2029 = Wilmanns, 1279.
- 316, 2. Byzantium. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii^a, 440 f.
- 316, 3. Rome. Galen, vi, 603; Hehn, *Culturpflanzen*, p. 200.
- 316, 4. transmarine. Orelli, 4253; Columella, *R. r.*, vii, 8, 6; hoc genus casei potest etiam trans maria permitti.
- 316, 19. wander. Cf. e.g. on the travels of Posidonius, Zeller, *Gesch. d. gr. Phil.*, iii, 1, 510; of Apion, Lehrs, *Qu. epp.*, p. 5 sq.; of Apuleius, Bosscha, *Vita Apuleji*, of Galen, Galen, ed. K., i, 58.
- 316, 21. returned. Cic., *Tusc.*, v, 37, 107.
- 316, 29. visited. Plutarch, *De def. orac.*, c. 2, p. 410.
- 316, 31. Quintus. Galen, *De anat. adm.*, iv, 40, ed. K., ii, 470.
- 316, 35. learn. Artemidorus, *Onirocr.*, i, *proem.*, p. 3.
- 316, 36. leave. Philostrat., *Apoll. Tyan.*, i, xviii, ed. K.
- 316, 40. perorations. Epictet., *Diss.*, iii, 21, 8; 23, 32.
- 317, 1. far. Kriegk's book, *De peregrinationibus Romanorum academicis* (1704), is unknown to me.
- 317, 3. raise. Philostrat., *Vitt. soph.*, i, 21, 3.
- 317, 3. Cremona. *Vita Vergili* in Reifferscheid, *Suetoni vell.*, p. 399 sqq.
- 317, 4. Gaul. Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 13.
- 317, 5. Aedui. Tac., *A.*, iii, 43.
- 317, 5. Africa. Apulei., *Florid.*, iv, 20; Augustine, *Conf.*, ii, 2, 4, 3, 6. Epitaph of a 20-year-old student Karthagini, *Add. ad CIL* viii, 1191; *Eph. epigr.*, v, p. 527.
- 317, 6. Epirus. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 8, 89, 94 sq.
- 317, 6. Marseilles. Tac., *A.* iv, 49; *Agric.*, c. 4.
- 317, 7. Romans. Strabo, iv, 1, 5, p. 181; cf. *CIL*, xii, p. 56^a.
- 317, 8. zealous. Suet., *Tiber.*, c. 11.
- 317, 10. students. Strabo, iv, 4, 13, p. 673.
- 317, 12. educated. Philostrat., *Apoll. Tyan.*, p. 4, 8, ed. K.
- 317, 14. studies. Cic., *Pro. Arch.*, 3, 4; cf. O. Mueller, *Antiq. Antioch.*, i, 68; ii, 106 sq.
- 317, 15. All. See the list of Asiatic towns which had schools of rhetoric in Gräfenhan, *Gesch. d. class. Philol.*, iii, 34, and Bernhardt, *Gr. Litt. Gesch.*, 413 ff., 451 ff.
- 317, 18. Continent. Philostrat., *Vitt. soph.*, ed. K., 217, 5 (Nice-tes); 219, 23 and 220, 27 (Scopelianus); 227, 12 (cf. 207, 24 Polemo); 267, 11 (Heraclides); Aristides, *Or.*, xv, p. 232, 16 Jebb.

- 317, 19. Athens. Strabo, *loc. cit.*, Philostrat., *Apoll. Tyan.*, viii, 359, p. 167 K.; Quintilian, *Declam.*, 333; Lucian, *Alexand.*, 44.
- 317, 25. corrupted. Philostrat., *Vitt. soph.*, ii, 1, p. 238, 14 K.
- 317, 27. foreign. Neubauer, *Comment. epigr.*, p. 418. Foreign students in Athens at the time of Eunapius, Wachsmuth, *Athen*, i, 710.
- 317, 38. fixed. Lucian, *Somn.*, i, 7.
- 318, 1. Gaul. *Id.*, *Bis accus.*, 27.
- 318, 1. wandered. Burckhardt, *Cultur der Renaissance*, p. 205; Rohde, *Gr. Roman*, 306 f.
- 318, 5. Egypt. Philostrat., *Vitt. soph.*, ii, 9, 1.
- 318, 5. courses. Dio Chrys., *Or.*, xxxiii, p. 395 M.
- 318, 7. statues. Koehler, *Ueber die Ehre der Statues* (*Verm. Schr.*, vi, 259 ff.) on the statues of Dio, Libanius, Themistius, Aristides; on the latter cf. also Letronne, *Rec. des inscr.*, p. 132.
- 318, 8. towns. *Florid.*, iii, 16.
- 318, 11. resident. *Digg.*, xxvii, 1, 6 § 1.
- 318, 14. skill. *Anthol. lat.*, ed. Meyer, 1430. Epitaph of a physician of Nicaea near Doliche in Thessaly (πολλὴν θάλασσαν καὶ γαῖαν περιουστήσας τὸ πεπωμένον ὧδ' ἀπέτευσα. Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 509.
- 318, 14. quacks. Vol. i, p. 176.
- 318, 19. fame. Lucian, *Alexand.*, 24 and 36.
- 318, 26. anywhere. Goethe, *Werke*, ed. Cotta, 31, 250.
- 318, 28. cities. Brunn, *Kunstlergesch.*, i, 574; *CIG*, 6233.
- 318, 29. Syracuse. *CIG*, 5374, 6151.
- 319, 3. met. O. Lüders, *Die dionys. Künstler* (1873), esp. pp. 53 ff., 60 f., 63 ff.
- 319, 6. Ntmes. *Id.*, *Anhang*, 104 (*CIG*, 6785).
- 319, 8. Dionysus. *CIG*, 6786.
- 319, 11. realm. Lüders, *Anhang*, 94, 95.
- 319, 13. honouring. *Id.*, p. 73 f., where, however, there are some misconceptions; cf. *Anhang*, 93.
- 319, 16. Rome. *Ibid.*, 106; *CIG*, 6788.
- 319, 24. trouble. *Anthol. Gr.*, ed. Jacobs, iv, p. 284, *Adesp.*, 752. Cf. his epitaph, *CIG*, 6287 and *AdI*, 1861, pp. 125, 140. Cf. also *Oesterreich. Mittheilungen*, xi, 1887, p. 44. Inscription at Torni: — πανηγυριαρχήσαντα τῆς θυμελικῆς συνόδου φιλοτελῶν.
- 319, 25. freedom. Examples in Kuhn, *Verfassung d. röm. Reichs*, i, 28, 122.
- 319, 28. laurel. Brunn, *op. cit.*, i, 574; *CIG*, 3425.
- 319, 33. Asia. Brunn, *loc. cit.*; *CIG*, 5913.
- 319, 34. Glycon. Antipat. Thessal., *Epigr.*, 68; *Anthol. Gr.*, ed. Jacobs, v, ii, p. 113.
- 319, 38. games. *CIG*, 1104; Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, ii, 475 f.
- 320, 1. Ascalon. *Expos. tot. mundi*, 32.
- 320, 2. tours. *Acta S. Demetrii*, no. 4 (*Acta SS.*, Octob., tom. iv): Μορόμαχος . . . Λυαῖος ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Ἀθανάλων (ὑπάρχων) . . . οὐ μόνον ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολλοὺς εἰς τὸν λοῦδον ἀνῆρθεκεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ Σερμῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ Θεσσαλονίκῃ. Jung, *Römer und Romanen*, 147, 3.
- 320, 6. spectators. Vol. i, p. 16.

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- 320, 6. Olympian. Lucian, *Peregrin.*, i.
 320, 8. century. Gell., *N. A.*, xii, 5.
 320, 8. Julian. Julian, *Epist. ad Themistium*, p. 263 A.
 320, 8. vehicles. Lucian, *Peregrin.*, 35.
 320, 14. met. Philo, *De animal.*, § 56 : sacris certaminibus ad quae ex orbe terrarum veniunt congregatim ob varias necessitatis species . . . nonnulli ob negotiationem, quoniam paratiores sunt voluntates advenientium in coetum solemnem [ad emendum ; nam] pudori ducunt sibi, si eo egressi nihil in domum adduxerint. I have inserted the words in brackets, which are required by the sense.
 320, 16. elsewhere. Dio Chrys., *Or.*, lxxvii, p. 651 M.
 320, 18. wine. Clem. Alex., *Paed.*, iii, 22, p. 265 Pott.
 320, 20. earthquake. Strabo, xii, 8, 17, p. 578.
 320, 22. traffic. See n. on vol. i, p. 319, 24.
 320, 27. Corinth. Plutarch, *De exil.*, c. 12, p. 604.
 320, 28. Romans. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, p. 37 sq.
 320, 29. crowded. Philostrat., *Apoll. Tyan.*, iv, p. 72, ed. K.
 320, 30. Samothrace. Galen, ed. K., iv, 361.
 320, 33. island. Conze, *Reise auf den Inseln d. Thrakischen Mæres*, pp. 47 and 58.
 320, 37. called. See the inscriptions of the pilgrims in Conze, pp. 63-72. Cf. *CIL*, iii, 1, 713-721. Conze, Niemann and Hauser, *Archæol. Unters. auf Samothrake* (1875). Very likely Hadrian was there too ; a statue was dedicated to him in the year 132/3 (p. 36 ff.). *Ephem. epigr.*, iv, pp. 53-55. *Neue archæol. Unters. auf S.* (1880), p. 91 ff. A 'Rufus praetorius [myst-]es pius' (of whose distich the ends of the lines—'[san]ctissima numina vestra—[vene]ror precibus', are still preserved) is according to Hirschfeld's very probable conjecture (p. 116) the Trebellenus Rufus of Tac., *A.*, ii, 67.
 321, 3. shepherd's. Conze, p. 73.
 321, 6. brethren. *Id.*, *Reise auf der Insel Lesbos*, p. 32 ff.
 321, 11. Corinth. Strabo, xii, p. 559.
 321, 12. manifold. Apulei., *Apol.*, p. 494.
 321, 15. centuries. Cf. Wolf, *De novissima oraculorum aetate*.
 321, 17. change. Epictet., *Diss.*, iii, 16, 12.
 321, 19. troubles. Cael. Aurelian., *Morb. chron. (Art. med. princ.*, ed. Haller, xi), i, 1, p. 23 (cephalaea) ; i, 5, p. 86 (mania) ; paralysis ii, 5, p. 118 ; cachexia, iii, 6, p. 246 ; hydrops, iii, 8, p. 258 ; vesicae passiones, v, 4, p. 390.
 321, 20. blood. *Id. ib.*, i, 14, p. 200 Haller : (in phthisis) vehementer utilis navalis gestatio atque longa navigatio. Cf. *ib.*, ii, 13, p. 175 (haemorrhagia) ; also Daremberg on Oribas., ii, 857.
 321, 22. Egypt. Cels., iii, 22 ; Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 19, 6 ; *N. H.*, xxxi, 63.
 321, 24. relapsed. Galen, xii, 191.
 321, 26. sea. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxiv, 28.
 321, 27. Stabiae. For 'their' read 'its'. Galen, *Meth. med.*, v, 92, ed. K., x, 363 sqq., cf. 372. Cf. Symmachus, *Epp.*, vi, 17 ; Procop., *B. Goth.*, iv, 35 ; Mannert, *Geogr. d. Gr. u. R.*, ix, 1, 749.
 321, 29. consumptives. Procop., *B. Goth.*, ii, 4 sq.

- 321, 32. cure. Cassiodorus, *Var.*, xi, 10.
 321, 35. concocted. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxv, 52; Strabo, viii, 418 C.; Horace, *Sat.*, ii, 3, 166; Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 23.
 321, 36. Isis. For the temple of Æsculapius at Epidaurus cf. Curtius, *Peloponnes.*, ii, 419 ff. For the travels of Aristides during his illness cf. Welcker, *Kl. Schriften*, 3, 89 ff. Cf. also vol. iii, p. 99 ff.
 321, 39. discovered. For some of the chief watering-places of ancient Italy see Becker-Göll, i, 153, 8; and on the subject in general the article 'Aguas' in *StRE*, i², where, however, there is no mention of the Aquae Bormiae (Cassiodor., *Var.*, v, 29) which were used for gout. See also Lersch, *Balneologia*, p. 116 ff.; and for the hot springs of Greece Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, ii, 212 ff. and 435.
 321, 40. busy. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 67.
 322, 1. implements. E. Aus'm Werth, *Röm. Brunnenfunde*, in *Jahrb. d. Alterthumsfr. im Rheinland*, lxvii, p. 155.
 322, 1. visited. Hübner, *Ber. über eine epigr. Reise nach England, Schottland und Irland*, in *Monatsb. d. Berl. Acad.*, 1867, p. 798.
 322, 2. fitted. Solin., 22, 10, p. 115, ed. Mommsen. On the age of the unknown author from whom this notice is taken, see Mommsen, p. xi sqq.
 322, 9. used. Huebner, *CIL*, vii, p. 24.
 322, 13. Auvergne. B. Schwarz, *Die Erschliessung der Gebirge von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf Saussure*, p. 119, 1.
 322, 15. recreation. Seneca, *Ad Polyb.*, 6, 4; *Epp.*, 28; Prop., iii, 21; Ovid., *Remed. am.*, 213 sqq.

VII. TOURING UNDER THE EMPIRE.

- 323, 4. Pliny. Pliny, *N. H.*, xvii, 66; cf. also Seneca, *Ad Helv.*, c. 6.
 323, 9. seas. Manil., *Astron.* iv, 513.
 323, 12. read. Hadrian, c. 17.
 323, 14. aside. Gomperz on Philodemus in *Hermes*, xii, 224 (Philodem., *περί θαλάσσης*, Δ).
 323, 22. Africa. Peschel, *Gesch. der Erdkunde*, p. 29.
 323, 27. ships. Ukert, *Geographie d. Griechen und Römer*, iii, 1, 85; Peschel, *ib.*, p. 22.
 323, 27. Strabo. Humboldt, *Kosmos*, 2, 222.
 323, 27. Aristides. Aristides, *Or.*, xvi, p. 242, ed. Jebb: *ἐν τῇ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πελάγους ἐστὶ γῆ*.
 324, 4. Thule. Seneca, *Medea*, 374 sqq.
 324, 10. coasts. Hehn, *Culturpflanzen*, p. 397.
 324, 17. followers. Peschel, *op. cit.*, p. 21 f.; Plutarch, *Sertorius*, c. 8.
 324, 21. Sebosus. Peschel, p. 22.
 324, 27. abandoned. Pausan., i, 23, 7.
 324, 29. expedition. Meltzer, *Gesch. d. Karthager*, i, 231-238.
 324, 31. Agadir. Strabo, i, p. 47; Kiepert, *Lehrb. d. a. Geogr.*, p. 221.
 324, 40. festivals. Peschel, p. 21; Hanno, *Peripl.*, 14. *Geogr. min.*, ed. Müller, i, pp. 10-12.
 325, 3. Gods. Pomponius Mela, iii, 9, 94sq.

- 325, 10. flutes. Pliny, *N. H.*, v, 1, 6-8.
 325, 11. confusing. Müller, *Geogr. min.*, i, p. xxix; cf. p. 11.
 325, 18. credence. Pliny, *N. H.*, v, 1, 11 sqq.
 325, 29. attain. *Id. ib.*, v, 14, 15. The eating of dog's flesh by the Tarabilsiya: Barth, *Reisen und Entdeckungen*, i, 129.
 325, 38. Djerma. Kiepert, *Lehrb. d. alten Geogr.*, p. 223 f.; Pliny, *N. H.*, xv, 36 sq.; Barth, *ib.*, i, 165 f.
 326, 1. Severus. *CIL*, viii, 1.
 326, 2. Barth. Barth, p. 105.
 326, 6. Legion. *Id.*, pp. 120-133. Post of the 3rd legion below 30° 35', *CIL*, viii, 6; 30° 25', Barth, p. 135; cf. p. 141.
 326, 8. permanence. *Id.*, pp. 164-166.
 326, 12. called. Pliny, *N. H.*, v, 38.
 326, 14. Ghurian. Barth, p. 139.
 326, 15. Herodotus. Herodotus, iv, 183 (for living in caves see Meltzer, *Gesch. d. Karthager*, i, 65, 27, cf. 440).
 326, 16. backwards. Pliny, *N. H.*, viii, 178.
 326, 17. hisses. *Ib.*, v, 45. Cf. Seneca, *Qu. nat.*, iv, 2, 17.
 326, 19. rubies. Pliny, *N. H.*, v, 34; xxxvii, 92; Strabo, xvii, 835 (Καρχηδόβιοι λίθοι).
 326, 21. jewels. Pliny, v, 37.
 326, 23. tells. Ptolemy, *Geogr.*, i, 8, 5; cf. i, 10, 2.
 326, 27. reached. Kiepert, *Lehrb. d. a. Geogr.*, p. 223 f.
 326, 31. Aethiopia. Pliny, *N. H.*, vi, 181.
 327, 2. terrify. Peschel, p. 26 f.
 327, 3. garnished. Indian sagas of the wonderland Uttara Kuru were repeated in Greek accounts, Rohde, *Gr. Roman*, 217 ff. Diodorus borrowed from Iambulos (*ibid.*, p. 225 ff.). Indiae fabulosa, Pliny, *N. H.*, xii, 80. Cf. Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumskunde*, iii, 303, and Jerome, *Epp.*, 124, 4. According to Pliny, *N. H.*, xii, 80, the Arabs burnt only fragrant wood.
 327, 4. ivory. Lucret., ii, 537 sqq.
 327, 6. arrow. Verg., G., ii, 122.
 327, 17. taste. Dio Chrysost., *Or.*, xxxv, p. 434 sq. Cf. the description of the country and people of the Camarini (cujus terram Moyses Eden nominando descripsit) in the furthest east, beyond the Brahmans, in the *Expos. tot. mundi*, 4 sqq.
 327, 21. Pliny. Pliny, *N. H.*, iv, 89 sq.
 327, 25. heard. Tac., *Germ.*, c. 45.
 327, 26. dismissed. *Id. ib.*, c. 46.
 327, 35. retinue. Plutarch, *De def. orac.*, c. 18, p. 419 F.; *De facie in orbe lunae*, c. 26; Humboldt, *Krit. Unters.*, i, 174 ff.; Rohde, *N. Rh. Mus.*, xxxv (1880), p. 160: 'a story', says Grimm (DM.⁴, 694 ff.) 'which one may well believe originated in some native British saga, without denying its much more evident connexion with the specifically Greek belief in the wafting away of heroes [to hidden resting-places]'.
 327, 36. forms. Claudian, *In Rufin.*, i, 23; Procop., *B. Goth.*, iv, 20; cf. Euseb., *Praep. evang.*, v, 17.
 328, 2. frontier. Strabo, ii, p. 117 C.
 328, 5. Susa. Pausan., iv, 31, 5. On the travels of Pausanias cf. *StRE*, v, 1258*.

- 328, 7. strangers. Dio Chrys., *Or.*, xii, p. 198 M.
 328, 10. see. Tac., *Germ.*, c. 2.
 328, 15. people. Cic., *De prov. cons.*, c. 12.
 328, 21. settled. *Flori Epit.*, ed. Jahn, p. xlii; cf. Hübner in *Hermes*, i, 97.
 328, 22. resort. Cf. e.g. Cleon of Magnesia in Pausan., x, 4, 4, and Ruf. Festus Avienus, *Ora marit.*, 270.
 328, 26. Africa. Cic., *Tuscul.*, i, 20, 45.
 328, 27. prevented. Aristid., *Or.*, xlviii, p. 355.
 328, 28. Melkarth. Kiepert, *Lehrb. d. a. Geogr.*, 486, 2.
 328, 32. back. P. Ann. Flor., *op. cit.*, p. xli, 5.
 328, 36. nearest. Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 20.
 329, 2. Nile. Ovid, *Epp. ex Ponto*, ii, 10, 21; *Trist.*, i, 2, 77.
 329, 17. circus. Seneca, *Tranq. an.*, 2, 13.
 329, 21. empty. Stat., *Silv.*, iv, 4.
 329, 22. coasts. M. Antonin., iv, 3: ἀναχωρήσεις αὐτοῖς ζητοῦσιν, ἀγροικίας καὶ αἰγιαλοὺς καὶ ὄρη.
 329, 26. Pompeii. Drumann, *RG*, vi, 388–394.
 329, 28. others. *Ibid.*, iv, 538.
 329, 28. Empire. Cf. vol. i, p. 113 f.; ii, p. 193 ff.
 329, 32. lists. Martial, x, 30, 1–10; Stat., *Silv.*, i, 3, 83 sqq.; iv, 4, 14, sqq.
 329, 33. villas. Cf. the list in Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 25.
 329, 35. Praeneste. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 72.
 329, 41. springs. Martial, v, 1.
 330, 2. private. Lanciani, *Delle antiche ville Tuscolane*, in *Bull. com. d. R.*, 1884, pp. 172–212 and plates xx and xxi.
 330, 4. climate. Julian, *Orat.*, i, p. 13 D.: ῥᾶον διήνεγκας τὴν ἐκ Γαλατῶν ἐς Παρθυαίους ἀνοδὸν (ἦ) τῶν πλουσίων οἱ ταῖς ὥραις τὴν οἰκησιν συµμεταβάλλοντες, εἰ παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν βιασθεῖεν.
 330, 10. Tibur. Fronto, *Epp. ad M. Caesar. et invicem*, ii, 6, ed. Naber.
 330, 11. April. Mommsen, *Edict des Claudius*, in *Hermes*, iv, 105.
 330, 11. March. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 34.
 330, 14. Algidus. Stat., *Silv.*, iv, 4, 14 sqq.
 330, 18. solstice. Gell., xvii, 10, 1 (aestu anni); Stat., *Silv.*, i, 3, 88 (bruma).
 330, 20. summer. Stat., *Silv.*, iv, 4, 23 sq.; Pers., *Satt.*, vi, 6 sqq.
 330, 21. Salernum. Horace, *Epp.*, i, 15.
 330, 24. Campania. *Id.*, *Carm.*, ii, 6; Seneca, *Tranq. an.*, 2, 13; *Epp.*, 68, 5.
 330, 33. breakwaters. Pliny, *Epp.*, vi, 31, 15. See also *CIL*, xi, p. 524^a.
 330, 35. age. Pliny, *Epp.*, vi, 10, 2; *StRE*, i^a (Alsium).
 330, 39. administered. Henzen, 5144; E. Luigi Tocco, *Alsium oggi Palo e sue ville romane*, *BdI*, 1867, 209–212.
 331, 5. fare. Fronto, *De fer. Alsiens.*, 3.
 331, 7. mentions. Varro, *R. r.*, iii, 2.
 331, 9. happiness. Gell., xviii, 1.
 331, 17. morality. Minuc. Fel., *Octav.*, c. 2–4.
 331, 18. Pratica. *CIL*, xiv, p. 186.
 331, 20. towns. Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 17.

- 331, 23. plague. Herodian, i, 12.
 331, 28. Circe. Drumann, *RG*, vi, 391 f.
 331, 29. guards. Hehn, *Italien*, p. 52.
 331, 30. imperial. Martial, xi, 7, 4.
 332, 1. gravel. Westphal, *Röm. Campagna*, p. 39; Gregorovius, *Figuren*, 148 ff.; *StRE*, i^a (Antium); Lanciani, *BdI*, 1870, p. 14 ss.
 332, 11. canal. Martial, x, 51, 58. Procopius, *B. Goth.*, i, 11, also calls the canal a river; cf. Gregorovius, *G. d. StR*, i^a, 345.
 332, 14. view. Westphal, *op. cit.*, p. 63.
 332, 16. Strabo. Strabo, v, 233.
 332, 19. roof. Tac., *A.*, iv, 59, with Nipperdey's note.
 332, 26. stocked. Martial, x, 30.
 332, 27. villa. Aelian, *Tact.*, *praef.*, (*Griech. Kriegsschriftst.*, ii, 236): ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς σου Νέρουα παρὰ Φορτυλῆ τῇ ἐπισήμῳ ὑπατικῇ ἐν Φορτυλαῖς ἡμέρας τινὰς διέτριψα. *Dig.*, i, 8, 4: Nemo igitur ad litus maris accedere prohibetur piscandi causa, dum tamen villis et aedificiis et monumentis abstinenceatur, quia non sunt iuris gentium, sicut et mare; idque et Divus Pius piscatoribus Formianis et Capetanis (*l. Cajetanis*) rescipsit.
 332, 30. Marcia. Martial, x, 30, 9.
 332, 30. Apicius. Athen., i, 7a.
 332, 31. house. Porphyry, *Vita Plotini*, 7.
 332, 38. disadvantages. Seneca, *Epp.*, 55, 6; Beloch, *Campanien*, p. 178 f.
 333, 1. Republic. Cic., *Att.*, ii, 8, 2; 5, 17; *Pro Planc.*, 26, 65.
 333, 1. Misenum. Horace, *Epp.*, i, 17, 52.
 333, 2. continuous. Strabo, v, 247.
 333, 5. abode. Stat., *Silv.*, iii, 5, 81-104.
 333, 19. Naples. Strabo, v, 246; Vergil, ed. Ribbeck, p. xxv.
 333, 20. repose. Ovid, *M.*, xv, 711; Verg., *G.*, iv, 563; Horace, *Epp.*, v, 43.
 333, 22. Italy. Mommsen, *Trimalchios Heimat und Grabschrift*, in *Hermes*, xiii, 108. Cf. *CIL*, x, p. 171.
 333, 25. busts. Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 7.
 333, 29. cut. Strabo, v, 245.
 333, 30. chose. Seneca, *Epp.*, 57, 1.
 333, 34. Cicero's. Drumann, *RG*, vi, 393 f.
 333, 35. Julianus. Gell., xviii, 5, 1.
 333, 36. *Convivium*. Stephan. Byzant., 230, 19 M.; Leutz, *Herodian. vell.*, pp. vii and ix.
 333, 39. died. Phaedr., *Fabb.*, ii, 5; Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 72.
 334, 2. vineyards. Strabo, v, 244. *Notizie dei scavi*, 1880, p. 232, tav. vii: Vesuvio con Baccho (painting from Pompeii).
 334, 4. Vesuvius. Tac., *A.*, iv, 67.
 334, 7. Hercules. Martial, iv, 4, 4.
 334, 10. milk-cure. Cf. vol. i, p. 321.
 334, 15. Massa. Beloch, *Campanien*, 269-274. The villa of Pollius Felix (perhaps the father of Statius' friend), which overlooked the Limon opposite (Stat., *S.*, ii, 3, 149; 2, 82: between Nisida and the reef La Gajola at the Punta) was called Epilimones (an unexplained form). This is known from an inscrip-

- tion of 12 Jan. 65, found during the cutting of the new Posilipo tunnel near Piedigrotta in the channel of a Roman conduit. Mommsen, *Hermes*, xviii, 758.
- 334, 16. wine. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii, 451, 16; on the other side see Strabo, v, 243.
- 334, 17. Neptune. Stat., *Silv.*, ii, 2, 21-24.
- 334, 19. glorification. Vergil, *Catal.*, 6.
- 334, 21. palaces. Strabo, v, 248; Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 98.
- 334, 22. erected. Tac., *A.*, iv, 67.
- 334, 28. roads. Gregorovius, *Figuren**, 346-365.
- 334, 39. pirates. *Id. ib.*, p. 152.
- 335, 1. deserted. Cassiodorus, *Var.*, iv, 48: *Lucaniae dulces recessus*; Eutrop., ix, 25, 10, 3.
- 335, 10. expense. Cassiodorus, *Var.*, xii, 15.
- 335, 15. Dio. Dio, lxi, 17.
- 335, 19. Quietus. *Digg.*, xvii, 1, 16.
- 335, 23. Tibur. Martial, iv, 25; Hehn, *Italien*, p. 18.
- 335, 29. coast. Cassiodorus, *Var.*, xii, 22.
- 335, 35. was. *CIL*, xiv, p. 217.
- 335, 39. Gandolfo. *CIL*, xiv, p. 216^b. On the private and imperial villas (*ib.*, 2608: T. Flavius Aug. l. Epaphra proc. *villarum Tusculanarum*), *ib.*, p. 253 sq.
- 335, 40. lined. Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 17.
- 335, 41. Subiaco. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 22; Pliny, *N. H.*, iii, 109. Westphal, *Röm. Campagna*, p. 118. The lakes there are said to have disappeared after an inundation of the Anio in the year 1305. *CIL*, xiv, p. 354. Remains of Nero's villa at Subiaco, *Notizie dei scavi*, 1883, p. 19 s.; 1884, p. 425 ss.
- 336, 8. works. Vol. ii, p. 195 f. Cf. Justi, *Winckelmann*, ii, 1, 24, *CIL*, xiv, p. 366.
- 336, 18. return. Lucret., iii, 1063.
- 336, 19. men. Cic., *Pro Coel.*, 14, 34 sq.
- 336, 21. women. Ovid, *Am.*, ii, 16, 49; cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii*, 734, 7.
- 336, 24. leaping. Propert., iv, 8, 15-26; cf. ii, 32, 9.
- 336, 25. ponies. Horace, *Epod.*, 4, 14 (et Appiam mannis terit).
- 336, 26. torches. Ovid, *Fast.*, iii, 269.
- 336, 31. opportunity. *Id.*, *A. a.*, i, 259.
- 336, 32. settlement. Juv., 4, 117; Jahn ad Pers., 6, 56. Cf. Preller, *RM**, i, 315 n.
- 337, 6. Nature. Martial, xi, 80.
- 337, 7. hills. Becker-Göll, i, 149; *StRE*, i*, Baiae; *CIL*, x, p. 351. Baiae, first mentioned in Livy, xli, 16, 3 (A.U.C. 578) as 'Aquae Cumanæ', belonged to the territory of Cumae. In the beginning of the first century B.C. it seems to have been still little visited (deserta ad id tempus [of Sergius Orata] ora Lucrini lacus, Valer. Max., ix, 1, 1).
- 337, 7. Nereids. Martial, iv, 57, 8.
- 337, 9. catered. Dio, xlviii, 51.
- 337, 12. monarch. Josephus, *A. J.*, xviii, 7, 2.
- 337, 16. intended. H. Jordan, *Die Küste von Puteoli auf einem röm. Glasgefäß*, in *Archäol. Ztg.*, 1868, p. 91 ff.; cf. his *Topo-*

- graphie d. St. Rom*, ii, 145. Beloch, *Campanien*, p. 184 f., considers, rightly, I think, the 'Pharos' on this glass vessel to be a lighthouse at Baiae itself.
- 337, 17. shore. Pliny, *Epp.*, ix, 7.
- 337, 17. sea. Horace, *Carm.*, ii, 18, 20; Verg., *Aen.*, ix, 709 sqq. Cf. *CIL*, x, p. 213, on the villas near Bauli and Misenum.
- 337, 23. spy. Regianus: *Anthol. Lat.*, ed. Riese, 272.
- 337, 26. exceptional. Martial, iii, 58, 1-5.
- 337, 27. themselves. Strabo, v, 4, 7, p. 246 C.
- 337, 30. 117 A.D. *Catal. Imp.* Beloch, *op. cit.*, p. 185, supposes, I know not for what reason, that *Baiae veteres* was the imperial palace.
- 337, 32. ponds. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 26.
- 337, 33. world. For its later history cf. Florian., c. 6; Symmach., *Epp.*, i, 7, 8; v, 93; vii, 24; viii, 23; Auson., *Mosell.*, 346; Ammian., xxviii, 4, 18; Eunap., *Vitt. soph. Iamblich.*, 26 (Γάδαρα) . . . θερμὰ δὲ ἐστὶ λουτρά τῆς Συρίας, τῶν γε κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἐν Βαταῖς δεύτερα, ἐκείνοις δὲ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἕτερα παραβάλλεσθαι. Mueller, *Gen. aev. Theod.*, ii, p. 34.
- 337, 34. unhealthy. Cic., *Ad Fam.*, ix, 12, 1.
- 337, 37. salubrity. Cassiodorus, *Var.*, ix, 6.
- 337, 40. Baiae. Andres, *Dell' aria di Baja.*, *Bull. Nap.*, N. S., ii, p. 74 ss.
- 337, 41. summer. Lersch, *Gesch. d. Balneologie*, p. 147. Petrarch, *Epp. fam.*, v, 4.
- 338, 2. immorality. M. Landau, *Boccaccio*, p. 21 f., 37, 103.
- 338, 4. fire. Lersch, *op. cit.*, p. 185.
- 338, 10. boats. Juv., 12, 80 (*Bajana cumba*).
- 338, 10. galley. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 5.
- 338, 11. races. Auson., *Mosell.*, 201; cf. 345 ss.
- 338, 14. music. Cf. the passages cited in Becker-Göll, i, 152 f., especially Seneca, *Epp.*, 51; Cic., *Pro Coel.*, 15 and 20; *In Clod.*, 4.
- 338, 15. rowed. Propert., *Eleg.*, i, 11, 9-14; Martial, iii, 20, 20.
- 338, 16. above. Cels., ii, 17.
- 338, 17. feasts. Tac., *loc. cit.*
- 338, 21. girls. Varro, *Sat. Menipp.*, fr. 44 (Buecheler, *Petron.*, p. 165). Martial (vi, 68, 9; x, 30, 10) was probably not the first to localize the story of Salmacis in the Lucrine lake.
- 338, 23. misfortune. Cic., *Ad Fam.*, ix, 3.
- 338, 25. oysters. Juv., 11, 49.
- 338, 27. heart. Ovid, *A. a.*, i, 283.
- 338, 30. love. Regianus: *Anthol. Lat.*, ed. Riese, n. 270-272 (i, 182 sq.).
- 338, 32. solved. Prop., i, 11, 27.
- 338, 33. Helena. Martial, i, 63.
- 338, 35. Puteoli. Gell., xviii, 5, 1.
- 339, 1. nearest. Cic., *Verr.*, ii, 2, 37: *jucunda suburbanitas*.
- 339, 2. Etna. Lucret., i, 727; cf. *Aetna*, 593.
- 339, 8. Ceres. Diodorus, v, 3; Cic., *Verr.*, ii, 4, 48 etc.
- 339, 9. Cicero. Cic., *Verr.*, v, 10, 26. As a matter of fact, in the

- whole of Sicily there are not more than five; Nissen, *Ital. Landesk.*, i, 376.
- 339, 11. seen. Cic., *Verr.*, ii, 5, 27, 68.
- 339, 14. Palici. Now only one; Nissen, *op. cit.*, i, 275, 3.
- 339, 19. asylum. Ovid, *Epp. ex Ponto*, ii, 10, 21 sqq.; Diodorus, xi, 89.
- 339, 21. Sicily. Seneca, *Consol. ad Polybium*, 17, 36; Sueton., *Caligula*, 24.
- 339, 23. rumble. *Id. ib.*, 51.
- 339, 24. Syracuse. Seneca, *Ad Marc.*, c. 17, 2.
- 339, 25. voracious. Cf. Jerome, *C. Rufin.*, iii, 22 (ed. Vallars, ii, 551). Cf. vol. i, p. 383.
- 339, 39. read. Firmic. Matern., *Mathes.*, i *præf.*
- 340, 3. legend. Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 24.
- 340, 5. sacred. *Anthol. Lat.*, ed. Meyer, iii, 876 (bk. ii, p. 1), v. 3.
- 340, 11. Asia. Livy, xxxviii, 54.
- 340, 13. great. *Id.*, xlv, 27 sq.; cf. Polyb., xxx, 15.
- 340, 27. visitors. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, ii, 436 f.
- 340, 32. spring. Pausan., ix, 4, 1.
- 340, 34. shrines. Hertzberg, *op. cit.*, p. 437, 26.
- 340, 37. jutting. Dio Chrys., *Orat.*, vii, p. 106 M.
- 340, 38. figures. G. Hirschfeld, *De titulis statuar.*, p. 9.
- 340, 39. unpeopled. Cf. the descriptions by Zinkeisen, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, after Strabo, p. 516 ff., after Pausanias, p. 553 f.
- 341, 1. meet. Dio Chrys., *Or.*, i, p. 11 M.
- 341, 3. primitive. *Id. ib.*, vii; cf. O. Jahn, *Aus der Alterthums-wissenschaft*, p. 63, 1; Rohde, *Gr. Roman*, 510, 2.
- 341, 7. Sulla. Wachsmuth, *Athen.*, i, 657-660.
- 341, 7. desolation. Horace, *Epp.*, ii, 2, 81: *vacuas . . . Athenas.*
- 341, 11. spotless. Ovid, *Metam.*, ii, 795. The fine description in *A. a.*, iii, 687, of the grove and spring of Hymettus shows that the author had visited the scene; cf. Ross in Humboldt, *Kosmos*, ii, p. 108, n. 30. 'Venus prospiciens' on Salamis is mentioned in *Metam.*, xiv, 759.
- 341, 12. Roman. Cic., *Ad Att.*, v, 10, 5; 11, 4; Prop., iii (iv), 21 29 sq.
- 341, 14. eternal. Plutarch, *Pericles*, c. 13, 3.
- 341, 15. deep. Dio Chrys., *Or.*, xxxi, p. 348, 27 M.
- 341, 23. Acropolis. Vol. ii, p. 253.
- 341, 26. antiquity. Sever., c. 3.
- 341, 37. well. Aristid., *ib.*, p. 187 sq. J.
- 342, 3. dream. *Id.*, *ib.*, p. 96 sq.
- 342, 10. dale. *Id. ib.*, p. 100 sq.
- 342, 19. described. Strabo, viii, 22, p. 397. Cf. Curtius, *Peloponnes.*, ii, 527 ff. and Götting, *Ges. Abhandlungen*, ii, 31 ff.
- 342, 22. Achaia. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, i, 505; ii, 4, 39.
- 342, 23. colonnade. Stat., *Silv.*, ii, 2, 34.
- 342, 25. Jupiter. Pausan., ii, 4, 5.
- 342, 27. thermae. Vol. ii, p. 258.
- 342, 32. metropolis. Aristid., *Or.*, iii, p. 21 sq.
- 342, 38. Poseidon. *Id. ib.*, pp. 23, 5 J.

- 343, 3. books. *Id. ib.*, p. 24, 10, where R. Rochette, *Peint. antiq.*, p. 198, 2 wrongly refers *θησαυροὶ γραμμάτων* to paintings.
- 343, 6. Numisianus. Galen, ed. K., ii, 127.
- 343, 22. Epidaurian. Curtius, *Peloponnes*, ii, pp. 423 ff. and 573; Bursian, *Geogr. von Griechenland*, ii, 74-76.
- 343, 29. Sulla. Plutarch, *Sulla*, c. 26, 5.
- 343, 34. better. *Id.*, *Quaest. conviv.*, iv, 4, 1-4, and 8. *De fraterno amore*, c. 17. Cf. Bursian, *Geogr. v. Griechenland*, ii, 409.
- 343, 35. buried. *Ausland*, 1866, no. 2, p. 48; cf. Abegg, *Die Bäderstadt Aedepeus*, in *Ausland*, 1874, p. 190.
- 344, 4. stay. Antipater, *Thessalonica*, 35-37. *Anthol.*, ed. Jacobs, ii, p. 104 sq. (*A. Pal.*, ix, 421); Apollonidas, *A. P.*, ix, 408.
- 344, 7. Naxos. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, ii, 96, 3.
- 344, 12. island. Philostrat., *Vit. Apoll. Tyam.*, ed. K., p. 138, 22.
- 344, 14. Roman. *CIL*, iii, 1, 489.
- 344, 16. West. Mommsen, *Eph. epigr.*, v, 602; *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.*, viii (1884), p. 75 ss.
- 344, 18. recovered. Ad. Michaelis, *Griech. Grabreliefs*, in *Archäol. Zeitg.*, 1872, p. 148 f.; Bursian, *op. cit.*, ii, 458.
- 344, 19. possessed. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 236, 1.
- 344, 20. depopulated. Pausan., viii, 33, 1.
- 344, 22. Cicero. Cic., *Ad Attic.*, v, 11.
- 344, 24. birth. Pliny, *N. H.*, xvi, 240.
- 344, 25. two. Ovid, *Mét.*, xiii, 630 (cf. above, n. on 341, 11): duasque Latona quondam stirpes pariente retentas; in *Heroid.*, 21, 102 only one palm-tree is mentioned (et de qua pariens arbore nixa dea est), an indication of different authorship.
- 344, 28. seen. Ovid, *Heroid.*, 21, 95-104.
- 344, 29. Lesbos. Horace, *Carm.*, i, 7, 1; *Epp.*, i, 11, 1. Cf. Kessler, *Philologus*, xxviii, 559 f.
- 344, 32. environs. Cic., *Contra Rull.*, ii, 16, 40.
- 344, 33. Marcellus. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 10; cf. Cichorius, *Rom und Mytilene*, p. 46 f. (residence of Germanicus in 18 A.D., and visit of Hadrian in 124).
- 344, 34. exile. Tac., *A.*, vi, 3.
- 344, 39. abode. Conze, *Reise auf der Insel Lesbos* (1865), pp. 3 and 51 f.
- 345, 3. Horace. Horace, *Carm.*, i, 7, 1.
- 345, 4. unrivalled. Strabo, xiv, p. 652.
- 345, 5. Greece. Dio Chrys., *Or.*, xxxi (Rhod.), p. 321, 31 M.; 327, 17; 341, 27. Cf. Marquardt, *StV*, i², 349, 2.
- 345, 9. blows. Aristid., *Or.*, xliii (Rhod.), p. 550, 14, ed. J.
- 345, 11. built. *Id.*, p. 541 init.
- 345, 12. Sun-God. Lucian, *Amores*, c. 8.
- 345, 19. Miletus. Diodor., xix, 45.
- 345, 23. wreath. The whole description is taken from Aristid., *ib.*, p. 539, 8 to 541, 3; cf. Pausanias, iv, 31, 5.
- 345, 26. ravages. Dio, *Or.*, xxxi, p. 355 M.
- 345, 27. statues. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxiv, 36.
- 345, 29. sate. Aristid., *ib.*, p. 553, 11.
- 345, 30. acceptable. Horace, *Carm.*, i, 7, 1.

- 345, 31. Tiberius. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 11. (Cf. the poem of Apollonidas [15], *Anthol. Gr.*, ed. Jacobs, ii, p. 121 sq.)
- 345, 34. suspected. Tac., *A.*, vi, 20 sq.
- 345, 35. abdicate. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 34.
- 345, 37. tour. Tac., *A.*, ii, 53.
- 346, 7. roofs. Strabo, xiii, p. 594.
- 346, 9. Trojan. *Id. ib.*, p. 600.
- 346, 13. heroes. Herodotus, vii, 43; Arrian, i, 11; Plutarch, *Alex.*, c. 15.
- 346, 22. unscathed. Appian, *Mithridat.*, 53.
- 346, 25. immunity. Strabo, p. 594 sq.
- 346, 28. possessing. Tac., *A.*, iv, 55.
- 346, 31. troops. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 25.
- 346, 33. Julii. Tac., *A.*, xii, 58.
- 346, 35. ancestry. *Digg.*, xxvii, 1, 17 § 1.
- 347, 6. Strabo. Grote, *History of Greece*, 1884, i, p. 319 ff.
- 347, 7. Greek. *Ibid.*, p. 320.
- 347, 12. antiquities. Philostratus, *Apoll. Tyan.*, iv, 11, 148, p. 168, ed. K.
- 347, 18. Ilius. Strabo, xiii; Pompon. Mela, i, 18; Artemidor., *Onirocr.*, iv, 47, p. 228.
- 347, 19. Diodorus. Diodorus, xvii, 7.
- 347, 23. Ilians. Pausan., viii, 12, 4.
- 347, 26. Tyana. Strabo, *loc. cit.*; Philostrat., *loc. cit.*; Dio, lxxvii, 16; Herodian, iv, 8.
- 347, 29. anew. Pliny, *N. H.*, xvi, 238; Philipp., *Epigr.*, 75; *Anthol. Gr.*, ed. Jacobs, ii, p. 216.
- 347, 32. legend. See Ovid, *Fasti*, vi, 421.
- 347, 33. Juno. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, p. 51, 1.
- 347, 37. impressions. Lucan, *Pharsal.*, ix, 901 sqq.; cf. Sueton., ed. Roth, p. 299, 20. K. B. Stark, *Nach d. griech. Orient*, p. 373, adduces the passage of Lucan, 'which one might think written to-day on the heights of Balidagh', as a proof 'that the conviction was far from universally prevalent that the later Ilion was the local successor of ancient Troy'. It is clear that Caesar himself could only look for Troy in Ilium; and one would require the strongest reasons for the assumption that Lucan looked elsewhere for it, as, to the best of my knowledge, there is no trace elsewhere in Roman literature of any doubt as to the identity of the two cities. Probably a great part of Ilium lay waste after Fimbria destroyed it, and Lucan's description refers to such ruins. A. Steitz, *Die Lage des Homerischen Troja* (*N. Jahrb. f. Phil.*, 1875, p. 255, 7), finds no trace of personal observation in Lucan's description, and sees in it only a rhetorical display.
- 348, 10. excelled. Pausan., vii, 5.
- 348, 11. Colophon. *Id.*, l. c.
- 348, 12. oracle. Tac., *A.*, ii, 54.
- 348, 14. baths. Aristid., *Or.*, xiii, p. 189 J.
- 348, 16. native. Dio Chrys., p. 489, 20 M.
- 348, 18. Asia. Strabo, xiv, 641 sq.
- 348, 19. country. Aristides, *Or.*, xlii, p. 522 J.

- 348, 19. province. Marquardt, *StV*, i², 337-343; cf. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 303.
- 348, 21. world. Seneca, *Epp.*, 102, 21.
- 348, 24. drainage. Strabo, xiv, 646.
- 348, 30. Aristides. Lucian, *Imagg.*, 2; Aristides, *Or.*, xli, p. 613 J.; Philostrat., *Apoll. Ty.*, iv, 7, p. 67, ed. K; *CIG*, 3202, 3304-6.
- 348, 31. 178. Dio, lxxi, 32.
- 349, 6. leisure. Cf. (besides Strabo, *loc. cit.*) Aristid., *Or.*, xv, p. 232 J.; xx, p. 261; xii, p. 521.
- 349, 7. schools. Cf. vol. i, p. 317 and note on l. 18.
- 349, 10. strings. Philostrat., *Vitt. soph.*, ed. K., p. 219.
- 349, 13. Albinus. K. Sprengel, *Gesch. d. Medicin*, ii, 136 f. Strabo, xii, p. 580, mentions a medical school there, which no longer existed at his time.
- 349, 25. consulted. Tac., *Hist.*, ii, 2-4. Jerome, *Vit. Hilarionis*, 42 (ed. v, 11, 37): ingressus ergo Paphum urbem Cypri nobilem carminibus poetarum, quae frequenter terrae motu lapsa, nunc ruinarum tantum vestigiis quod olim fuerit ostendit.
- 249, 30. Agrippa. Pliny, *N. H.*, v, 70; cf. on Agrippa's visit to Jerusalem, Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.*, p. 589 M.
- 349, 32. Jordan. Paus., v, 7, 3. In the text 'Dead Sea' should be read for 'Red Sea', and 'Antioch' for 'Antiochia'.
- 350, 1. Rome. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 407, 7.
- 350, 6. small. Antiphil., *Epigr.*, 16 (*Anthol. Gr.*, ed. Jacobs, ii, p. 185).
- 350, 7. hostel. Stat., *Silv.*, iii, 5, 75.
- 350, 14. gate. Jordan, *Die Küste von Puteoli etc.*, in *Arch. Ztg.*, 1868, p. 93 f.; Beloch, *Campanien*, pp. 125-127, cf. 132 ff.
- 350, 20. topsail. Seneca, *Epp.*, 77, 1.
- 350, 24. ports. Wilmanns, *E. I.*, 2231.
- 350, 28. African. Strabo, iii, p. 145 C.
- 350, 30. beyond. Philostratus, *Apoll. Tyan.*, vii, 12, p. 134, ed. K.
- 350, 31. investment. Cic., *De fin.*, ii, 26, 84.
- 350, 34. exported. Diodorus, v, 13; Blümner, *Die gewerbl. Thätigkeit d. Völker des class. Alterthums*, 117, 9.
- 350, 40. Syria. Wilmanns, *E. I.*, 1104a = *CIL*, x, 1797.
- 351, 2. spending. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 98.
- 351, 5. resting. See n. on vol. I, p. 306, 2.
- 351, 7. Jews. Minervini, *Bull. Nap.*, N. S., iii (1855), p. 105: Giudei in Pozzuoli. *CIL*, x, 2258: P. Claudius Aciba. Cf. *Acts of Apostles*, xxviii, 14.
- 351, 10. worships. *CIG*, iii, 5853 with notes by Franz; Mommsen, *IRN*, 2462 = *CIL*, x, 1556: three bases with 'Dusari sacrum'. Cf. *ib.*, 1576, 1578, 1579, and 1634. Cf. Beloch, *Campanien*, p. 120 f.
- 351, 14. erected. *IRN*, 2486 = *CIL*, x, 1624.
- 351, 20. vessels. Philo, *In Flacc.*, p. 533 M.: σκάφους δ' ἐπιβάς τῶν μάχιστα ταχυναντούντων.
- 351, 21. built. Suidas, s.v. ναῦς.
- 351, 23. curious. Lucian, *Navig.*, 1-6, 13.

- 351, 27. tons. Cf. Graser, *De veterum re navali* (1864), pp. 42 and 47; also Jas. Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*⁴, 1880, p. 187 ff., who calculates the tonnage of the *Isis* at only 1100–1200 tons.
- 351, 35. reputed. Philo, *In Flacc.*, 5, p. 521 M.; Plutarch, *De f. orac.*, 17.
- 351, 36. Aristides. Aristid., *Or.*, xlv, π. ἡγορικῆς, p. 93 J. 600 persons in a ship, which brought prisoners from Judaea to Rome: Joseph., *Vit.*, 3. In *Acts of Apostles*, xxvii, 37 the MS. readings vary between 76 and 276. At the time of the Crusades the pilgrim transports carried 1000, 1500, and more passengers; Prutz, *Kulturgesch. d. Kreuzzüge*, p. 105.
- 351, 38. palace. Pliny, *N. H.*, iii, 120 (praegrandi illa domo verius quam nave).
- 351, 40. marble. *Id. ib.*, xxxvi, 2; cf. Bruzza, *Iscr. de' marmi grezzi*, *AdI*, 1870, p. 136.
- 352, 4. burnt. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvi, 70.
- 352, 7. corn. *Catal. imp.*, in *Abhandl. d. Sächs. Ges.*, ii, 1.
- 352, 14. planted. Pliny, *N. H.*, xvi, 201 sq.; xxxvi, 70; Preller, *Regionen*, 221 f.
- 352, 18. rowers. Ammian., xvii, 4, 13. The transport and the erection of the obelisk on the Place de la Concorde in Paris cost 2 million francs.
- 352, 20. admired. *Ausland*, 1867, p. 722.
- 352, 27. fastest. Pliny, *N. H.*, xix, 1.
- 352, 29. cannot. Wessely, *Die Dalen griech. Papyrus aus röm. Kaiserzeit. Mitth. a. d. Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, ii, iii (1887), p. 11.
- 352, 31. Sicily. Cf. e.g. also Cicero, *Verr.*, ii, 5, 56, 145.
- 352, 33. *stadia*. Diodorus, v, 12.
- 352, 36. Rhégium. *Acts of Apostles*, xxviii, 11–13; Hausrath, *Der Apostel Paulus*, p. 466 ff.
- 352, 38. miles. Josephus, *B. J.*, iv, 10, 5.
- 352, 39. star. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvi, 83.
- 352, 40. revealed. Strabo, xvii, 1, p. 792.
- 352, 41. Pharos. Ovid, *Am.*, ii, 13, 8: palmiferamque Pharon.
- 353, 2. entrusted. *IRN*, 6846: M. Aurelius Aug. lib. . . . proc. fari Alexandriae ad Aegyptum.
- 353, 3. legends. H. v. Maltzan, *Arab. Sagen über Alexandria*, in *Ausland*, 1870, p. 967.
- 353, 14. trace. A. v. Kramer, *Aegypten*, ii, 132 ff.
- 353, 15. clusters. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, i, 869. The lighthouse of Pharos appears to be depicted in the hand of an allegorical figure on a sarcophagus (Aquari, *Due sarcofagi*, in *Bull. comun. di Roma*, v, 1877, p. 154, plates xviii, xix); at least Aquari's explanation is far more probable than Lumbroso's (*BdI*, 1878, p. 66 s.), who considers it to be the lighthouse of Capri.
- 353, 18. diversity. Herodotus, ii, 35.
- 353, 26. revered. Lumbroso, *L'Egitto etc.*, pp. 1–10.
- 353, 26. spread. Athen., v, 203 C.: ὁ χρυσόβρασ Νείλος.
- 353, 27. drinkable. Aristides, *Or.*, xlviii, p. 334.
- 353, 30. War. Lucan, *Pharsal.*, x, 189–192; cf. 194 ss. Pre-

sumably the whole passage was suggested by Nero's expedition (see vol. i, p. 326 f.).

- 353, 32. Nile. Lucian, *Navig.*, 44.
 353, 36. trunks. Heliodorus, *Aethiop.*, i, 31.
 353, 36. earthenware. Strabo, xvii, p. 788; Juv., 15, 126 sq.
 353, 39. gay. Verg., *G.*, iv, 287.
 353, 40. wall-paintings. Some of them are collected by Jahn, *Wandgemälde des Columbar. der Villa Doria Panfili*, p. 22; cf. Helbig, *Wandgemälde der verschütteten Städte*, p. 393 ff.
 354, 4. crowns. Helbig, *Unters. über die campan. Wandmalerei*, pp. 101 and 302.
 354, 6. surrounding. Sever., c. 17.
 354, 6. Palestrina. Perhaps imitation of a carpet from Alexandria, cf. p. 358 (after E. Q. Visconti), Lumbroso, p. 31.
 354, 12. lances. The most important publications with full description in Wörmann, *Die Landschaft in der Kunst der alten Völker*, p. 304 ff.
 354, 14. village-huts. Stephan, *Aegypten*, pp. 51 and 367.
 354, 14. Dongola. Westphal, *Die röm. Campagna*, p. 104.
 354, 17. Tacitus. Tac., *A.*, vi, 28.
 354, 20. fruit. Pliny, *N. H.*, xiii, 42.
 354, 21. pygmies. The representations of Pygmies in Jahn, *Archäol. Beiträge*, p. 418 ff.; Helbig, *Wandgemälde*, pp. 381-383.
 354, 22. existent. According to Schweinfurth, *Im Herzen von Afrika*, ii, 131-155, the Akka, who live south of the Monbuttu, approximately between 1° and 2° N., and have an average height of 1.5 metre, are a link in the long chain of dwarf peoples, which extends across Africa along the equator. These peoples present every sign of a primeval race, which is tending to dissolution. The Akka are hunters, and especially clever in the pursuit of the elephant. Their only domestic animal is the fowl. A Pompeian mosaic 'shows Pygmies surrounded by their small houses and huts, all full of fowls'.
 354, 24. Acoris. Cf. Appendix ii.
 354, 26. Canobus. Hadrian, c. 26.
 354, 27. Memphis. Marini, *Atti degli sr. Arv.*, p. 556 = *CIL*, vi, 461: qui locus appellatur Memphi—on an estate of Severus. Cf. p. 628 and *CIG*, 5922 (ὁ τόπος Λαβύρωθος); Lüders, *Die dionys. Künstler*, p. 62 n.
 354, 36. copied. Letronne, *Rec. d'inscr. etc.*, i, p. 210; cf. Marquardt, *StV*, i², 440, 6-9. The ruins of the city of Antinoopolis, founded by Hadrian, are an exception, cf. Mannert, x, 1, 396.
 354, 38. incubators. Pliny, *N. H.*, x, 153 sq.; Hadrian, in *Vit. Saturnini*, c. 8.
 354, 39. Pilgrims. Fel. Fabri, *Evagatorium (Bibl. des litt. Vereins zu Stuttgart, vols. ii-iv)*, iii, 58; *Reisen des Samuel Kiechel* (*ibid.*, vol. lxxxvi, 442). Wilh. v. Boldensele, *Itinerarium (Ztschr. des histor. Vereins für Niedersachsen, 1852, p. 249)*.
 354, 41. Cairo. Stephan, *Das heutige Aegypten*, p. 126.
 355, 2. knots. Pliny, *N. H.*, xiii, 29; Lucian, *De dea Syria*, 29.
 355, 6. century. Rohde, *Gr. Roman*, p. 465 f.
 355, 9. learning. Heliodorus, *Aethiop.*, ii, 27.

- 355, 13. Aethiopia. Dio, lxxv, 13; *CIG*, 5973.
 355, 14. Memphis. Sueton., *Titus*, c. 5.
 355, 15. intended. Philo, *Ad Gai.*, p. 595 M.; Sueton., *Nero*, c. 19, 20.
 355, 15. Aurelius. Dio, lxxi, 28.
 355, 16. Verus. Letronne, *Rec. des inscr.*, ii, 310; cf. *CIG*, 4775, 4780 and the *Addenda*.
 355, 17. capital. The great abundance of the material available for a description of Alexandria will, I hope, be sufficient excuse, if I have given a more detailed account than the scope of this section demands.
 355, 23. town. For a *résumé* by Kiepert of Mahmud Bey's discoveries respecting the topography of ancient Alexandria see *Zeitschr. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin*, vii, 337 ff. Nerontsos-Bey, *L'ancienne Alexandrie*, 1888, was inaccessible to me.
 355, 28. *passuum*. Kiepert, p. 341; cf. vol. i, p. 4 and note. Cf. Lumbroso, *L'Egitto al tempo dei Greci e dei Romani*, p. 87 s.
 355, 34. Corso. Lumbroso, *BdI*, 1874, p. 14; Wachsmuth, *Zur Topogr. v. Alexandria*, in *Rhein. Mus.*, xlii (1887), p. 464 ff.
 355, 41. led. Achill. Tat., v, 1. At the intersection of the two main streets (the centre of the town, where the *δικαστήριον*, the *ἄσκη*, the palaces and the *σημα* were situated), arose later (not much before the beginning of the fourth century) the Tetrapylon. Lumbroso, *Sulla descriz. Straboniana di Alessandria*, *AdI*, 1876, pp. 14-16; *Id.*, *L'Egitto*, p. 138.
 356, 1. Road. Kiepert, pp. 341-344.
 356, 5. water. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 582.
 356, 5. roofs. Caes., *Bell. Alex.*, i, 1.
 356, 7. fourth. Strabo, xvii, 1, p. 793 sq.; cf. Kiepert, *op. cit.*, p. 346.
 356, 9. melted. Gutschmid on Sharpe, *Gesch. Aegyptens*, ii, 91.
 356, 13. view. Strabo, *ib.*, p. 795.
 356, 15. Antony. Lumbroso, *Sulla descrizione Strabon. di Alessandria*, *AdI*, 1876, pl. 10; *id.*, *L'Egitto*, pp. 157-161.
 356, 19. silver. Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.*, 567 M.
 356, 21. decorated. Euseb., *Chron.*, ad an. 119.
 356, 27. Capitol. Ammian., xxii, 16, 12.
 356, 29. unique. *Expos. t. mundi*, 35.
 356, 31. free. Diodor., xvii, 52 sq.
 356, 36. Strabo's. Strabo, xvii, p. 792.
 356, 37. Neapolis. Wachsmuth, *Z. Topogr. v. Alexandria*, in *Rhein. Mus.*, xlii (1887).
 356, 38. second. *CIL*, viii, 8394; Henzen, 6929.
 356, 39. Jews. Marquardt, *StV*, i², 455.
 356, 40. cross-race. *Ibid.*, 283, 5.
 356, 41. districts. Philo, *In Flacc.*, p. 525 M.
 357, 1. named. Philo, *ib.*; Lumbroso, *Convi sull'antica Alessandria*, in *AdI*, 1875, p. 14 s.
 357, 2. seen. Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.*, 565 M.
 357, 4. Trajan. Grätz, *Gesch. der Juden*, iv, p. 142 f.
 357, 5. limited. Josephus, *B. J.*, ii, 18, 7 and 8.
 357, 8. contained. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 593.

- 357, 13. Indians. Dio Chrys., *Or.*, xxxii, p. 373 M.
 357, 16. Joppa. Diodorus, i, 31.
 357, 19. India. Stephan, *Das heutige Aegypten*, p. ix.
 357, 21. peoples. Dio Chrys., *Or.*, xxii, p. 372 M.
 357, 23. world. Diodorus, xvii, 52.
 357, 24. Rome. Josephus, *B. J.*, iii, 2, 4; Dio Chrys., *loc. cit.*; Aristid., *Or.*, xiv, p. 205 J.
 357, 25. Carthage. Herodian, vi, 6, 1; iv, 3, 7.
 357, 32. ascendant. Preller, *R. M.*, ii^a, 448 f.
 357, 36. fortune. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 98. Cf. n. on vol. i, p. 269, 2.
 357, 38. Ptolemies. Strabo, ii, 4, 10, p. 118; xvii, 1, 13, p. 798. On commerce under the Ptolemies see Lumbroso, *Rech. sur l'économie politique sous les Lagides*, p. 138 ss.
 357, 40. Myoshorinos. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 616, holds that this immense growth of trade was attained through closing the Egyptian ports against Arabian and Indian vessels by means of a differential tariff.
 357, 40. Africa. Strabo, xvii, 1, 13.
 358, 10. profit. Höck, *Röm. Gesch.*, i, 2, pp. 281-290. In the text '100 per cent profit' should read 'a hundredfold profit'.
 358, 11. exceeded. Strabo, p. 793.
 358, 15. harbour. Lucian, *Toxaris*, 31. The ridiculing of the Egyptians as burden-bearers (Suidas s.v. *αἰγυπτιαῖς*: οἱ τοὶ διαβάλλονται καὶ ὡς ἀχθοφόροι ὄντες, cf. s.v. *ἀχθοφόρον* and Intpp. to Cass. Dio, lxii, 6) has nothing to do with this. Lumbroso, *op. cit.*, p. 100 ss.
 358, 18. consulted. Blümer, *Die gewerbl. Thätigkeit d. Völker d. class. Alterth.*, p. 8.
 358, 21. dresses. *Id. ib.*, p. 10 f.
 358, 23. paper. *Id. ib.*, 11-13, 15.
 358, 25. army. *H. A.*, *Firm.*, c. 3.
 358, 26. famous. Blümner, p. 15 f.
 358, 29. leave. Pliny, *N. H.*, xii, 59.
 358, 32. cults. Lumbroso, *L'Egitto*, p. 97 s.
 358, 37. every. *Vit. Saturnini*, c. 8 (Lehrs rightly emends 'nummus illis deus est', for 'unus illis deus est'; cf. Juv., i, 113; also Renan, *L'Eglise chrét.*, p. 189, 3. Gutschmid in Sharpe, *Gesch. Aeg.*, ii, 146, 3 had already emended: 'Unus illis deus Nummus est'). *Ibid.*, p. 147, 1, on the authenticity of the letter, doubted by Hausrath, *Neuestam. Zeitgesch.*, iii, 534 f., and absolutely denied by Mommsen, *RG*, v, 676, 1; 585, 2.
 358, 40. corn-supply. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 31.
 359, 1. Aethiopia. Dio, *Or.*, xxxii, p. 373 M.
 359, 4. snails. Galen, xvii, B. 492; xi, 42.
 359, 4. lentils. Lumbroso, *L'Egitto*, p. 56, 2.
 359, 5. cook-house. Athen., iii, p. 94.
 359, 5. barley-beer. Varges, *De statu Aegypti*, p. 72. Hehn, *Culturpflanzen und Hausthiere*, p. 117 f. Cf. Dio Chrys., p. 387 M. The Egyptian beer *mizr*, of wheat, barley and millet, was a welcome object of taxation under the Khalifs; Kremer, *Culturgesch. des Orients*, ii, 204.
 359, 7. impudence. Cf. vol. i, p. 37.

- 359, 11. dreaded. Dio, *ib.*, p. 367 M.
 359, 13. Egypt. Borghesi, *Œuvres*, iv, 422, believes that the governor of Egypt was L. Aemilius Rectus. So also Lumbroso, *Bdl*, 1877, p. 52. Letronne, *Rec. p. servir etc.*, i, 235, however, names Vitrasius Pollio.
 359, 14. government. Seneca, *Consol. ad Helv.*, 19, 6.
 359, 20. play. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 19; Dio, lxvi, 8.
 359, 23. Antinous. *Vita Saturnini*, c. 8. Verus was only adopted in the year 135, hence the doubt expressed in n. on 358, 37 of the genuineness of the whole letter.
 359, 24. massacre. Herodian, iv, 9, 2; Dio, lxxvii, 22.
 359, 27. nowhere. Dio, *loc. cit. init.*; p. 379 M.
 359, 27. *circenses*. *Id.*, 370 M. (the words *οὕτω γὰρ εἰρησθαι πολὺ βέλτιον* are apparently a gloss.).
 359, 28. amphitheatre. Strabo, xvii, p. 795.
 359, 31. contests. Lumbroso, *L'Egitto*, p. 103 ss.
 359, 32. people. Dio, *loc. cit.*, 361 M.
 359, 34. note. Athen., iv, p. 176 E.
 359, 35. adept. *Id. ib.*, p. 183 D.
 359, 37. influence. Cf. vol. ii, p. 344f. Alexandrian flute-players, Prop., iv (v), 8, 39; Tac., *A.*, xiv, 60. Cithara-players, *CIG*, 6651.
 359, 39. tumult. Dio, *loc. cit.*, 367 M.
 359, 40. people. *Id.*, 371 M. sqq.
 359, 40. fights. Dio, *loc. cit.*, 374 M. sqq. Lumbroso, *L'Egitto*, p. 103 s. On the riots on the racecourse of Alexandria, Philo-
 strat., *Apoll. Tyan.*, v, 26.
 360, 3. creating. Philo, *In Flacc.*, p. 519 M. *in f.*: τὸ Ἀλγυπτιακὸν . . . διὰ βραχυράτου σπινθήρος εἰωθὸς ἐκφυστῶν στάσεις μεγάλας. Cf. vol. i, p. 37, and Varges, *De statu Aegypti*, p. 48; Lumbroso, *L'Egitto*, pp. 67, 3 and 68; and on the *θίασοι* (σύνοδοι, συμπόσια, κλῶναι), p. 72, 3.
 360, 6. impertinence. Philo, *loc. cit.*, p. 537.
 360, 9. flew. *Hist. Aug.*, xxx tyr., c. 22.
 360, 10. songs. Dio, *loc. cit.*, p. 383 M.
 360, 11. troops. Cf. e.g. Dio, lxxviii, 35. On the Roman troops quartered in Alexandria cf. Varges, p. 67 s.; Marquardt, *StV*, i^h, 442.
 360, 14. stones. *Exposit. tot. mundi*, 37; Mommsen, *RG*, v, 484.
 360, 16. unrest. *Ibid.*, 580 f.
 360, 19. murder. Diodorus, i, 83.
 360, 21. tumult. *Hadrian*, c. 12.
 360, 22. practices. *Vita Saturnini*, c. 8, and n. on p. 358, 37.
 360, 30. perished. Josephus, *B. J.*, ii, 18, 7; Euseb., *Chron.*, ed. Schoene, p. 164, Hg. Vers. Arm.
 360, 34. consumptive. Cels., iii, 22; but cf. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxi, 63; xxiv, 28, and vol. i, p. 321 of this work.
 360, 35. snow. Seneca, *Qu. n.*, iv, 2, 20.
 360, 35. roses. Martial, vi, 80; Becker-Göll, iii, 78.
 360, 36. sunshine. Ammian. Marc., xxii, 16, 8.
 360, 37. monsoons. Diodor., xvii, 52.
 360, 39. harsh. Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 19, 6.

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- 360, 40. studied. Sprengel, *Gesch. d. Medicin*, ii, 137.
 360, 40. repute. Cf. vol. i, p. 168.
 361, 1. flock. Galen, ed. K., iii, 220.
 361, 2. physician. *Id. ib.*, i, p. clvi.
 361, 3. witnesses. Πρὸς Πελῶνα περὶ τῆς θηριακῆς, c. 8; Galen, ed. K., xiv, 237.
 361, 6. studied. Plutarch, *Anton.*, c. 28, 2. Study of medicine and Cynic philosophy in Alexandria, Lucian, *Toxar.*, 27; Ammian., xxii, 16, 18 with Lindenbrog's note, and Vales. (Fulgent. Planciades l. i. mythol. Alexandriae in cunctis fere angiporis fuisse medicorum domicilia scribit); Eunap., *Vitt. Sophist.*, 180 (Magnus); Augustine, *C. D.*, xxii, 8, 3. Cf. also Kuhn, *Verfassung des römischen Reichs*, i, 89.
 361, 5. health. *Expos. tot. mundi*, 37 (*Geogr. lat. min.*, ed. Riese, pp. 114, 17-20).
 361, 8. sought. Strabo, xiv, 4, 13, p. 674; Lucian, *Alexand.*, 44 (ὕδν . . . ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ παιδευόμενον). Cf. Gräfenhan, *Gesch. d. class. Philol.*, iii, 49 f.; Bernhardt, *Gesch. d. gr. Litt.*, i, 414.
 361, 12. including. Ammian., *ib.* 17. Cf. the note and Kuhn, *Verfassung des röm. Reichs*, i, 100. Public instruction in music, Julian, *Epp.*, 56. On a school of mathematics (till 640) see Gräfenhan, iii, 49. Alchemy, Suidas, s.vv. Διοκλητιανός and Ζώσιμος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς; Gibbon, *History*, ch. xiii, 50. A school of magic at Canobus, Rufinus, *H. eccl.*, ii, 26. For Egyptian sorcery cf. Origen, *Contra Cels.*, iii, 36; Neubauer, *Géogr. du Talmud*, p. 406. On the Egyptian doctrine of numbers see Hippolyt., *Refut.*, iv, 43 sq.
 361, 16. spread. Euseb., *Hist. eccl.*, vi, 23: ταχυγράφοι γὰρ αὐτῶ (Origeni) πλείους ἢ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν παρήσαν ὑπαγορεύοντι, χρόνους τεταγμένους ἀλλήλους ἀμείβοντες, βιβλιογράφοι τε οὐχ ἥττους, ἀμα καὶ κόρας ἐπὶ τὸ καλλιγραφεῖν ἡσκημένοις. *Expos. t. mundi*, 34: viros sapientes prae omnem mundum Aegyptus habundat.
 361, 21. celebrated. *Expos. t. mundi*, 34; Mommsen, *RG*, v, 585, 2.
 361, 21. Serapis. Cf. esp. Aristides, *Or.*, viii (p. 56); Preller, *R. M.*, ii³, 375 ff.
 361, 24. court. *Sever.*, c. 16.
 361, 25. Caracalla's. Herodian, v, 8, 6.
 361, 28. genuine. Juv., 6, 525 sqq.; cf. Ann. Florus in Florus, ed. Jahn, p. xlii.
 361, 32. thronged. Strabo, xvii, p. 799.
 361, 34. hotels. *Ib.*, p. 801.
 361, 40. Harmachis. *CIG*, iii, 4961 (Hermann, *Opp.*, vi, 140) = Kaibel, *Epigr.*, 1049. On the god Armachis or Harmachis cf. Reinisch, *StRE*, i², 1732.
 361, 41. Canobian. Strabo, p. 800: ἀρχὴ τις Κανοβισμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖ λαμπρίας.
 362, 34. secluded. Ammian., *loc. cit.*, 14: Amoenus impendio locus et laetis diversoriis exstructus, auris et salutari temperamento perflabilis, ita ut extra mundum nostrum, morari se quisquam arbitretur in tractibus illis agens, cum saepe aprico spiritu immurmurantes audierit ventos. Parthey, *Wanderungen durch Sicilien u. die Levante*, 2, 62: 'There is now hardly a

trace of the once so flourishing town, and only the branch of the Nile close by shows where it was situated.'

- 362, 5. Elysium. Lehrs, *Quaest. epp.*, p. 26.
 362, 7. oracles. Strabo, p. 801; Plutarch, *De Is. et Osir.*, c. 27; cf. Pausan., iv, 7.
 362, 8. proverbial. Cf. e.g. Juv., 6, 84 and 15, 44.
 362, 13. papyrus. Hehn, *Culturpflanzen*⁴, p. 250.
 362, 16. flutes. Strabo, xvii, 15-18, p. 799 sqq. Wanton Egyptian banquets with music and dance, Clement Alex., *Paed.*, ii, 4, 40, p. 192 Pott. Two representations of obscene revels on the Nile, *Bull. Nap.*, iii, 82; cf. also *B. N.*, 1857, p. 34, further 1856, p. 61.
 362, 23. camels. Philostrat., *Apoll. Tyan.*, v, 43, ed. Kayser, p. 104: (from Alexandria) ἐχώρουν εὐθὺς πυραμίδων ἐπὶ καμήλων ὁχοῦμενοι, δεξιὸν θέμενοι τὸν Νεῖλον.
 362, 23. stream. Germanicus sailed from Canobus up the Nile, Tac., *A.*, ii, 60.
 362, 29. monuments. Strabo, xvii, 1, 32, p. 807 sqq.
 362, 34. hills. Tac., *loc. cit.*
 362, 37. covered. Proved in detail by Letronne, *Mélanges d'érudition*, p. 377: sur le revêtement des pyramides de Gizeh (cf. *Rec. des inscript.*, t. ii, p. 487 ss., and Scheffele's article, *Pyramides in the SIRE*).
 362, 40. leaves. Cf. also Herodotus, ii, 125, 5; Diodorus, i, 64.
 363, 8. climbing. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvi, 76.
 363, 10. Ages. Abdallatif (Letronne, *Rec.*, p. 492).
 363, 12. height. Aristides, *Or.*, xlviii, p. 363 J.
 363, 12. Marienburg. Treitschke, *Histor. u. polit. Aufs.*, i, 44.
 363, 15. copied. Cf. Appendix xxi.
 363, 23. excavated. *CIG*, iii, *App.*, 4700 b-1.
 363, 35. specified. Tac., *A.*, ii, 60; Strabo, xvii, 1, 46, p. 816; Duncker, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, i⁵, 139.
 363, 41. given. Brugsch, *Reiseberichte aus Aegypten*, pp. 123-128.
 364, 2. Egypt. For all the following passage cf. Jacobs, *Vermischte Schriften*, vol. iii, p. 110 ff. and Letronne, *La statue vocale de Memnon*.
 364, 7. destroyed. Philostrat., *Apoll. Tyan.*, viii, 4, ed. K., p. 107.
 364, 28. Memnon. Letronne (*CIG*, iii, p. 1204, 4742b) quite unnecessarily hesitates to refer to him the inscription Ἀπίων Πλεῖστον . . . ἤκουσα τρις, because the word ὁ is wanting before the father's name (Lehrs, *Qu. epp.*, p. 23).
 364, 30. completed. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvi, 58.
 364, 39. visit. Letronne, p. 13.
 365, 8. forgotten. Alciphro, *Epp.*, ii, 3: εἰ γε ἄρα πόθος ἀλρεῖ σε . . . τῆς γε Αἰγύπτου, χρόματος μεγάλου καὶ τῶν αὐτόθι πυραμίδων καὶ τῶν περιηχούτων ἀγαλμάτων καὶ τοῦ περιβοήτου λαβυρίνθου κ.τ.λ.
 365, 15. home. E.g. *CIG*, 4917: Ν. Ν. ἦκα καὶ προσκεκύνηκα τὴν κυρίαν Ἴσιν καὶ πεποίηκα τὸ προσκύνημα τῶν φιλούντων με, ἔτους ἡ, Μεχέρ κα. Cf. on the *proscynemata* Franz, *Elem. epigr.*, p. 336 sqq. and besides the inscriptions from Egypt mentioned below, *CIG*, i, 516 = *CIA*, iii, 2, 3824 (Sunium, in the ruins of the temple of Athene: Ὁνήσιμος ἐμνήσθη τῆς ἀδελφῆς Χρήστης),

- CIG*, ii, 1826 sq., iii, 4668 sq. (on rocks between Suez and Sinai and in Sinai itself). Where *ἐμνήσθη* stands alone it cannot be understood with Letronne, *op. cit.*, p. 246, 'a laissé ce souvenir', but 'he remembered' i.e. his friends or perhaps the goddess. Lebas-Waddington, 349-358 (*proscynemata* in honour of Zeus Osogos at Mylasa by judges who had been sent thither from other cities to decide disputes), *ib.*, ii, 95a (Corinth). *Memor deorum*: *CIL*, i, 623; iii, 1, 582 (inscriptions in a grotto near Panormus in Epirus, specially visited by seamen, and now called *Grammata* [*CIG*, 1824-1827]). The name *Grammata* is also given to a now deserted natural harbour of Syra, owing to the many Greek and Latin, pagan and Christian inscriptions carved in the rock, including appeals to Aesculapius, who doubtless (like Serapis), had a temple here. De Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, i (1876), pp. 112-116; cf. iii (1878), p. 60 sq. Renier, *Inscr. de l'Alg.*, 2583-2597 = *CIL*, viii, 5504-5518 (inscriptions of a god Bacaces or Bacax). Cf. also *ib.*, 6267 ss. The inscriptions in a cave in Minorca (*CIL*, ii, 3718 sqq.) seem to refer to an annual festival held there. Inscriptions of Christian pilgrims in the catacombs, De Rossi, *Roma. sott.*, pp. 170, 172; *ib.*, vol. ii, p. 14 sq. Plutarch, *De curios.*, c. 11, p. 520 D.: τὰ κατὰ τῶν τοιχῶν γράμματα . . . ἐμνήσθη ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖντος ἐν ἀγαθῷ, καὶ φίλων ἀριστος ὄδε τις, καὶ πολλὰ τοιαύτης γέμυστα φλυαρίας.
- 365, 23. vultures. Parthey, *Wanderungen*, 2, 481; Brugsch, *Reiseberichte*, p. 328.
- 365, 25. pipes. Duncker, *Gesch. d. Alterth.*, i⁵, 173 ff.
- 365, 29. Ptolemies. Letronne, *Stat. voc. de M.*, p. 242 ss.
- 365, 32. have. *CIG*, iii, *App.*, 4821c.
- 365, 34. seen. *Archives des missions scientif.*, 1866, ii, p. 484. De Rossi, *Bull. di archeol. crist.*, v, p. 1, believes that the *θαύματα* of Rome are the catacombs, which is very unlikely.
- 365, 39. Empire. *CIG*, ii, 4832 ss. (Latopolis); 4838 c (Apollinopolis—Edfu); 4845-4858 (Silsilis); 4900-4947 (Philae); 4951 s. (Oasis Thebarum); 4980-5073 (stone-quarries in Nubia); 5039-5068 (Talmis-Kalabsha in Nubia, temple of the god Manduli); 5074-5108 (Pselcis); 5110-5124 (Hiera Sykaminos, temple of Isis and Serapis). Cf. *append.*, pp. 1188-1239, and Deville, *Inscr. grecques d'Egypte recueillies en 1861 à Philae, Elephantine, Silsilis, Biban-el-Moluk, Abydos, Antinoë, Sakharah, et Alexandrie. Archives des missions scientif. et littér.*, 2nd series, vol. ii (1866), p. 458 ss.
- 366, 6. pagan. *CIG*, 4837c; Letronne, *Rec.*, ii, p. 255, mentions as the place where it was found the *Hydreuma Panii*.
- 366, 11. battle. Henzen, 5310.
- 366, 14. priests. Strabo, xvii, in several passages.
- 366, 17. prophets. Aristides, *Or.*, xlviii, p. 331; cf. p. 360 J. and 363. Heliodorus, *Aethiop.*, ix, 22.
- 366, 19. Hermopolis. They showed it to Apio. Aelian, *H. a.*, x, 29.
- 366, 27. talents. Diodorus, i, 84.
- 366, 28. Germanicus. Pliny, *N. H.*, viii, 185.
- 366, 29. stable. Strabo, xvii, 31, p. 807.
- 366, 29. consecration. Sueton., *Titus*, c. 5.

- 366, 32. dry. Plutarch, *De solert. animal.*, 23, 8.
 366, 33. fed. Strabo, *ib.*, p. 811 sq.
 366, 36. labyrinth. *Severus*, c. 17: Nam et Memphim et Memnonem et pyramides et labyrinthon diligenter inspexit. Pomponius Mela, i, 19, names only the pyramids and labyrinth.
 366, 36. Moeris. Tac., *A.*, ii, 61.
 366, 39. equinox. Cf. Forbiger, *Syene, StRE.*
 367, 2. filling. Aristid., *op. cit.*, p. 347; cf. Letronne, *Mém. de l'acad. des inscr.*, vi (1822), p. 291 ss.
 367, 8. hurled. Strabo, *op. cit.*, p. 817 sq.
 367, 11. joined. Aristides, *op. cit.*, p. 343 sq.
 367, 19. transform. *Id.*, *op. cit.*, p. 349: ἐν γὰρ τῇ Ἀραβικῇ καὶ ἡ περιβόητος αὕτη λιθοτομία ἡ πορφυρεῖς ἐστίν· ἐργάζονται δ' αὐτὴν ὥσπερ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας δὴ πού κατάβικοι· ἀλλὰ τοῦτους γὰρ ὡς φασὶν οὐδεὶς φρουρεῖ κ.τ.λ.
 367, 32. earthquake. Antipater Sidon., *Epigr.*, 52, *Anat.* Brunck, t. ii, p. 20. Varro in *Hebdomad.*, i, in Gell., iii, 10, 16 (septem opera), a source from which later Roman authors drew (Rhoden, *De mundi miracc.*, pp. 8, 13). Diodorus, i, 63 (ἐν τοῖς ἐπτά τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις ἐργοῖς); ii, 11 (ἐν τοῖς ἐπτά τοῖς κατονομαζομένοις ἐργοῖς). Vitruv., vii, *prooem.* 15 (septem spectacula); Strabo, xvi, p. 738; xvii, p. 808 (ἐπτά θεάματα). *CIL*, iv, 1111 (Pompeis in amphitheatro): 'omnia munera vicisti, ton hepta theamatōn esti'. Plutarch, *Animal.*, c. 35 (ἐν τοῖς ἐπτά καλουμένοις θεάμασιν). Cf. Martial, *Epigr.*, i, 1, with my note. Philo Byzant., *De vii orb. spectaculis*, ed. Orelli, pp. 67, 141 sqq.
 367, 39. Delos. Martial, *Lib. spectaculor.*, i, 4.
 368, 1. Babylon. Pausan., iv, 31, 5.
 368, 2. walls. *Id.*, viii, 33, 3. Jerome, *In Jesai.*, v, 14, ed. Vall., iv, p. 175: didicimus a quodam fratre Elamita, qui de illis finibus egrediens nunc Hierosolymis vitam exigit monachorum, venationes regias esse in Babylone et omnis generis bestias murorum eius tantum ambitu coerceri.
 368, 4. customs. Plutarch, *Cato minor*, c. 12: βουλευθεὶς . . . πλεστηθῆναι καθ' ἰσοτροπὴν τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ γενέσθαι θεατῆς ἡθῶν καὶ βίαι καὶ δυνάμεως τῆς περὶ ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν.
 368, 17. travellers. Drepan., *Paneg.*, xxi, p. 391. Cf. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, p. 30 sq.
 368, 22. ceremonies. Fronto, *Epp. ad M. Caes. et inv.*, iv, 4, ed. Naber, p. 66.
 368, 24. view. Jerome, *In Jerem.*, i, 2, 20, ed. Vall., iv, 849: amoena enim semper et excelsa loca idolis dedicantur; Hilar. Pictav., *Ps.*, xiv, 5; p. 302, 4: et nunc quoque edita et excelsa quaeque montium fanis templis sacrisque maculantur.
 368, 24. interest. Vol. i, p. 356.
 368, 30. decorative. Philo, *Leg. ad. Gai.*, p. 568 M.
 368, 34. air. P. Annius Florus in Jahn's edition of Florus, p. xli (p. 106, Hahn). Cf. Hübner, *Hermes*, i, 124 f.
 369, 1. supplicants. Lucian, *Amor.*, 12 and 18.
 369, 2. Pausanias. Pausan., i, 21, 9.
 369, 5. sacrificial. Strabo, x, 5, 11, p. 487. Cf. on the grove by the temple of Branchidae near Miletus, xiv, 1, 5, p. 634: on

- the grove of Ortygia near Ephesus, xiv, 1, 20, p. 639; *CIL*, viii, 10,627: lucum a solo cum signis et ornamentis suis.
- 369, 9. lions. Preller, *R. M.*, ii³, 396 f.
- 369, 9. geese. Reiff on Artemidorus, *Onirocr.*, iv, 83, p. 250.
- 369, 16. sesterces. *RGDA*³, c. 21, lat. 4, 23-36.
- 369, 19. temples. Pliny, *N. H.*, *praef.* 19.
- 369, 20. fashion. Conze, *D. pergamen. Bibliotheken. Sitzungsab. d. Berl. Akad.*, 1884, p. 1259.
- 369, 25. pictures. Mommsen, *IRN*, 6.
- 369, 27. statues. See the list of places in Brunn, *Kunstlergeschichte*, ii, 774 ff.; Jacobs, *Verm. Schriften*, iii, 421 ff.; R. Rochette, *Peint. ant.*, p. 94 ss.; K. Zacher, *Ueber Gemälde als Tempelschmuck*, *N. Jahrb. f. Philol.*, 1880, p. 577 ff.
- 369, 31. Apollo. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvii, 11.
- 369, 37. Cimiez. Millin, *Voyage dans le midi*, ii, p. 547.
- 369, 37. kept. See further Beckmann, *De historia nat. vet.*, c. iv, p. 169 sqq. and *Beitr. zur Geschichte der Erfindungen*, ii, 364 ff.
- 369, 38. tusks. Pliny, *N. H.*, viii, 31. Cf. Beckmann, p. 367.
- 370, 3. Verres. Cic., *Verr.*, iv, 46, 103.
- 370, 7. India. Lucian, *De dea Syria*, 16.
- 370, 9. Capua. Pausan., v, 12, 1.
- 370, 13. War. Pliny, *N. H.*, viii, 37. Jordan (*Hermes*, vii, 68, cf. ix, 343) believes 'in templo' to be a gloss, but it appears also in xxxiii, 129 and xxxv, 161; 'in quodam templo', xiii, 88.
- 370, 14. Athens. Dio, lix, 16.
- 370, 15. bear. Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 811.
- 370, 19. sprang. Pliny, *N. H.*, v, 51.
- 370, 23. Juno. Hanno, *Peripl.*, 18; Pliny, *N. H.*, vi, 200; Peschel, *Gesch. d. Erdk.*, p. 21, 3; O. Keller, *Thiere d. class. Alterth. in kulturgeschl. Beziehung* (1887), p. 15 f.
- 370, 29. Bodrium. Athen., v, 21 f.; Preller, *R. M.*, ii³, 295, 1.
- 370, 30. Sicyon. Pausan., ii, 10, 2.
- 370, 31. ants. Pliny, *N. H.*, xi, 111.
- 370, 32. marmots. Lassen, *Indische Alterthumsk.*, ii, 849; iii, 314.
- 370, 34. cocoanuts. Philostrat., *Vit. Apollon.*, iii, 15.
- 370, 35. tree-trunks. Pliny, *N. H.*, xvi, 162.
- 370, 36. plate. *Id. ib.*, xii, 94.
- 370, 38. burst. *Anthol. Graeca*, ed. Jacobs, iv, p. 201; *Epigr. adesp.*, 393.
- 370, 41. Capitol. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvii, 22.
- 371, 1. Elephants. *Id. ib.*, xxxvi, 196.
- 371, 3. pearls. *Id. ib.*, ix, 156.
- 371, 7. accessible. Cael. Aurel., *Morb. chron.*, ii, 4 (*Art. med. princ.*, ed. Haller, xi, p. 135).
- 371, 8. Smyrna. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxiii, 129.
- 371, 10. clay. *Id. ib.*, xxxv, 161.
- 371, 12. Marsyas. Acro ad Horat., *A. P.*, 203. (Varro in iii disciplinarum et ad Marcellum de lingua latina.)
- 371, 16. move. Jerome, *In Zachar.*, 12 (vi, p. 896 Vall.); Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 299.
- 371, 20. elsewhere. Pausan., i, 21, 7-9.

- 371, 21. given. *Anthol. Palat.*, vi, 232 (Hadrian's epigram). Keller, *Thiere d. cl. Alterth.*, p. 59.
- 371, 26. birds. Solin, 27, 53, ed. Mommsen, p. 142 (auct. ignot.).
- 371, 28. believe. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 5, 97 sqq.
- 371, 31. daemon. Augustine, *C. D.*, xxi, 26.
- 371, 33. relics. On private collections of this kind cf. Becker-Göll, i², p. 38; Lucian, *Adv. indoct.*, 13 sq.; Dio, lix, 21; lxxvii, 7.
- 371, 34. Mars. Sueton., *Vitell.*, c. 8.
- 371, 36. Cologne. *Id. ib.*, c. 10.
- 371, 38. Jupiter. Tac., *A.*, xv, 53 and 72.
- 371, 41. Rome. Pliny, *N. H.*, viii, 194.
- 372, 4. consecrated. Livy, iv, 20.
- 372, 6. horn. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvii, 4.
- 372, 8. threads. Herodotus, iii, 47.
- 372, 10. handling. Pliny, *N. H.*, xix, 12.
- 372, 10. Pindar. Pausan., x, 24, 4.
- 372, 13. doubted. *Id.*, i, 27.
- 372, 14. Sparta. Plutarch, *Agesil.*, c. 19, 8.
- 372, 15. Arcadia. Pausan., viii, 28, 1.
- 372, 16. Delphi. Appian, xii, 112.
- 372, 19. Palatine. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxiv, 14.
- 372, 21. Regia. *Id. ib.*, xxxiv, 48.
- 372, 24. historical. Cf. the passage *Hist. Aug., Vit. Aureliani*, c. 1 (cited by Grote, *Hist. Greece*, 1884, i, 437). Similarly in Italy memories of antiquity have remained alive, while those of the middle ages have perished: Reumont, *Vittoria Colonna*, p. 94 f.
- 372, 30. egg. Pausan., iii, 16, 2, and Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, p. 50 sq. note.
- 372, 32. breast. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxiii, 84.
- 372, 35. boat. Procop., *B. Goth.*, iv, 22. But there was also near Corcyra 'scopulus in quem mutata Ulixis navem a simili specie fabula est'; Pliny, *N. H.*, iv, 53.
- 372, 36. sceptre. Pausan., ix, 40, 6.
- 373, 1. skin. Ampelius, *Lib. mem.*, c. 8.
- 373, 4. strangers. Pliny, *N. H.*, xiii, 88.
- 373, 8. smelt. Pausan., x, 4, 3.
- 373, 9. Amalthea. *Id.*, vi, 19, 3.
- 373, 10. consecrated. Diod., vii, 4, 49.
- 373, 12. Memphis. Lobeck, *loc. cit.*
- 373, 14. Iphigenia. Dio, xxxv, 11.
- 373, 17. Teucer. Philostratus, *Apoll. Tyan.*, v, 5.
- 373, 17. Odysseus. Strabo, v, 3, 6, p. 232.
- 373, 18. Nestor. Athen., xi, 489 B.
- 373, 21. long. Procop., *B. Goth.*, i, 15.
- 373, 24. altar. Strabo, xvii, 17, p. 834.
- 373, 27. anchor. Arrian, *Peripl. Ponti Euxini*, 11.
- 373, 29. mountain. *Id. ib.*, 16. This was visited also by Marcellinus, see Martial, ix, 45.
- 373, 31. Absyrtus. Procop., *B. Goth.*, iv, 2.
- 373, 36. bones. See Appendix ii. Cf. Forbiger in *StRE*, under *Joppe*.

- 373, 36. traces. Joseph., *B. J.*, iii, 9, 3.
 373, 39. bathed. Pausan., iv, 35, 6.
 373, 41. guides. Epictet., *Diss.*, 7, 1; Seneca, *Consol. ad Marc.*, 25, 2.
 374, 1. fail. Cf. on the whole subject Preller, *Polemon. fr.*, p. 160 sqq. and Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, pp. 29-31 (on *μυσταγωγίῃ*). A list of places, where Pausanias mentions the *Exegetes*, *Pr.*, p. 161 sq.
 374, 4. punishments. Lucian, *Ver. hist.*, ii, 31.
 374, 5. temple-servants. Lobeck, *loc. cit.*
 374, 6. places. Preller, *op. cit.*, p. 162. Cf. Curtius, *Peloponnes.*, ii, 52 (on Pausanias' dependence on the guides at Olympia).
 374, 8. antiquities. Preller, p. 168.
 374, 8. physician. *CIG*, 1227.
 374, 10. be. Non., p. 419, 9: vindicare . . . liberare; Varro: Et me Juppiter Olympiae, Minerva Athenis suis mystagogis vindicassent. (Petron., ed. Buecheler², p. 166, 34).
 374, 16. long. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvi, 32.
 374, 18. truth. Lucian, *Philopseud.*, 4.
 374, 19. made. Plutarch, *De Pythiae oraculis*.
 374, 30. features. Solin., ed. Mommsen, p. xviii.
 374, 35. save. *Itineraria*, p. 523 Wess. sqq.
 374, 41. Menelaus. Tac., *A.*, ii, 60.
 375, 1. golden. Aristid., *Or.*, xlviii, p. 360. My friend A. v. Gutschmid (d. 1887) informed me that Kanobos represents the Egyptian word *nub*, gold, which was pronounced with a strong initial aspirate; cf. Brugsch, *Geogr. des alten Aegyptens*, p. 283 (H'ānub); Bunsen, *Aegyptens Stelle in der Weltgesch.*, ii, 76.
 375, 4. repeats. Ammian. Marcell., xxii, 16. Cf. Suidas, s. *Κανωβος*.
 375, 7. beginnings. Tac., *Hist.*, ii, 4.
 375, 11. Leda. Aristides, *Or.*, xliii, p. 539 J.
 375, 14. hairpin. Pausan., ii, 32.
 375, 17. Aulis. *Id.*, i, 35.
 375, 20. preserved. *Id.*, ix, 19, 5.
 375, 26. statue. *Id.*, iii, 20, 10. It would be superfluous to give more examples.
 375, 31. pyre. Livy, xxxvi, 30.
 375, 31. Alexander. Sidon. Apollinar., *Epp.*, iii, 12 (cum Julium Caesarem Hectori ut suo justa persolvissae didicerimus. In Lucan., *Phars.*, xi, 990, Caesar addresses himself, when sacrificing to the 'Di cinerum, Phrygiae colitis quicunque ruinas').
 375, 32. Ilium. Dio, lxvii, 16; Herodian, iv, 8.
 375, 33. died. Dio, lxviii, 30.
 375, 34. Troy. Philostrat., *Heroic.*, p. 288; ed. Kayser.
 375, 36. stone. Pausan., viii, 11, 5.
 375, 37. tomb. Drumann, *RG*, iii, 525.
 375, 39. survived. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 3; Riese, *Anthol. lat.*, 708.
 376, 1. Calauria. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, ii, 456 ff.
 376, 3. Dirce. Pausan., ix, 23, 2; 25, 3.
 376, 4. zealous. Cic., *Fin.*, v, 1 and 2. Houses of Socrates and Demosthenes: Himer., xviii, 3; Wachsmuth, *Athen.*, i, 714.

- 376, 7. battle-fields. Artemidor., *Onirocr.*, iv, 47, p. 288.
 376, 10. temples. Hertzberg, *loc. cit.*
 376, 16. inscribed. Arrian, *Peripl. ad Hadrian.*, i, 1.
 376, 21. Macedonians. Plutarch, *Alex.*, c. 9, 2.
 376, 23. Alexander. Appian, *Bell. Mithrid.*, c. 20.
 376, 25. Tyre. Plut., *Alex.*, c. 25.
 376, 26. Indus. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 352, 1.
 376, 28. army. *Peripl. mar. Eryth.*, 41.
 376, 30. honey. Stat., *Silv.*, iii, 2, 117.
 376, 30. coffin. Strabo, xvii, p. 794.
 376, 31. visited. A procurator Neaspoleos et Mausolei Alexandriae, Lumbroso, *BdI*, 1877, p. 8, and 1880, p. 4.
 376, 32. Caesar. Lucan, x, 19.
 376, 33. Augustus. Dio, li, 16; Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 18.
 376, 33. Severus. Dio, lxxvii, 13.
 376, 33. Caracalla. Herodian, iv, 8. See also Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 52.
 376, 35. Alexandria. Leone Africano, *Descr. dell'Africa*, p. viii, in Ramusio, *Delle navigazioni e viaggi* (Venet. 1563), p. 82.
 376, 41. guest. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 15.
 377, 4. addressed. Ammian. Marc., xxiv, 2, 3.
 377, 8. Troy. Appian, *Rom. hist. fr.*, i, 1.
 377, 10. manes. Pliny, *N. H.*, xvi, 234.
 377, 11. given. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 6.
 377, 13. dice. *Id. ib.*, c. 14.
 377, 14. victims. *Id. ib.*, c. 62.
 377, 15. Horace. *Id.*, *Vit. Horat.*
 377, 22. intentions. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 6.
 377, 23. shown. *Id.*, *Titus*, c. 2.
 377, 27. gold. Martial, ix, 20; Becker, *Röm. Topogr.*, p. 586.
 377, 29. named. *Pescenn. Niger*, c. 12.
 377, 38. floor. Seneca, *Epp.*, 86.
 377, 41. Appian. Appian, *B. civ.*, iv, 19: *χυπλερ δ καθ' ιεροπλαρ τοῦδε τοῦ πάθους εἶδον.*
 378, 2. Otho. Plutarch, *Otho*, cc. 14 and 18.
 378, 5. Armenia. Joseph., *Ant. Jud.*, i, 3, 5.
 378, 6. Adiabene. *Id. ib.*, xx, 2, 3.
 378, 6. Lot's. *Id. ib.*, i, 11, 4.
 378, 8. huge. *Id.*, *B. J.*, ix, 9, 7.
 378, 12. 333 A.D. Cf. vol. i, p. 278.
 378, 21. well. *S. Silvias peregrinatio* (note on vol. i, p. 278, 33), cc. 34, 35, 51, 53.
 378, 23. sisters. *Id.*, c. 43.
 379, 15. them. *Aetna*, ed. Munro, 565-598.
 379, 19. look. Cic., *De imp. Pomp.*, 14, 40.
 379, 25. resort. *Id.*, *Verr.*, ii, 4, c. 2 sq.
 379, 28. Cicero. *Id. ib.*, 33, 74.
 379, 27. Minerva. *Id. ib.*, 55, 122; cf. c. 57 sq.
 379, 30. bronze. Propert., iii (iv), 21, 29 sq.
 379, 31. seeing. Apulei., *De mundo*, p. 746.
 379, 37. removed. Cic., *op. cit.*, c. 60, 135.
 379, 39. Praxiteles. *Id. ib.*, and c. 2, 4; Strabo, ix, 25, p. 410.
 Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvi, 22.

- 379, 40. Cnidos. *Id. ib.*, 20.
 380, 2. viewed. Epictet., *Diss.*, i, 7, 23.
 380, 8. Tacitus. *Dial. de oratt.*, c. 10.
 380, 16. buried. Cic., *De legg.*, ii, 2, 4.
 380, 21. Nature. *Id. ib.*, ii, 1, 2. A. Biese's treatise, *Die Entwicklung des Naturgefühls bei den Römern* (1884) throws no light whatever on the subject. Cf. my review in *Berliner philol. Wochenschrift*, 24 May, 1884.
 380, 36. loci. Preller, *RM*, ii³, 201 f.
 381, 10. sombre. Seneca, *Epp.*, 41. Other passages of the same kind in Preller, *RM*, i³, 108, 1 and Motz, *Ueber die Empfindung der Naturschönheit bei den Alten*, p. 45 f. Cf. Wörmann, *Ueber den landschaftl. Natursinn der Griechen und Römer* (1876), p. 82.
 381, 14. worship. Apulei., *Florid.*, i, 1. Cf. also the two poetic appeals of Silvanus in the vale of Tirinus, Henzen, 5751, and near Axima, in Orelli, 1613 = *CIL*, xii, 103.
 381, 19. times. Rudorff, *Röm. Brunnenordnung*, in *Zeitschr. f. gesch. Rechtswissensch.*, xv, 214 ff.
 381, 21. river-beds. *BdI*, 1853, p. 82. Cf. vol. i, p. 278, 5 and n. Hübner, *Heiligh. d. Nodon*, in *Jahrbb. d. Alterthumsfr. im Rheinl.*, lxvii, p. 39.
 381, 22. temple. *Note sur le monument des sources de la Seine lue à la société parisienne d'archéologie et histoire par Ch. Lucas, architecte*, Paris, 1869 (*Ausland*, 1869, p. 236); *CIL*, xii, 3076 (Nemausus): August. laribus cultores Urae (probably the modern Eure) fontis. On the spring of Nemausus, *ib.*, p. 381^a.
 381, 25. imposing. Barth, *Wanderungen durch die Küstenländer des Mittelmeers*, i, 118 f.; Hesse-Wartegg, *Tunis*, pp. 182-184; Guérin, *Voy. archéol. dans la régence de Tunis*, ii, 295; *CIL*, viii, 5884: Genio numinis Caput Amsagae sacrum. The source of the Amsaga (Medjerda) was adored as a divinity; cf. Mommsen's note.
 381, 30. sanctity. Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 8.
 381, 39. Clitumnus. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 43. Among the numerous sanctuaries there, a station between Spoleto and Trevi was called Sacraria, *It. Heirosol.*, 613 W. De Rossi, *Del tempietto sulle rive del Clitumno consecrato al culto Cristiano*, in *Bull. di arch. crist.*, 1871, pp. 143-148.
 381, 40. well-head. Pliny, *N. H.*, iii, 117; cf. Preller, *R. M.*, ii³, 126.
 382, 1. calls. Pausan., x, 32, 2.
 382, 3. ravine. Strabo, xiv, 5, p. 671, describes it shortly, Pomp. Mela, i, 13, very poetically.
 382, 3. Pausanias. Pausan., *loc. cit.*
 382, 8. nymphs. Lehrs, *Populäre Aufsätze*³, p. 122 f.
 382, 10. penetrating. Pompon. Mela, *loc. cit.*
 382, 11. images. Pausan., *loc. cit.* (For inscriptions of pilgrims in grottos see n. on vol. i, p. 365. Jacob Balde describes quite in the ancient style the impression made on him by the grottos when he visited the Madonna at Waldrast in Tirol (*Lyricorum*, ii, 11, 21-24): 'Spirat ex antris pietas et horror. Conscius

nymphae. Locus ipse gratum Terret ac mulcet Superique per prae | cordia fusi'.

382, 16. silence. Pliny, *N. H.*, xii, 3.

382, 17. godhead. Cf. Motz, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

382, 20. acropolis. Pausan., viii, 23, 4; Pliny, *N. H.*, xvi, 238. Cic., *De legg.*, i, 1, speaks mockingly of some of them.

382, 22. date-palm. Hehn, *Culturpfl. u. Hausth.*, p. 488; Pliny, *N. H.*, xvi, 240.

382, 27. others. *Id. ib.*, xvi, 234 sq. He puts the erection of the temple of Lucina in the year 379 u.c. He therefore wrote this in the year 829 u.c. = 76 A.D. Cf. Appendix i, p. 4.

382, 28. men. Pliny, *N. H.*, xii, 9 sq.

382, 30. Attalos. Strabo, xiii, 1, 44, p. 603.

383, 9. celebrated. Hehn, *op. cit.*, 234 ff.

383, 13. Ischia. Cf. e.g. Stromeyer, *Erinnerungen eines deutschen Arztes*, i, 443; Karl Hase, *Ideale und Irrthümer*, p. 361.

383, 17. Pliny's. Pliny, *N. H.*, xii, 30 sq.: et ante cunctos claritate Penius ortus juxta Gomphos interque Ossam et Olympon nemorosa convalle defluens D stadiis, dimidio spati navigabilis. In eo cursu [angustissimam vallem] Tempe vocant. v milium passuum longitudine et ferme sesquijugeri latitudine ultra visum hominis attollentibus se dextra laevaue leniter convexis jugis, [nemore] intus sua luce viridante. Hac labitur Penius viridis [?] perhaps 'sonorus'] calculo, amoenos [viridi?] circa ripas gramine, canorus avium concentu. The additions of course merely indicate what the sense requires. Boccac., *De montib. sylvis fontibus etc.*, says, paraphrasing Pliny's description: et gramine vestitis marginibus inter sonoros calculos labens canoro avium concentu laetior videtur incedere. Cf. *Programm Acad. Alb.*, 1867, iv, *De duobus locis Plinianis*, and the description of Tempe (quoted below in the text) in Bursian, *Geogr. v. Griechenland*, i, 58 f.

383, 22. Tibur. Hadrian, c. 26.

383, 24. Scylla. Seneca, *Epp.*, 79.

383, 29. Charybdis. Jerome, *C. Rufin.*, iii, 22 (ed. Vall., ii, 551).

383, 37. sensible. Seneca, *Epp.*, 104, 15. In the corrupt passage, 'alicujus fluminis sub observatione naturam', I suggest 'rariorem' for 'sub obs.'. Cf. *Qu. n.*, iii, 26; vi, 8.

383, 41. streams. Sidon. Apoll., *Epp.*, i, 5.

384, 3. ocean. Longinus, *De sublimis*, 35. Alciphro, *Epp.*, ii, 3: ἡ μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἰδεῖν τὸν Νεῖλον· οὐ μέγα δὲ καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἰδεῖν; οὐ μέγα δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἰστρον οὕτω μέγαν ὄντα; καὶ ὁ Θερμῶδων, ὁ Τίγρης, ὁ Ἄλυσ, ὁ Πῆνος κ.τ.λ.

384, 7. Nero. Vol. iii, p. 32.

384, 7. Lucan. Lucan, iii, 261 sqq.

384, 7. Hadrian. Dionysius, *Perieg.*, 987.

384, 12. abroad. Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 20. A lake with floating islands near Cotiliae, Dionysius Halic., i, 16. See vol. i, p. 329 of this work.

384, 15. Sabinus. Lucian, *Apologia*, 15.

384, 19. ebb-tide. Philostrat., *Apoll. Tyan.*, iv, f.; v, *init.* Dickens,

- David Copperfield* (death of Barkis): 'and, it being low water, he went out with the tide'.
- 384, 24. put. Pliny, *N. H.*, ii, 208; Strabo, xiii, 3, 14, p. 629. Apulei., *De mundo*, p. 729; Galen, vi, 58; Dio, lxviii, 27.
- 384, 26. forgotten. Ammian. Marcell., xxiii, 6, 18.
- 384, 28. descents. Galen, xvi, 358 sq.
- 384, 30. Solfatara. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxi, 21.
- 384, 39. sight. Pseudolucian., *Charidem.*, i.
- 385, 1. poetry. Helbig, *Campan. Wandmalerei*, p. 300 f.; Rohde, *Gr. Roman*, p. 504 f.; vol. iii, p. 12.
- 385, 2. rhetoric. Rohde, *op. cit.*, p. 508 f.
- 385, 6. made. Varro, *R. r.*, iii, 1, 4; cf. vol. i, p. 29.
- 385, 8. Lucullus. Varro, *ib.*, i, 2; cf. i, 59.
- 385, 12. lyres. Lucret., ii, 29.
- 385, 15. stream. Cic., *De legg.*, ii, 1.
- 385, 21. petty. Seneca, *Controv.*, ii, 9, p. 122 B.
- 385, 29. Haemos. Verg., *G.*, ii, 458 sqq.
- 385, 33. pipes. Horace, *Epp.*, i, 10.
- 385, 37. shore. Propert., i, 2, 9 sqq.
- 385, 38. ruralities. Mart., iii, 88, 5: Sed rure vere barbaroque laetatur.
- 385, 41. marble. Juv., 3, 18-20.
- 385, 41. poets. H. Motz, *Ueber die Empfindung der Naturschönheit bei den Allen*, p. 77 f.
- 386, 2. silent. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvii, 62.
- 386, 5. dreamed. E.g. Quintilian, x, 3, 24; Seneca, *Epp.*, 90, 43.
- 386, 6. poetry. Motz, *op. cit.*, p. 78 ff.
- 386, 6. thought. Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 6. Quintilian expresses the opposite view, x, 3, 22-24.
- 386, 9. Epicurus. Pliny, *N. H.*, xix, 51.
- 386, 20. Pliny. Helbig, *Campanische Wandmalerei*, 273 f.; Vitruv., vi, 6, 1; 10, 3; Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 17, 5; v, 6, 29.
- 386, 23. valued. See, however, vol. i, p. 10.
- 386, 27. park. Drumann, *RG*, v, 61, 46.
- 386, 28. cities. Sallust, *B. C.*, c. 12.
- 386, 31. fields. Vol. ii, p. 188.
- 386, 37. sleep. Vol. i, p. 114.
- 386, 41. groves. Philostrat., *Apoll. Tyan.*, v, 22.
- 387, 1. deemed. Seneca, *Epp.*, 86, 8.
- 387, 6. views. Tac., *A.*, xv, 42.
- 387, 10. arrange. *Digg.*, viii, 1, 15 § 1 (Pomponius, lib. xiii ad Sabinum). 'Viridia tollere' like 'hortos extollere', Tac., *A.*, xi, 1; 'piscinas extollere', xiii, 21.
- 387, 12. eminences. Seneca, *Epp.*, 89, 21.
- 387, 16. boats. Mart., iv, 64; cf. on the situation of the villa vel. ii, 543 f. of my edition. The view from the Janiculum as a sight of Rome; see vol. i, p. 10.
- 387, 24. variety. Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 6.
- 387, 32. shady. *Corp. Glossar. Latin.*, ii, p. 16^b; Amoenus σκίος τόπος. συνηρέφης, τεπνός. Pompon. Mela, iii, 16: (Gallia) . . . amoena lucis immanibus.
- 387, 32. fairer. Petron., c. 100: quid aquis dici formosius potest?

- 388, 5. sun. Bursian, *Geogr. v. Griechenland*, i, 58 f.; cf. Pliny, *N. H.*, 30 sq., and n. on p. 383, 17.
- 388, 10. cool. Horace, *Epp.*, i, 16, 15; *Carm.*, iii, 13.
- 388, 12. Garda. Catullus, *C.*, 31.
- 388, 14. ruins. Zumpt, *Philologus*, xii, 754 (after Orti Manara).
- 388, 16. river. Seneca, *Epp.*, 89, 21.
- 388, 19. sole. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 50.
- 388, 19. Bracciano. De Rossi, *Bull. Nap.*, *N. S.*, ii, 21; Henzen, 5137 = *CIL*, xi, 1, 3316.
- 388, 22. villas. Pliny, *Epp.*, ix, 7; *N. H.*, x, 77; *Larium lacum amoenum arbusto agro*.
- 388, 31. lake. Cassiodorus, *Var.*, xi, 14.
- 388, 34. lemon-trees. Dümmler, *Gedichte aus dem Hofkreise Karls des Grossen*, in *Haupts. Ztschr. f. deutsch. Alterth.*, xii, 446 ff.; F. Dahn, *Paulus Diaconus*, p. 97, who (p. 65) doubts the authorship of P. D., which Dümmler regarded as certain.
- 388, 40. nested. Apoll. Sidon., *Epp.*, i, 5.
- 389, 1. lined. Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 57.
- 389, 2. Nero's. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 22.
- 389, 4. Tiburnus. Horace, *Carm.*, i, 7, 12.
- 389, 5. waterfall. Dionysius Halic., v, 37: *παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἀνίηρα, ὅς ἐκ πόλεως μὲν Τιβύρων καθ' ὑψηλοῦ πολλὸς ἐκχεῖται σκοπέλου . . . συνάγει δὲ τὸ ρεῖμα τῷ Τιβέρει ποταμῷ, καλὸς μὲν ὀφθῆναι, γλυκὺς δὲ πίνεσθαι*.
- 389, 10. inner. Stat., *Silv.*, i, 3.
- 389, 12. river. Pliny, *N. H.*, iii, 54.
- 389, 15. Attic. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, ii, 393.
- 389, 17. birds. Gell., i, 2, 2.
- 389, 21. Capharnaum. Josephus, *B. J.*, iii, 10, 7, 8.
- 389, 24. fields. S. *Silviae Aquilanae peregrinatio ad loca sancta*, ed. Gammurrini (*Bibliot. storico-giuridica*, iv [1887]), c. 40. Cf. c. 44: in quo itinere hiens vidi super ripam fluminis Jordanis vallem pulchram satis et amenam habundantem vineis et arboribus, quoniam aquae multae ibi erant et optimaes satis.
- 389, 28. pavilions. Procop., *B. Vandal.*, ii, 6; Luxor., 304, 332 (Riese, *Anthol.*, i. i, pp. 216, 269). *CIL*, viii, 7759 (Cirta) cognitus est locus amoenissimus Alba. In qua frondicomma odoratur ad mare pinus, Daphne pudica vir[et, sa]l[is] et loco vitrea Nais.
- 389, 31. synonymous. *Corp. Glossar. Latin.*, ii, p. 166: *amoenia (sic) al. ἀμναλ.* Tac., *Hist.*, iii, 76: *amoena littorum*.
- 390, 5. coasts. Cic., *N. D.*, ii, 39, 100.
- 390, 8. gain. Kiessling, *Pompejanisches*, in *N. Rhein. Mus.*, 1877, p. 636; Cic., *Epp. ad fam.*, vii, 1, 1 (Codd. 'patefecisti senum', Lambin. 'Misenum', Kiessling 'sinum').
- 390, 12. discriminate. Cic., *Ad Att.*, xiv, 13.
- 390, 12. Cicero. *Id. ib.*, xii, 9.
- 390, 12. Pliny. Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 18; cf. i, 9 and Motz, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
- 390, 15. pleasure. Plutarch, *Qu. conv.*, i, 4, 5.
- 390, 17. sea-resort. Liban., ed. R., i, p. 285 sq.
- 390, 19. obstruct. *Nov. constit. Justiniani*, 63.
- 390, 21. exalting. Procop., *De aedif.*, i, 5, ed. Dindorf, iii, 191:

ἡ θάλασσα ταύτη πόλιν εὐπρόσωπόν τε διαφερόντως ἐργαζομένη . . . πορθοί . . . περιπλεῖσθαι μὲν ἥδιστοι πάντες, ἀποσκοπῆσθαι δὲ ποθινοί.

- 390, 24. sea. *Id. ib.*, 6, p. 194: the church of St. Anthimus close by the sea τὸ εὐχάρη ἐπικεικώς ἔχει. Cf. *ib.*, 7, p. 195, 8, 198 (a hall by the sea, where walkers γεγῆθασι τῇ θάλασσῃς ὄψει). 11, 205.
- 390, 29. built. Vol. ii, p. 194.
- 390, 41. apart. Pliny, *Ἔρρ.*, ii, 17.
- 391, 4. seemed. Stat., *Silv.*, ii, 2, 16–20. See vol. i, p. 334 of this work and note.
- 391, 8. fragments. Parthey, *Wanderungen*, ii, 62.
- 391, 10. coasts. Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, i, 83 f. Cf. e.g. Pausan., vii, 21, 4.
- 391, 18. desert. Susceptibility to this is probably first found among Christian hermits like Basil and Gregory of Nyssa. Cf. Humboldt, *Kosmos*, ii, 27, and Weingarten, *Der Ursprung des Mönchthums* (*Ztschr. für Kirchengesch.*, i [1878], p. 565), who rightly finds a Rousseau-like element in their descriptions.
- 391, 23. modernity. Rohde, *Gr. Rom.*, pp. 511 and 512.
- 391, 24. expression. Pulcher, it is true, is also not uncommon.
- 391, 25. attributable. This passage, so extremely characteristic of the feeling for nature of that time, reads as follows (iii, 7, 27): Est et locorum (laus) qualis Siciliae apud Ciceronem, in quibus similiter speciem et utilitatem intuemur; speciem in maritimis, planis, amoenis; utilitatem in salubribus, fertilibus.
- 391, 31. Greece. Lucian, *Navig.*, 20.
- 391, 35. Phaedrus. Rhetores Gr., ed. Spengel, ii, 358.
- 391, 38. shore. Liban., ed. R., i, p. 531, 11–16.
- 392, 1. park. Cic., *De amicis.*, 19, 68.
- 392, 2. Fibrenus. In the whole region near Isola there is flowing water, a thing not very common in the south. Nissen, *Ital. Landeskunde*, i, 329.
- 392, 4. like. Cic., *De legg.*, ii, 1, 2.
- 392, 8. incline. Nissen, *op. cit.*
- 392, 10. head. Apparently in ancient times the snow on the Apennines melted later than now. Nissen, i, 398.
- 392, 11. view. Verg., *Aen.*, xii, 701.
- 392, 14. word. *Id.*, G., ii, 136–176.
- 392, 17. age. Nissen, i, 362 ff.
- 392, 22. springtime. Liban., ed. R., i, 338, 16: τοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τῇς ἡλικίας ἐσχάτοις οἰκοῦσι φοβερὸν μὲν οὐδὲν οἶον ἐξ ὅρων, πάσης δὲ εὐθυμίας ἀφορμαί, πηγὰς καὶ φυτὰ καὶ κήποι καὶ ὄραι καὶ ἀνθη καὶ ὀρνίθων φωναὶ καὶ τὸ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπολαύσαι τῶν ἡρινῶν.
- 393, 23. Alps. Liv., xxi, 48. Cf. Nissen, *Ital. Landesk.*, i, 171–173.
- 392, 31. avalanches. Cf. especially Strabo, iv, 6, p. 204, who describes chiefly the western roads, and Claudian, *De bell. Getico*, 340 sqq., who describes the crossing of the Splügen.
- 392, 38. wooded. Humboldt, *Kosmos*, ii, 257 and Sil. Ital., iii, 477–iv, 348; viii, 399. Before the construction of the road in 1806 ‘a path led terribly along steep rocks’ over the Simplon, so that H. A. O. Reichard after riding over it in 1785 ‘found no

mountains dreadful any more'; but by that time the feeling for Nature could no longer be checked by the difficulties and dangers of the way. Uhde, *Reichards Selbstbiographie* (1877), p. 193.

- 393, 2. remote. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxv, 3.
 393, 3. plants. F. Cohn, *Die Pflanze*, 223.
 393, 6. Rhodope. Strabo, iv, p. 208 sq.
 393, 10. Persians. Helbig, *op. cit.*, 278 f.
 393, 13. Cayster. Strabo, xiii, 5, 625.
 393, 17. sea. Apollon., *Argonaut.*, iii, 164 sqq.
 393, 19. feet. Plutarch, *Aemil. Paul.*, c. 15; cf. Interpr. ad Apul., *De Deo Socr.*, p. 678.
 393, 27. Polybius. Strabo, vii, 5, 1, p. 313.
 393, 28. Mela. Pompon. Mela, ii, 2.
 393, 29. Haemus. Pliny, *N. H.*, iv, 41. German geographical miles are meant. The supposed height is therefore about 29,000 ft. [The actual height is about 7,700 ft. Tr.]
 393, 33. few. Strabo, xii, 2, 8, p. 538.
 393, 33. god. Solin., 45, 4, p. 192 Mommsen (auct. ign.).
 393, 37. Seas. *Id.*, 5, 12, p. 55 M. (auct. ign.).
 394, 1. crater. Strabo, vi, 2, 8, p. 274.
 394, 6. eternal. Seneca, *Epp.*, 79.
 394, 12. streak. Hadrian, c. 13. I read with Hirschfeld (*Wiener Studien*, i [1881], p. 116): 'ut solis ortum videret arcus specie, ut dicitur, varum' (or 'curvum', instead of 'varium'). Baedeker compares the shape to a convex lens.
 394, 17. night shelter. Parthey, *Wanderungen in Sicilien und der Levante*, i, 260. For later ascents of mountains, beginning about 1500 with the ascent of Etna by Cardinal Bembo, cf. Schwarz, *Erschliessung der Gebirge*, p. 461.
 394, 19. cock-crow. Hadrian, c. 14 with annotations by Salmasius and Casaubon.
 394, 20. Ida. Diodor., xvii, 7.
 394, 25. Lucania. Seneca, *Tranq. an.*, 2, 13; cf. vol. i, p. 329.
 394, 31. plains. Cic., *N. D.*, ii, 38, 98.
 395, 3. evidence. This is done by Motz, in his already quoted treatise, *Ueber die Empfindung der Naturschönheit bei den Alten*, a work, however, which abounds in acute observations. He says (p. 113), 'After these deductions it only can appear an *idolum fori* to suppose that the ancients had little feeling for the beauty of grand mountain scenery'. A. Gerber, *Die Berge in der Poesie und Kunst der Alten* (Munich, 1882), contains nothing relevant to this question.
 395, 6. apart. Motz, *op. cit.*, p. 128, note 1.
 395, 12. call. Humboldt, *Kosmos*, vol. ii, p. 79.
 395, 17. infrequent. *Ib. id.*, ii, p. 33.
 395, 20. foreground. Hehn, *Italien*, p. 64 f.
 395, 24. scenery. Burckhardt, *Cultur der Renaissance*, p. 233.
 395, 24. blind. J. Falke, *Die ritterliche Gesellschaft im Zeitalter des Frauencultus*, p. 131.
 396, 6. character. O. Dolch, *The Love of Nature in the Early English Poetry* (*Programm der Annen-Realschule zu Dresden*, 1882),

- p. 10. Hertzberg, *Chaucer's Canterbury Geschichten*, II, 159–11, 229.
- 396, 30. crops. See Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 234 ff., on all this.
- 396, 32. scenery. *Id. ib.*, pp. 237–240. St. Bruno of Cologne, the founder of the Chartreuse at Grenoble (d. 1101), in his description of the situation of a second house (della Torre) which he founded in Calabria, displays a feeling for Nature in no way different from that of the ancients. Semming, *Die grosse Karlshause zu Grenoble*, i, in *Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung*, 26 April, 1889, Supplement.
- 396, 33. written. Cf. also Janitschek, *Die Gesellschaft der Renaissance in Italien* (1879), p. 36 f. For L. B. Alberti's love of Nature cf. Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 112, 2; for that of Lorenzo de' Medici, Reumont, *L. d. M.*, ii, 11 ff. When P. Jovius (*Descriptio Larii Lacus*, Venet., 1559, p. xxii) praises the promontory near Bellaggio ('Bilacium promontorium quo nihil spectatius jucundius salubriusque reperitur') because of the view over both arms of the lake, his words are quite in the style of the ancient feeling for nature.
- 396, 36. Europe. The following pages repeat, with very many additions, the substance of my essay, *Ueber die Entstehung und Entwicklung des Gefühls für das Romantische in der Natur* (1873). Many readers will perhaps think this irrelevant. My own experience has, however, led me to believe that the chief obstacle to a true comprehension of the ancient attitude towards Nature is the constant tendency, whether conscious or unconscious, to assume modern sentiments in antiquity. This tendency can, I consider, be most easily counteracted by gaining as deep an insight as possible into the development of the feeling for nature which prevails at the present day. I considered it unnecessary to consult A. Biese, *Die Entwicklung des Naturgefühls im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit* (1888), judging from the review by R. M. Werner in *Deutsche Litt.-Zeitung*, 21 April, 1888. The observations (enclosed in quotation marks) on the value of the study of landscape painting for the history of the feeling for nature (pp. 396–398) are from the pen of G. Dehio.
- 397, 9. Scenery. Riehl, *Culturstudien aus drei Jahrhunderten*, 2nd ed., 1859, p. 57.
- 397, 12. ideal. *Id. ib.*, p. 59 f.
- 398, 21. Romantic. It is significant that Salvator Rosa, the most romantic of all the Italian landscape painters of the seventeenth century, was more esteemed in England than anywhere else.
- 398, 39. grazing-ground. Schwarz, *Die Erschliessung der Berge von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf Saussure* (1885), p. 315.
- 399, 1. pleasant. *Id. ib.*, pp. 328 and 340.
- 399, 5. nothing. *Pii II Commentarii*, pp. 4–6; cf. G. Voigt, *Euen Silvio*, i, 91.
- 399, 18. rocks. *Leonardi Bruni Arretini Epistolae*, rec. L. Mehus, iv, 3.
- 399, 22. road. *Fel. Fabri Evagatorium*, i (*Bibliothek des litter. Vereins zu Stuttgart*, vol. ii), p. 71; *Evag.*, iii (*Bibl.*, vol. iv), p. 444.

- 399, 24. built. Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 312 f.
 399, 34. silver-mines. *Evag.*, iii, p. 443.
 400, 1. rolled. *Sabini Poemata*, Lips. 1581, p. 57, in Erich Schmidt, *Lesefrüchte*, i. *Alpenlandschaft in deutscher Dichtung* (*Archiv. f. Litt.-Gesch.*, xi, 321 ff.). Cf. there a similar passage by P. Lotichius. Of 'a truly romantic conception of high mountains in Jacob Balde' I can find no trace, at least in his odes.
 400, 3. rocks. S. Münster, *Cosmographie* (1544). Montaigne, *Essais*, iii, 13: Ces humeurs transcendantes m'effroyent comme les lieux haultains et inaccessibles.
 400, 4. Vale. Zehender, *Der Rheinfall im Licht der Naturanschauung verschiedener Zeitalter* (Zürich, 1866), p. 15. The falls of the Rhine are first mentioned in a well known letter of Poggio's, 1417 (*ibid.*, p. 13 f.). The new feeling for nature may be first noticed in a description of the falls by Lavater, 1771 (p. 26).
 400, 5. Kiechel. *Bibliothek des litter. Vereins in Stuttgart*, vol. lxxxvi.
 400, 11. Delft. *Ibid.*, p. 16 f.
 400, 11. level. *Ibid.*, p. 237.
 400, 15. Venice. *Ibid.*, p. 342.
 400, 20. cross. *Alpine Reiseliteratur in früherer Zeit*, in *Beil. z. Allgem. Zeitg.*, September 9, 1885.
 400, 25. nature-impressions. Urbach, *Zur Gesch. des Naturgefühls bei den Deutschen. Progr. der Kreuzschule zu Dresden*, 1885, p. xviii; Winter, *Beiträge zur Gesch. des Naturgefühls. Progr. d. Realgymnas. zu Harburg*, 1883, pp. 17-19.
 400, 30. trees. Landgraf Ernst v. Hessen-Rheinfels, in *Deutsche Rundschau*, July, 1887, p. 42.
 400, 36. Silius. Jacob Frey, *Die Alpen im Lichte verschiedener Zeitalter* (Samml. von Virchow und Holtzendorff, 274 [1877], p. 10.
 400, 39. modern. Osenbrüggen, *Wanderstudien in der Schweiz* (1867), i, 1-78, cf. p. 3. Cf. also Hanhart, Konrad Gesner, pp. 91-94.
 401, 13. ascent. J. Frey, *Die Alpen*, p. 13 f.
 401, 20. exercise. C. Gesneri de varis et admirandis herbis quae . . . lunariae nominantur Commentariolus. Ejusdem descriptio Montis Fracti. His accedunt Jo. Du Choul Pilati Montis . . . Descriptio. Jo. Rhellicani Stockhornias. Tiguri [1555], p. 50: quod quaeso aliud intra naturae quidem limites honestius, majus et omnibus absolutius numeris oblectamenti genus invenies? Cf. Häser, *Alpenfahrten in früherer Zeit*, in *Nord und Süd*, July, 1886, p. 100. Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 469 ff.
 401, 28. fresh. *Alpine Reiseliteratur*, iv, *Beil. zur Allgem. Zeitg.*, September 11, 1885.
 401, 38. glaciers. J. Frey, *Die Alpen*, pp. 24-27.
 401, 41. Tell. Peppmüller, *Zu den Quellen des Schillerschen Tell*, in *Gosche, Archiv. f. Litteraturgesch.*, i, 1870, p. 460 ff.
 402, 2. depicted. Häser, *op. cit.*, p. 99.
 402, 5. off-shoots. J. Frey, *Die Alpen*, p. 37.

- 402, 10. travelling. *Ausland*, 1871, no. 45 (*Ein Nürnberger Tourist aus dem Anfange des 17. Jahrhunderts*).
- 402, 19. intention. *J. Lipsii Opera* (Vesaliae, 1675), ii, 31 sqq. Cf. *Ausland*, 1872, p. 693 ff.
- 402, 28. *Peregrinus*. Cf. the *Program. Acad. Alb. Regim.*, 1873, i.
- 402, 32. 16°. Read '16^{mo}'.
- 402, 33. divided. Zeiller, *Fidus Achates. Bedenken von Anstellung der Reysen*, iii. Zeiller already used the handbooks in pocket editions, published by Franz Schnellboltzen at Leipsic: *Deliciae Italiae*, 1600; *Itinerar. per Italiano*, 1602. *Beil. z. Allgem. Ztg.*, 10 Sept., 1885.
- 403, 1. unknown. That individual travellers, especially Englishmen, already regarded Alpine landscapes with intelligent interest in the seventeenth century is shown by the extract from Evelyn's *Diary*, June 27, 1654, quoted in Appendix xxii. It is evident that in the seventeenth century, although it was an arduous and dangerous climb, frequent ascents were made of the highest peak in the Carpathians, from which one enjoyed a view extending to a distance of 150 miles. The travellers left their names, written on parchment, in leaden cases beneath rocks, and the guides erected 'signa'. The author of the description 'could not sufficiently express the wonderful works of God upon this mountain', on the peak 'he thanked God, and praised His wonderful creation with astonishment'. *Ungarischer oder Dacianischer Simplicissimus* (1683, place of printing not stated), new edition by Seiz, Wigand, 1854, p. 61 ff. The Schneekoppe was also often climbed in the seventeenth century.
- 403, 9. Isar. Bezold, *Konrad Celtis, der deutsche Erzhumanist*, in *Sybel's histor. Zeitschr.*, N. F., xlii (xlix), 1883, p. 44. In the biography written by his friends, Celtis is called a friend of the sun, the mountains, and the forests. Two of his odes defend solitary worship of God amid the grandeurs of nature (*Od.*, i, 16, 19). In some respects he was certainly a precursor of Rousseau.
- 403, 15. romanticism. As Schwarz says, *op. cit.*, p. 342, citing this passage.
- 403, 16. backgrounds. Vol. i, pp. 391, 394.
- 403, 31. Travels. Addison, *Remarks on several parts of Italy, etc.*, London, 1761, pp. 258-261, 273, 295-302. In part iv of Broccke's *Vergnügen in Gott* (1721-1748) he says in the *Betrachtung des Blanckenburgischen Marmors*: 'In many places the rough summits of the mountains are prodigiously beautiful. Vastness may awaken pleasure and horror at once'. Erich Schmidt, *Richardson, Rousseau und Goethe*, pp. 183, 108.
- 404, 5. Saxony. *Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montague* (ed. 1837), i, 310, 21 Nov. 1716. I am indebted to Munro for nearly all the quotations from Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's letters, and for those from Gray's letters.
- 404, 6. about. 12 September, 1718.
- 404, 10. intensely. 25 September, 1718.
- 404, 13. loved. iii, 175.

- 404, 16. region. ii, 387 (21 July, 1747).
 404, 20. planted. i, 275 (8 September, 1716).
 404, 29. spirits. Gray's letters to his mother (13 October) and to West (16 November, 1739).
 404, 40. lands. Richardson, *Grandison*, iii, 39, in Erich Schmidt, *Richardson, Rousseau und Goethe*, p. 173 f.
 405, 5. volumes. *Im neuen Reich*, 1873, no. 37, p. 408.
 405, 10. accessible. *Le président de Brosses en Italie*, Paris, Didier et Cie. (1858), Letter 39 (ii, 74 s.); letter 53 (ii, 444).
 405, 29. delighted. *Keysslers Reisen* (3rd edition by Schütze, 1776), p. 1010. See also *ib.*, pp. 1-4.
 405, 33. scientific. Ludwig Hirzel, *Zum Gedächtniss Albrecht von Hallers*, in *Im neuen Reich*, 1877, no. 51, p. 964.
 405, 39. inhabitants. Mörikofer, *Die schweizerische Litteratur im 18. Jahrhundert*, pp. 24-27.
 406, 3. Holland. Edited by Ludwig Hirzel, 1883.
 406, 12. picture. Pp. 27, 35, 55, 58.
 406, 14. earth. Johnson, *Dictionary* (1755), s.v. 'Protuberance', quoting More, says 'Mountains seem but so many wens and unnatural protuberances upon the face of the earth'.
 406, 15. Neckar. Haller's *Tagebücher*, p. 23.
 406, 23. see. Rosenkranz, *Neue Studien*, iii, 92. *Life and Letters of Macaulay*, Tauchn. ed., iii, 117. J. Frey, *Die Alpen*, p. 23.
 406, 28. frustrated. Mörikofer, *op. cit.*, p. 180; D. Strauss, *Kleine Schriften*, N. F., pp. 158-200. Cf. Winter, *Beitr. zur Gesch. des Naturgefühls*, p. 27.
 406, 31. Gibbon. Gibbon's *Autobiography* (written 1788).
 407, 10. incomparable. The following passage in *Gulliver's Travels* (Voyage to Laputa etc.), ch. iv, shows that Swift's feeling for nature resembled that of his contemporaries: 'We came into a most beautiful country: farmers' houses at small distances neatly built, the fields enclosed, containing vineyards, corn-grounds and meadows. Neither do I remember to have seen a more delightful prospect.'
 407, 31. ruggedness. Johnson, *Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland* (1775), p. 84; Boswell, *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Johnson* (1785), pp. 373 and 473. I am indebted to Munro for these references.
 407, 40. fancy. Isabella L. Bird (Mrs. Bishop), *A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains*, 1881, p. 63.
 408, 5. swollen. R. Pauli, *Entstehung des Einheitsstaates in Grossbritannien*, 3, in *Preuss. Jahrb.*, 1872, September, p. 320 (from H. Burton, *History of Scotland from the Revolution, etc.* [1855], ii, 365 note: verbatim extract from *A Journey through England and Scotland along with the Army under the Command of H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland* [1746], p. 93). For most of the following references I am indebted to Pauli (d. 1882), who also inquired of the late Mr. J. H. Burton, the most competent authority on Scottish history (in this and other aspects) in the eighteenth century, regarding the time when the first signs of admiration for the Highlands appear.
 408, 10. desolate. Hettner, *Litteraturgesch. des 18. Jahrhds.*, i², 549.

- 408, 21. Beattie. *A Tour through the Island of Great Britain . . . originally begun by Daniel de Foe, continued by the late Mr. Richardson*, 8th ed., iv, 242.
- 408, 37. tincture. 'The steady growth of admiration for the Highlands may be traced in poems and descriptions of travel through the second half of the eighteenth century down to the time of Sir Walter Scott. Burton specially draws attention to Forsyth, *The Beauties of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1805' (Letter from Pauli).
- 409, 8. Vivis. *Cosmographie*, p. 493.
- 409, 20. became. *Confessions*, Book iv (Lausanne, 1782, i, p. 274).
- 409, 24. travel. *Nouv. Héloïse*, pt. iv, letter 6.
- 409, 32. isles. *Ibid.*, letter 11.
- 409, 35. Nature. Third letter to Malesherbes, in Hettner, *Litteraturgesch. d. 18. Jahrh.*, ii³, 507.
- 409, 37. beauty. *Confessions*, Book vi (ii, 117).
- 409, 40. repaid. *Réveries du promeneur solitaire*, vii. *promenade* (vi, p. 203 s.).
- 410, 4. frightful. *Confessions*, Book iv (i, p. 308).
- 410, 10. mountain-torrent. *Réveries*, v. *promenade* (vi, p. 120).
- 410, 15. writes. *Nouv. Héloïse*, pt. i, letter 23.
- 410, 31. days. *Ibid.*, N. K., lxvii (ii, p. 354).
- 411, 4. herself. Hettner, *Litteraturgesch. d. 18. Jahrh.*, ii³, 486.
- 411, 16. lively. To Frau v. Stein, i, 264, in Schmidt, *Richardson, Rousseau und Goethe*, pp. 174, 100. Cf. also pp. 179, 105 (Herder, 1770, and Lenz).
- 411, 18. did. E.g. Nicolovius and F. L. v. Stolberg, 1791; *Denkschr. auf Nicolovius*, p. 28.
- 411, 19. *Héloïse*. Meiners, *Briefe über die Schweiz* (1784-1790), ii, p. 165.
- 411, 21. footsteps. Osenbrüggen, *op. cit.*, p. 20 f.
- 411, 34. frightens. Sainte-Beuve, *Ramond le peintre des Pyrénées*, in *Causeries du lundi*, 3. édit. (Paris, 1857), x, pp. 362-403. Cf. J. Schmidt, *Franz. Litteraturgesch.*, i³, 115.
- 411, 39. Rosa. Sainte-Beuve, *Obermann*, in *Critiques et portraits littéraires*, Bruxelles, 1832, ii, pp. 240-281.
- 412, 8. Saussure. Sainte-Beuve, *Topffer*, in *Causeries*, viii, p. 336 s.
- 412, 10. first. Vol. i, p. 392 f.
- 412, 9. botanists. F. Cohn, *Die Pflanze*, p. 223, 43. Cf. also Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 465, and Cohn, *J. J. Rousseau als Botaniker*, in *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1886, p. 364 ff.
- 412, 13. English. Saussure, *Voyages dans les Alpes*, iii, p. 197 s.
- 412, 17. glaciers. *Alpine Reiselitt. d. fr. Zeit*, vi, in *Allgem. Ztg.*, Beilage, 15 September, 1885.
- 412, 24. readers. Saussure, *Voyages dans les Alpes*, iii, p. 22 ss.
- 412, 29. corpse. *Ibid.*, iv, p. 388 ss.
- 412, 29. tale. *Ibid.*, iii, p. 211.
- 412, 32. *Alpes*. Osenbrüggen, p. 22 ff.
- 412, 37. memoirs. Häser, *Alpenfahrten in früherer Zeit*, in *Nord und Süd*, July, 1886, p. 107. Breiting, E. Rambert, etc., in *Deutsche Rundschau*, December, 1881, p. 41 ff. On the

mountain rambles of the brothers de Luc of Geneva cf. J. Frey, *Die Alpen*, p. 36. The first good views of the Alps were the '*Merkwürdigen Prospects aus den Schweizergebirgen*' by the painter Kaspar Wolf of Aargau, *ibid.*, p. 32.

- 412, 37. Rigi. Goethe, *Werke*, xxii, p. 359.
 412, 40. ice-mountains. *Ibid.*, xiv, p. 188.
 413, 2. invaded. Gibbon, *Misc. Works*, 1837, p. 357.
 413, 6. view. Saussure, *Voyages*, iii, p. 114.
 413, 8. Lausanne. Gibbon, *op. cit.*
 413, 9. Europe. Meiners, *Briefe*, vol. iii, preface.
 413, 10. wearisomely. *Ibid.*, iv, p. 189.
 413, 26. degree. Cf. my essay: *Kant in seinem Verhältniss zur Kunst und schönen Natur*, in *Preuss. Jahrb.*, 1867; *Kant's Werke*, ed. Schubert and Rosenkranz, iv, p. 128 f. (cf. 118), 137, 122.
 413, 32. travelling. See Peschel, *Ausland*, 1869, no. 35 (*Zur Erd- und Völkerkunde*, ii, p. 314).
 413, 39. digest. U. Hegner, *Die Molkenkur*, ii, p. 46.
 413, 40. basis. Cf. Peschel's fine description of the influence of the geographical environment on human manners, *op. cit.*, i, p. 387 f.
 413, 41. art. Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries*, viii, p. 338.
 414, 4. supreme. *Id. ib.*, iv, p. 284.
 414, 8. plains. Bonstetten, *Schriften*, ed. Matthison, 1793, p. 11.
 414, 10. writes. Nicolai, *Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz im Jahre 1789*, vi, p. 465.
 414, 13. mountains. See Moltke, *Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei*, p. 231: 'Nearly every mountain is beautiful; the Karadja Dag between the Euphrates and Tigris is the only one I have seen which is not'. Bismarck on the other hand remarked that he did not much like mountains, first because of the limited views in the valleys, and secondly because of the climbing up and down. 'I prefer the plains—I won't say precisely the plain of Berlin—small hills with pretty woods, clear swift brooks, as in Pomerania and generally on the Baltic coast'. Busch, *Graf Bismarck und seine Leute*, ii, 178.
 414, 14. Frat. Read 'the Euphrates'.
 414, 29. please. J. Frey, *Die Alpen*, p. 23.
 414, 34. 'mori'. Goethe, *Werke*, xxii, p. 387.
 414, 34. returned. *Sprüche in Prosa, Naturwissenschaft*, iii.
 415, 8. visited. *Tagebuch der Reise in den Berner Oberalpen*, in Rosenkranz, *Hegels Leben*, pp. 470-490.
 415, 40. Muses. Vergil, *G.*, ii, 485.
 416, 26. being. Foscolo, *Letzte Briefe des Jacopo Ortis*, German by Lantsch, 1829, p. 145. Cf. also the description of the crossing of the Alps in Manzoni's *Adelchi* (act ii, scene 2).
 416, 33. Zante. Reumont, *Gräfin von Albany*, ii, 169; cf. 168.
 416, 35. fillip. Stendhal, *Chartreuse de Parme*, bk. i, ch. 2.
 416, 36. Italy. *Italien, Skizzen und Streiflichter*, St. Petersburg, 1867, 2nd edition, 1879.
 417, 4. struggles. Hehn, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
 417, 11. sea. *Ibid.*, p. 51 ff.

- 417, 15. charms. The following illustrates the contrary feeling: Fr. Preller wrote from Rome in March 1830: 'I often gladly think of nature in our own country, though it used to impress me as empty and cold. . . . The quiet and modest beauty of the Fatherland will give me a happy welcome, and I think it not impossible that I shall be able to console myself for the loss of the sublime beauty of the south, for I have stored up its precious teachings and shall profit by them wherever I may be.' Burckhardt, *Aus Fr. Prellers erstem Aufenthalt in Italien*, in *Allgem. Zeitg.*, 21 May, 1878, *Beilage*. Nissen, *Ital. Landeskunde*, i, 462, expresses himself still more decidedly. Cf. also 220, 2.
- 417, 32. country. Justi, *Winckelmann*, ii, 2, p. 427.
- 418, 18. regarded. F. Caballero, *Ausgewählte Werke*, vol. iv, p. 10.
- 418, 22. territory. P. Güssfeldt, *Reise in die Andes, Chile und Argentinien*, in *Deutsche Rundschau*, November 1884, p. 264. Sebastian Münster had already introduced the word *Gletscher* (glacier) into literary German. Peschel, *Abhandl. zur Erd- und Völkerkunde*, ii, 314 f.
- 418, 38. garden. Kremer, *Culturgesch. d. Orients*, ii, 334 f. Cf. Fleischer, *Ibn-Loyóns Gedicht vom spanisch-arabischen Land- und Gartenbau*, in *Berichte d. Sächs. Ges.*, 1885, p. 155 ff. Cohn, *Die Gärten in alter und neuer Zeit (Die Pflanze*, p. 465). Tuckermann, *Gartenkunst der ital. Renaissancezeit*, p. 53 (garden of John of Ibelin at Beirut in the thirteenth century). Maltzan, *Sittenbilder aus Tunis und Algerien*, p. 109 (garden in Tunis).
- 419, 11. Indian. Baron Hübner, *Durch das Britische Reich*, ii, 91.
- 419, 14. Paradise. Duncker, *Gesch. d. Alterth.*, iv⁸, 155 and 562.
- 419, 18. flowers. Liban., ed. R., i, 603, 15-20.
- 419, 20. Persians. Brugsch, *Persische Briefe*, in *Deutsche Rundschau*, October, 1885, p. 133.
- 419, 22. arouses. Polack, *Persien* (1865), i, p. 91 f.
- 419, 25. emphasizes. Vergil, *Aen.*, vi, 673-677.
- 419, 29. blessed. *Koran*, Suras 55 and 76. Laboulaye, *Abdallah*: A proverb says, 'Three things delight the eye: running water, greenness, and beauty'.
- 419, 39. Interlaken. Tcheng-Ki-Tong [Ch'en Chi-t'ung], *The Chinese Painted by themselves* [1884], p. 143.
- 419, 41. Lamartine. Cf. also *Sse-ma-Kuang's Garden*, a poem by statesman at the end of the eleventh century, in Huc, *L'empire chinois*. The poet says: 'I like to sit near the water, in a dark wood, or on the top of a rock. The moon has already risen, I still sit there, it is a new pleasure. The murmur of the water, the rustling of the leaves, stirred by the wind, the beauty of the sky make me dream; all nature speaks to my soul, and absorbs my attention, and the night is half over before I reach my door.' Cf. the modern poem describing evening, quoted by Tcheng-Ki-Tong, *op. cit.*, p. 180 (?).
- 420, 2. influenced. J. Falke, *Der englische Garten*, in *Nord und Süd*, Nov. 1884; A. Springer, *Bilder aus der neueren Kunstgesch.*, ii^a, 1886, p. 257. In France it was the missionaries' reports

and Sir William Chambers's book on Chinese buildings (1757) that led to a breach with the old tradition, but above all the enthusiastic propaganda of Rousseau, who had become acquainted with the great English gardens in 1766 (F. Cohn, *Rousseau als Botaniker*, p. 369). According to Falke, *op. cit.*, p. 189, in spite of the innovations of Kent and his successors, the splendid illustrated work *Britannia illustrata* still about 1750 shows the gardens, without exception, in the old style. The change, however, was rapid from that time onward, and the new style prevailed.

- 420, 6. sinuous. Cf. also Marco Polo's description of the garden laid out by Kublai Khan in the thirteenth century in Peking. Ferd. Cohn, *Die Gärten in alter und neuer Zeit*, *op. cit.*, p. 512.
- 420, 11. feelings. Wörmann, *Die Landschaft in der Kunst der alten Völker*, pp. 35-52 (after the *Mémoires concernant les Chinois, par les missionnaires de Pé-kin*, Paris, 1782, vol. viii).
- 420, 17. waterfall. Hübner, *Ein Spaziergang um die Welt, Deutsche Ausgabe*, 2nd edn. (1875), ii, 78.
- 420, 18. artistic. Miss Isabella L. Bird (Mrs. Bishop), *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, 1880, i, 75, 218; ii, 196 f. (flower festivals, exhibitions and gardens); cf. also ii, 182 (street-names in Tokyo).
- 420, 24. tasteless. Waitz, *Anthropol. d. Naturvölker*, iv, 91.
- 420, 28. Scott. Lockhart, *Life of Scott*, v, 248.
- 420, 31. huts. Princess Salm-Salm, *Zehn Jahre aus meinem Leben* ii, 12.
- 420, 32. necessary. Lady Brassey, *Voyage in the Sunbeam*⁴, 1878, p. 273.
- 420, 36. worshipped. Brosow, *Wald und Feldkulte der litauischen Völkergruppe, Progr. des Altstädt. Gymn. zu Königsberg*, 1887, p. 11. On the Esthonians' love of nature cf. *Aus dem esthnischen Volksleben*, in *Deutsche Rundschau*, Feb. 1882, p. 217.
- 420, 38. need. Ernst Wichert, *Litauische Geschichten*, p. 12.
- 420, 40. marshes. Müllenhoff, introd. to Klaus Groth's *Quickborn* (7th edition), p. xv. Klaus Groth, *Vertelln*, p. 22.
- 421, 5. apologized. Goethe, *Werke*, xxiii, 273. What Byron (*Don Juan*, canto iii, 56) says concerning the Greek islander Lambro is the fruit of observation.

'A taste seen in the choice of his abode,
A love of music and of scenes sublime,
A pleasure in the gentle stream that flow'd
Past him in crystal, and a joy in flowers
Bedew'd his spirit in his calmer hours.'

- 421, 27. shared. Diderot, *Le salon de 1765 etc. Œuvres* (ed. Nageon), vols. xiii and xiv. Cf. esp. xiii, 234 s., 478 ss., xiv, 173 ss., 227 s., 497 s.
- 421, 29. delineation. Helbig, *Untersuchungen über die campanische Wandmalerei*, p. 350.
- 421, 38. *pulcherrima*. *Forma* is similarly used in Stat., *Silv.*, i, 3, 15: quae forma beatis Arte manus facieque locis ('facieque'

- Bährens substitutes for the corrupt 'artemque'; cf. Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 17, 3: *Varia hinc atque inde facies*.
- 422, 2. plastic. Helbig, *op. cit.*, p. 354 f.
- 422, 4. moon. Nearly all these passages are in Motz, p. 99 ff. Horace, *Carm.*, ii, 5, 19 sq.
- 422, 5. quiver. Vergil, *Aen.*, vii, 8 sq.
- 422, 5. refreshing. *Id.*, *Georg.*, iii, 137.
- 422, 6. red. *Id.*, *Aen.*, vii, 25.
- 422, 7. waves. Catullus, 63, 277; see vol. i, p. 389 of this work.
- 422, 9. mist. Lucretius, v, 461-464.
- 422, 15. blue. So also Motz says, p. 19: We think we have found that the ancients when describing things, mentioned all the other qualities rather than the colour.
- 422, 16. blue hills. H. Blümner has pointed out to me that Gierig and Korn, the editors of Ovid, have referred the 'caerula coma' of the mountain god Tmolus in *Metam.*, xi, 158 to the blue appearance of the distant mountain. They are certainly wrong. Ovid says: *Monte suo senior iudex consedit et aures Liberat arboribus, quercu coma caerula tantum Cingitur et pendent circum cava tempora glandes*. In this rather tasteless fancy of the mountain god with a human face, nothing was further from the poet's mind than the thought of the distant view of the mountain. In this aspect indeed a mountain appears blue from head to foot, and not only at the crest (here *coma*), and the forest looks as blue as the mountain itself. Undoubtedly *caerula* is here equivalent to *κασάνη*. In Seneca, *Hercules Oet.*, 1873: *fleat Alciden Caerula Crete, magno tellus Clara Tonante*, I cannot explain *caerula*, but I do not think that an adjective which is only appropriate to the island as seen from a distance, could become an *epitheton ornans*.
- 422, 16. poetry. Perhaps also in modern literature nothing of the kind will be found before the eighteenth century. The earliest instances known to me are in Haller's *Alpen*, where the grey head of the Wetterhorn, adorned with snow and purple, puts to shame the 'blue crests of common mountains', and a ring of gleaming heights shuts in 'the blue distance'.
- 422, 27. tearful. Ovid, *Trist.*, i, 3.
- 422, 32. himself. Tac., *Hist.*, iii, 23.
- 422, 34. moonlight. Vergil, *Aen.*, vi, 270 sqq.; cf. iii, 588 sqq. Helbig, *op. cit.*, p. 362 f.
- 422, 36. plainly. Vergil, *Aen.* iii, 150 sqq. Motz, *op. cit.*, p. 105, who speaks of 'ghostly' moonlight in this connexion, introduces with this epithet into the description a new idea, which is quite as foreign to ancient sentiment as it is familiar to modern, and thus unwittingly supplies a characteristic illustration of the difference between the two.
- 422, 37. poet. Helbig, *op. cit.*, p. 363.
- 423, 13. combined. *Id. ib.*, p. 357 f. Lessing, whose ideal of beauty was entirely antique, shares with Winckelmann a dislike for landscape painting. Lessing, *Laokoon*, ed. Blümner, 2nd ed., p. 499 f.
- 423, 17. islands. Dio Chrys., *Or.*, xxxv, p. 436 M.

- 423, 23. inland. See vol. i, p. 321 ff.
- 423, 25. boat. Lucian, *Alexand.*, 44.
- 423, 30. peripatetics. Rohde, *Gr. Roman*, 210, 1.
- 423, 31. Philostratus. Zeller, *Philos. d. Griechen*, iii, 2, 134a.
- 423, 33. reports. Osmond de Beauvoir Priaulx, *Journal of the R. Asiatic Society*, xvii [1860], p. 70.
- 423, 36. Demetrius. Lucian, *Toxaris*, 34.
- 423, 38. escape. Porphyry, *Vita Plotini*, c. 3.
- 424, 1. succeeded. Cedren., ed. Bonn., i, 516. Cf. Clinton, *F. R.*, ad an. 330, and Interp. ad Ammian. Marcell., xxv, 4, 23. S. Jerome already knew the doctrine of the Indian Gymnosophists, 'quod Buddam, principem dogmatis eorum e latere suo virgo generavit. Jerome, *Adv. Jov.*, i, 42, ed. Vall., ii, 309.
- 424, 13. Berlin. Humboldt, *Kosmos*, ii, p. 4 f.
- 424, 24. grow. Pliny, *N. H.*, xiv, 1.
- 424, 29. common. Hehn, *Cultu'rpflanzen*⁴, p. 223 ff.
- 424, 31. palms. P. de Crescentiis, *Op. rural. commodor.*, viii, 2 (de viridariis mediocribus et mediocrium personarum): plantentur in eo acies pinorum et malorum et palmarum in locis calidis et citroniorum. Cf. viii, 3 (de viridariis regum et aliorum illustrium et divitum dominorum).
- 424, 36. unknown. Vol. ii, p. 168 f.
- 424, 39. crocus. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxv, 9 (botanic garden of the physician Castor); xvi, 136; Colum., iii, 8, 4; x, 169 sq.
- 425, 1. Augustan. Cf. vol. i, p. 385 ff. of this work.
- 425, 3. century. Firmic. Mat., *De math.*, viii, 10; buxead arbores tondentes in belluas fingunt aut virides porticus in circulum flexis vitibus faciunt.
- 425, 5. Tuscan. Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 17; v, 6. Cf. Schinkel's designs in *Architektonisches Album, Heft 7* (Potsdam, 1841), reproduced by Tuckermann, *Gartenkunst der ital. Renaissancezeit*, p. 44 f. The essay by Woksch, *Der röm. Lustgarten, Progr. d. Gymn. zu Leitmeritz*, 1881, contains nothing new.
- 425, 10. steps. Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 6, 17.
- 425, 12. decoration. Cic., *Ad Att.*, i, 20; Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 18.
- 425, 13. animals. Martial, iii, 19, 2.
- 425, 13. fountains. Cf. vol. i, p. 332; vol. ii, p. 194 ff. Manil., *Astr.*, iv, 262 sqq.
- 425, 17. sprays. Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 6, 36, 40.
- 425, 18. fish-ponds. Becker-Göll, iii, 54 ff.
- 425, 19. kept. Cf. the picture of a garden in Presuhn, *Pompejan. Wanddecorationen*, pl. xxii.
- 425, 20. Tiburtine. Vol. ii, p. 196.
- 425, 22. Carthage. Luxor., in Riese, *Anthol. lat.*, i, pp. 216 and 269. Procop., *Bell. Vandal.*, ii, 6. Martial, iii, 58, 46: Et turre ab alta prospicis meras laurus. Cf. Becker-Göll, i, 150, 2.
- 425, 24. pine. Wüstemann, *Ueber die Kunstgärtnerei bei d. alten Römern*, p. 19 f.
- 425, 24. avenues. Pliny, *N. H.*, xvi, 140 (metae . . . distinguendis . . . pinorum ordinibus).
- 425, 25. *quincunxes*. Quintilian, viii, 3, 9; Varro, *R. r.*, i, 7, 2; Cic., *Senect.*, 17.

- 425, 25. groups. Martial, xii, 50, 1: *Daphnonas platanonas et aërios pityonas*.
- 425, 27. diversities. Florentin., *Geopon.*, x, 1.
- 425, 28. Matius. Pliny, *N. H.*, xii, 13.
- 425, 32. fleets. Wüstemann, p. 17 f.
- 425, 32. dwarf-trees. Pliny, *l.c.* Wüstemann, p. 18h, mistakes the cypress hedges of Pliny, *N. H.*, xvi, 140, for dwarf cypresses. The latter are probably referred to as '*metulae*' in Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 6, 35; cf. *N. H.*, xvi, 140 sqq.
- 425, 32. grafting. Pliny, *N. H.*, xvii, 120; Fronto, *Ad M. Caes.*, ii, 13, ed. Niebuhr; *Epp. ad M. Antonin. de oration.*, 4, 3. Similar tricks with grafting were practised by the old Arabs (Kremer, *Culturgesch. d. Orients*, ii, 332 f.) and in mediæval Europe (Wright, *Homes of Other Days*, p. 313).
- 425, 35. anemones. Wüstemann, pp. 23-25; Manil., *Astr.*, v, 256 sqq. On the names of the flowers cf. Prof. Ferd. Cohn's essay, Appendix xxiii.
- 425, 35. filling. Florentin., *Geopon.*, x, 1 (Florentinus mentions in the 13th book of his *Γεωπονικά* Marius Maximus, *praefectus urbis* in 218 [Teuffel, *RLG*⁴, 381, 2], so he wrote apparently in the third century. Gemoll, *Untersuchungen über die Geoponica*, in *Berliner Studien*, i, 170 f.).
- 425, 39. forming. Wüstemann, p. 17.
- 426, 15. inspiring. Wörmann, *Die Landschaft in der Kunst der alten Völker*, p. 330 ff. There is a coloured reproduction of the painting on the north wall in *Antike Denkmäler*, edited by the *Deutsch. archäol. Institut*, i, pl. 11; south wall, pl. 24. A park landscape with trees all of the same kind from a grave in the Vigna Sassi in Wörmann, p. 334. Cf. also the descriptions in Rohde, *Gr. Roman*, p. 512.
- 426, 21. middle-class. P. de Crescentiis, *Op. rural. commodor.*, ix, 2. Besides a black-letter folio edition of the original without imprint, I have used the Italian translation made from a more complete text by Dallo 'N ferigno (Milan, 1805).
- 426, 26. great. Crescentiis, ix, 3.
- 427, 4. roofs. *Id. ib.*, ix, 4.
- 427, 7. bases. Burckhardt and Lübke, *Gesch. der neuern Baukunst*, i², 238 f.
- 427, 9. Italian. The following is taken nearly verbally, but with a few omissions, from J. Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone*, i², 398-400.
- 427, 27. style. Burckhardt and Lübke, *Gesch. der neuern Baukunst* (2nd ed.), i, 237; ii (1st ed.), 258 ff.; Tuckermann, p. 77 ff. Kleinschmidt, *Augsburg, Nürnberg und ihre Handelsfürsten im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, gives on p. 116 ff. descriptions of the largest German gardens of that age (that of Jacob Fugger, who died in 1525, was preferred by Beatus Rhenanus to the royal gardens at Blois and Tours). On p. 161 ff. he describes the garden at the castle of Ambras in Tirol. I have not been able to see *Mittheilungen über Gartenbau im Mittelalter und während der Periode der Renaissance* by Al. Kaufmann in Pick's *Monatsschrift f. Gesch. Westdeutschlands*, vii, 129-155. For the

Venetian gardens in the fifteenth century see Molmenti, *Vie privée à Venise*, p. 262 f.

- 427, 29. ruled. Frd. Cohn, *Die Gärten in alter und neuer Zeit*, in *Die Pflanze*, pp. 485-512; J. v. Falke, *Gesch. d. modernen Geschmacks* (2nd edition, 1880), pp. 253-269; 313-316. When Casaubon was presented to James I in 1610, he noticed 'les jardins et les figures que les jardiniers exécutent en taillant les arbres'. Nisard, *Triumvirat littér.*, p. 421. Bacon (*Essay* 46) does not approve of 'the making of knots or figures with divers coloured earth' near the house; but in the garden proper, which is enclosed by hedges with green alleys running past them, he will allow of 'variety of device' . . . He did not like images cut out in juniper or other garden stuff—they be for children'. *The English Flower Garden*, in *Quarterly Review*, April, 1880, p. 330 ff.
- 427, 29. protest. Erich Schmidt, *Richardson, Rousseau und Goethe*, 189, 114; Winter, *op. cit.*, p. 30 f.
- 427, 30. eighteenth. Kohl, *Alte und neue Zeit*, p. 363 f. (garden at Bremen, 1783).
- 427, 37. collision. *Goethes Unterhaltungen mit dem Kanzler Müller*, p. 103.
- 427, 41. transformed. *Hehn, Culturpfl. und Hausthiere*¹, p. 419 ff.

VOL. II

I. THE SPECTACLES.

- 1, 12. concerns. Dio, liv, 17; Macrob., *Saturn.*, ii, 7: *καὶ* (Haupt, *Hermes*, viii, 249 *ναὶ*) ἀχαριστεῖς, βασιλεῦ· ἔασον αὐτοὺς περὶ ἡμῶν ἀσχολεῖσθαι.
- 1, 19. devices. Döllinger, *Akadem. Vortrage*, i (1888), 279.
- 1, 19. Josephus. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xix, 1, 15 sq.
- 1, 29. Nero's. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 57 with Casaubon's note, and Hausrath, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, iii, 200, 2.
- 2, 1. spectacles. Dio Chrys., *Or.*, xxi, p. 271 M.
- 2, 4. rumours. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 4.
- 2, 5. popularity. Plutarch, *Otho*, c. 3.
- 2, 10. dregs. Lucan, vii, 405: *mundi faeces repletam*.
- 2, 18. injuring. Sallust., *Ep. ad Caes. sen. de rep.*, i, 7, 2.
- 2, 20. *panem*. Juv., 10, 81.
- 2, 24. Alexandria. Lumbroso, *L'Egitto*, p. 103, 2, who remarks that both had already been introduced there long before: Josephus, *C. Apion.*, 2, 5 in f. (*frumentationes*); Epiphan., *De pond. et mens.*, ed. Basil., 1544, p. 537, 8 (Ptolemy I ἱππικὸν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ κατασκευάσας κ.τ.λ.).
- 2, 25. races. Dio Chrys., *Or.*, xxxii, p. 370, 18. The words οὐτω γὰρ εἰρῆσθαι πολὺ βέλτιον are a gloss. Fronto, *Princ. Hist.*, 5, 11: Trajan said, *populum Romanum duabus praecipue rebus annona et spectaculis teneri*.
- 2, 35. account. Mommsen, *RGDA*⁴, p. 90 sqq.
- 2, 36. regard. Sueton., *Aug.*, cc. 43-45.
- 2, 40. francs. Barthélemy, *Voyage en Italie*, 1801, p. 385.
- 2, 41. scudi. Ef. L. Tocco, *Del velario e delle vele negli anfiteatri*, p. 20.
- 3, 3. expended. Dio, lxvi, 10.
- 3, 3. Titus. *Id.*, lxvi, 25; Sueton., *Titus*, c. 7.
- 3, 15. people. Fronto, *Princ. Hist.*, 5, 11.
- 3, 17. absence. *M. Antonin.*, c. 23, cf. cc. 7 and 17.
- 3, 18. Hadrian. For 'next to Hadrian' read 'according to Herodian'.
- 3, 19. devote. Herodian, iii, 8, 6-10.
- 3, 21. spectacles. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 47.
- 3, 23. gladiatorial. *Id. ib.*, c. 34.
- 3, 25. Augustus. Dio, liv, 2 and 17.
- 3, 25. Nerva. *Id.*, lxviii, 2. The statements, quoted by Reimar, from Zonaras, p. 583 D., and *Chron. Paschale*, ad ann. 97, to the effect that the gladiatorial games were entirely abandoned, are exaggerations.

- 3, 26. Pius. *Anton. P.*, c. 12.
 3, 26. Aurelius. *M. Antonin.*, c. 11, 27.
 3, 34. Tacitus. *Tac., Hist.*, i, 72.
 4, 1. cat-calls. *Cic., Ad Att.*, i, 16, 11; ii, 19, 3; xiv, 2; *Pro Sest.*, c. 54 sq.; *Propert.*, iii, 18, 18; *Lipsius, Electa*, ii, 10.
 4, 2. Augustus. *Tac., Dial.*, c. 13.
 4, 6. provider. The acclamation: *propitium Caesarem*, ut in ludicro aliquo precabantur, mentioned by Pliny, *Epp.*, vi, 5, was addressed to the giver of the spectacle. Cf. the acclamation at the end of the inscription of the *collegium Silvani Aureli- anum*, which was composed of gladiators belonging to Commodus: Maxime Commodiane (perhaps the *procurator* of the *ludus*) abias propitium Caesarem. *Wilmanns, E. I.*, 2605.
 4, 4. received. *Horace, Carm.*, i, 20, 3; see also *Sen., Epp.*, 29, 12.
 4, 9. boys. *Sueton., Aug.*, c. 56.
 4, 10. distributed. *Aurelian*, c. 48.
 4, 10. titles. *E.g. Plutarch, Otho*, c. 3. Cf. *Tac., Hist.*, i, 72.
 4, 12. song. *Tac., A.*, xvi, 4 (plebs . . . urbis . . . personabat certis modis plausuque composito). *Dio, lxxiii*, 2: *ὅσα τε εἰώθεσαν ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Κομμοῦδου θεραπείᾳ εὐρύθμιος πῶς ἐκβοᾶν, ταῦτα τότε μετασχηματίζοντες ἐς τὸ γελοιάτατον ἐξῆδον.* Cf. *Lips., loc. cit.* The custom still existed at the time of *Cassiodorus; Var.*, i, 31.
 4, 18. reign. *Dio, lvii*, 11. *Tac., A.*, i, 54.
 4, 26. acknowledged. *Sueton., Aug.*, c. 45; *Tac., loc. cit.*: neque ipse abhorrebat talibus studiis et civile rebatur misceri studiis vulgi.
 4, 28. scoffed. *M. Antonin.*, c. 15.
 4, 31. podium. *Sueton., Nero*, c. 11.
 4, 31. used. *Pliny, N. H.*, xxxvii, 64.
 4, 35. amongst. *Pliny, Paneg.*, c. 51.
 5, 3. popular. *Dio, lx*, 13.
 5, 8. circus. *Gell.*, v, 14, 29.
 5, 10. exchanged. *Sueton., Claud.*, c. 11.
 5, 14. contest. *Id., Titus*, c. 11.
 5, 16. side. *Sueton., Domitian*, cc. 10 and 13; *Pliny, Paneg.*, c. 33.
 5, 17. affable. *Id. ib.*
 5, 19. reply. *Dio, lxxix*, 6.
 5, 22. easy. *Gallieni duo*, c. 12.
 5, 25. combat. *Tac., Hist.*, i, 32: dissono clamore caedem Othonis . . . poscentium, ut si in circo ac theatro ludicrum aliquod postulerent.
 5, 25. gladiators. *E.g. Sueton., Calig.*, c. 30: cumque Tetrinius latro postuleretur, et qui postulerent, Tetrinios esse ait.
 5, 26. fighter. *E.g. Martial, Spectac.*, 29, 3: missio saepe viris magno clamore petita est.
 5, 31. lion. *Gell., loc. cit.*
 5, 33. request. *Fronto, Ad M. Caes.*, ii, 4, 4.
 5, 34. invalid. *Paulus, Digg.*, lx, 9, 17.
 5, 36. consent. *Dio, lvii*, 11.
 5, 37. tablet. *Id.*, lxxix, 16.
 5, 39. importunities. *Sueton., Tiber.*, 47.

- 6, 2. valued. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xix, 1, 4.
 6, 4. repeal. Dio, lvi, 1.
 6, 6. emperor. Tac., *A.*, vi, 13.
 6, 10. restore. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxiv, 62.
 6, 12. loudest. Josephus, *A. J.*, xix, 1, 4.
 6, 15. restitution. Sueton., *Domit.*, c. 13.
 6, 19. demand. *Id.*, *Titus*, c. 6.
 6, 21. edict. Plutarch, *Galba*, c. 17.
 6, 29. spares. Tertullian, *Spect.*, 16; cf. *Ad nat.*, 1, 17.
 6, 38. esset. Macrin., c. 12.
 6, 40. endure. *De mortibus persecut.*, c. 17.
 7, 3. moderate. Ammian., xvi, 10. 13.
 7, 6. popular. Cassiodorus, *Var.*, i, 27.
 7, 9. punished. *Digg.*, xlvii, 10, 7, § 8; cf. 9, § 1.
 7, 11. extant. Schol. Juv., 5, 3.
 7, 12. insults. Tac., *A.*, xi, 13.
 7, 18. repeat. Cic., *Ad Att.*, ii, 19, 3.
 7, 25. applauded. *Id. ib.*, xiii, 44, 1; cf. Drumann, *RG*, vi, 298.
 2, 28. riot. Dio, xlviii, 31, certainly more right than Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 16.
 7, 29. Cleander. Cf. vol. i, p. 58.
 7, 34. enforced. Dio, lxxii, 13; Herodian, i, 12.
 7, 38. were. Dio, lxxiii, 4.
 7, 41. act. Cf. Grote, *History of Greece*, v, p. 260 ff. ('the common susceptibilities, common inspiration, and common spontaneous impulse of a multitude, effacing for the time each man's separate individuality').
 8, 8. rehearsals. Dio, lxxv, 4.
 8, 11. sons. *Id.*, lxxvi, 2.
 8, 13. bury. *Id.*, lxxvii, 10.
 8, 20. seat. Quintilian, vi, 3, 63.
 8, 26. *loga*. Juv., 11, 203.
 8, 28. refuse. Sueton., *Aug.*, 40: negotium aedilibus dedit, ne quem posthac paterentur in foro circove nisi positis lacernis togatum consistere. Roth himself was finally satisfied that *circove* is right and not *circave* (his former reading), p. xxix, cf. p. 287, 14.
 8, 30. mourning. Dio, lxxii, 21 (cf. *Commod.*, c. 16); Becker, *Hdb. d. R. A.*, ii, 1, 279.
 8, 34. death. *Commod.*, c. 16.
 8, 39. bare-headed. Dio, lix, 7.
 8, 41. died. Dio, lxxvii, 8.
 9, 3. revoked. Martial, v, 23:

Herbarum fueras indutus, Basse, colores,
 jura theatralis dum siluere loci etc.

- 9, 3. scarlet. *Id.*, v, 8; xiv, 131.—xiv, 137; iv, 2.
 9, 4. sunshades. *Id.*, xiv, 28 sq.
 9, 7. forbid. *Digg.*, i, 12, 1, § 13 sq.
 9, 12. Punic. Mommsen, *RG*, i⁸, p. 462. Cf. Marquardt, *StV*, iii², 488, 1.
 9, 17. provincials. Marquardt, *op. cit.*

- 9, 19. games. Polyb., xxxii, 4, 5.
 9, 24. stop. Cic., *Pro Mil.*, c. 35.
 9, 25. Quintus. Cic., *Ad Qu. fr.*, iii, 8, 6 (ludos apparat magnificentissimos, sic inquam ut nemo sumtuosiores).
 9, 26. says. *Id. ib.*, iii, 9, 2. The figure denoting the cost is corrupt. cf. Drumann, *GR*, i, 46 and 49. Cf. Marquardt, *StV*, ii², 85 f.
 9, 33. Augustal. Mommsen, *CIL*, i, p. 377b, after the *Fasti Antiatini*. For the time of the composition see p. 295b.
 9, 38. talents. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xvi, 5, 1. Herod when in Rome presented Augustus with 300 talents, *θέας τε καὶ διαγομὰς ποιοῦμενον τῷ Ῥωμαίων δήμῳ*. Augustus gave him in return half the revenue of the Cyprian mines, xvi, 4, 5.
 9, 40. cost. Petron., c. 45.
 9, 41. *municipia*. (C)n. Satrius Cn. f. Rufus *iiivir iur. dic.* (at Iguvium, apparently at the time of Augustus) spent 'in ludos victoriae Caesaris Augusti' 7750 sesterces. Mommsen, *RGDA*², p. 67, 1.
 10, 1. Pesaro. Orelli, 81.
 10, 4. sesterces. Tac., *A.*, iv, 63.
 10, 11. chariot. Martial, x, 41; iv, 67; v, 25.
 10, 12. Hadrian. *Hadrian*, c. 3, where *iterum* is erroneously repeated before *vicies*. Valerian's letter with the list of the amounts granted to Aurelian for his *circenses* (*Aurelian*, c. 12) is not genuine. Mommsen, *StR*, ii², 1, 138 note.
 10, 17. double. Olympiodorus, ap. Phot., i, p. 63 Bekk. Cf. Marquardt, *Hdb. d. R. A.*, ii, 3, 264.
 10, 20. share. Procop., *Hist. arc.*, c. 26. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 245. Following Hultsch, *Metrologie*², p. 317, I reckon the pound of gold at £44 14s.
 10, 22. *solidi*. Marcellin., *Com. chron.*
 10, 33. partially. Cf. vol. i, p. 118.
 10, 37. families. Ambrose, *De offic.*, ii, 21: Quod faciunt qui ludis circensibus vel etiam theatralibus et muneribus gladiatoris vel etiam venationibus patrimonium dilapident suum, ut vincant superiorum celebritates.
 10, 38. emperor. Cf. vol. i, p. 123.
 11, 4. avoid. Zosim., ii, 38.
 11, 15. obligation. P. E. Mueller, *De gen. aev. Theodos.*, p. 54 sq.; *Cod. Theodos.*, vi, 14, with annotations by Gothofredus. Cf. Kuhn, *Verfassung d. röm. Reichs*, i, 206 f., l. 5 (of the year 340), who fixes the following minimum amounts for the 3 praetorships of Constantinople: For the *Flavialis* 25,000 *folles* and 50 pounds of silver, for the *Constantiniana* 20,000 *folles* and 40 lb., for the *Triumphalis* 15,000 *folles* and 30 lb. of silver. On the significance of these amounts and their reduction to modern values, I have received from Fr. Hultsch the following kind communication.
 'According to the Constantinian monetary regulations, on which these figures are undoubtedly based (*Metrol.*², p. 330 ff., and 341 ff., esp. 344) the amounts must be reduced from silver lbs. to *miliarensia* (= $\frac{1}{4}$ silver lb.), and thus:—

50 pounds silver = 3600 *miliarensia*

40 " = 2880 "

30 " = 2160 "

'Of the 3 quantities grouped together on p. 344 of the above work which may represent the *folles* mentioned in the law, the *siliqua* or *denarius follis* = $\frac{1}{4}$ *miliarense*, is the only suitable one (for the coin [?] *follis* is too low, and the silver *follis* too high), and it appears that

25,000 *folles* = 14,285 $\frac{1}{4}$ *miliarensia*

20,000 " = 11,428 $\frac{1}{4}$ "

16,000 " = 8,571 $\frac{1}{4}$ "

These are very probable amounts. They stand to the corresponding amounts of silver lbs. nearly in the proportion of 4 : 1, i.e. the Treasury paid $\frac{1}{4}$ in full weight silver and $\frac{3}{4}$ in bags of small coin (the *denarius follis* = 12 coin *folles* = 250 *denarii*). Therefore according to *Metrol.*² p. 348, the expenditure for the first *praetura* amounted to

3,600 *miliarensia* = £161

25,000 *denarius folles* = 647

£808

For the second *praetura* according to the equation we get about £647, and for the third about £485. Total about £1940. Counting in silver *folles* the whole expenditure would amount to 60,000 *folles* (at £5 11s. 9d.) + 8640 *miliarensia* (at 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.), or about £336,000 in all, which seems an impossibly high figure.'

11, 21. picture. Mommsen, *CIL*, i, p. 377 sqq.

12, 5. exhibitions. *M. Antoninus*, c. 10.

12, 14. out. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 43.

12, 30. sundown. My essay on the games on Marquardt, *StV*, iii² 494, 11.

12, 21. day. Cels., *De re med.*, i, 3.

12, 23. were. Augustine, *C. D.*, viii, 10, 24.

12, 31. pleasure. Cic., *Pro Sext.*, 50, 106; 58, 124.

12, 39. theatres. Pseudo-coins, such as contorniates, form the only exception.

13, 3. recall. Eckhel, *D. N.*, vii, 323-327.

13, 9. acrobats. Marquardt, *StV*, iii², 494, 9.

13, 9. Varro. Serv., *Aen.*, x, 894.

13, 11. stage. Pliny, *N. H.*, vii, 83.

13, 21. provided. *Carin.*, c. 18.

13, 28. boat-races. Claudian, *De Fl. Mall. Theod. cons.*, 279 sqq.

13, 33. unfeathered. Manil. *Astron.* 439 sqq., 651 sqq. *CIL*, vi, 10, 157: (d) m | (me) morie (?) catadromarius | (ludis ro) manis qui catadrom. | (decucurrit) ccxxvi (?) in Glauce. 'Catadr. est funambulus (Sueton., *Nero*, 11; Dio, 61, 17). Glauce nescio an sit nomen equi, ita ut catadromarius ille equo vectus decucurrit ut elephantu eques a Sueton. et Dione memoratus.'

13, 35. ancient. Preller, *RM*, ii², 17, 5; Marini, *Atti*, p. 290.

13, 37. lamps. Lucil., *Satt.*, i, 23: 'Romanis ludis forus olim ornatu' lucernis. Cf. Cic., *Verr.*, ii, 1, 22, 58; 54, 141: *N. D.*, i, 9.

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- 13, 40. night-time. Ovid, *Fast.*, v, 361 sqq. Cf. Marquardt, *StV*, iii^a, 495, 1.
- 13, 41. conducted. Dio, lvi, 19.
- 14, 3. attend. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 31.
- 14, 6. nights. Jerome, *Chron.*
- 14, 8. shortest. Preller, *op. cit.*
- 14, 11. night. Stat., *Silv.*, i, 6, 85 sq.
- 14, 15. bright. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 20 sq.; xvi, 5.
- 14, 16. illuminations. E.g. gladiatores dedit lumina ludos, *CIL*, xiv, 2121 = Or., 3324 (Lanuvium).
- 14, 19. certain. *CIL*, ii, 3664: cum vas(is) lum(inum).
- 14, 20. Caligula. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 18.
- 14, 22. spectacle. Tac., *A.*, xv, 44.
- 14, 24. light. Sueton., *Domitian*, c. 4; Dio, lxvii, 8.
- 14, 24. wave. Martial, *Lib. spectaculor.*, 25; cf. Rucca, *Sull'uso de' sotteranei* etc., p. 18.
- 14, 27. Republic. Cic., *Off.*, ii, 16, 55; cf. Jahn ad Pers., p. 224.
- 14, 30. lunch. Marquardt, *StV*, iii^a, 495, 5.
- 14, 31. staggering. *Ibid.*, 496, 2.
- 14, 32. handed. *Ibid.*, n. 7.
- 14, 33. cheating. Martial, i, 11, 26; v, 49.
- 14, 35. feasts. Marquardt, *loc. cit.*, n. 3.
- 14, 37. abolished. Dio, lxxviii, 22; Mommsen, *StR*, ii^a, 1, 237, 6.
- 14, 39. pacified. Pers., 5, 180; cf. Horace, *Sat.*, ii, 3, 182.
- 15, 5. poorest. Stat., *Silv.*, i, 6, 28 sqq.; cf. also Sueton., *Domitian*, c. 4.
- 15, 8. praetor. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 18.
- 15, 11. audience. Marquardt, *StV*, iii^a, 496, 4.
- 15, 12. rained. Stat., *Silv.*, i, 6, 9 sqq., 65 sqq. As Wachsmuth has demonstrated, *Zu Statius' Silven*, i, 6, in *Rhein. Mus.*, xliii, 21-28, a line has fallen out after l. 77, in which another kind of birds was mentioned besides cranes, perhaps to this effect: 'quas Ganges lavat ac palus Scytharum'. The birds for distribution were hung up at the beginning of the games, probably in nets, on ropes stretched over the amphitheatre.
- 15, 16. examples. Henzen, *AdI*, xx, p. 293 ss.; *Mon. dell'Inst.*, iv, plate lii sq.
- 15, 19. senators. Sueton., *Domitian*, c. 4.
- 15, 25. estates. *Id.*, *Nero*, c. 11.
- 15, 25. used. Dio, lxvi, 25.
- 15, 28. pounds. *Vit. Elagab.*, c. 22.
- 15, 29. eating. *Herodian*, v, 6.
- 15, 30. loss. *Ibid.*
- 15, 32. dear. Seneca, *Epp.*, 74, 8. *Missilia* seem to have been very popular in Africa. *CIL*, viii, 895 (Villa Magna). Erection of a statue of two aediles, ob honorem aedilitatis in compensatione missiliorum (239 A.D.); *ib.*, 6947 and 6948 (in both ludos scaenicos cum missilibus); 6996 (Cirta) ludos cum missil. et acro[amatibus]; 7094-98, 7122, 7123, 7137, 7960, 7963, 7984 (Rusicade).
- 15, 33. beforehand. *Digg.*, xviii, 1, 8 § 1 (Pomponius, *libro iv ad Sabinum*): Aliquando tamen et sine re venditio intelligitur,

veluti quam quasi alea emitur: quod fit quum captus piscium vel avium vel missilium emitur; emtio enim contrahitur, etiamsi nihil inciderit, quia spei emtio est, et quod missilium nomine eo casu captum est, si evictum fuerit, nulla eo nomine ex emto obligatio contrahitur, quia id actum intelligitur.

- 6, 42. could. *Gordiani tres*, c. 3; *Prob.*, c. 19.
 16, 4. *municipia*. Cic., *Verr.*, i, 18, 54.
 16, 9. crushed. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 39.
 16, 10. prevent. *Id.*, *Aug.*, c. 43.
 16, 13. Rome. Ovid, *A. a.*, i, 173.
 16, 22. *pater*. Martial, *Spectac.*, 2.
 16, 25. frequent. Dio, lxxviii, 26.
 17, 1. womb. Tac., *Dial. de oratorib.*, c. 29.
 17, 21. refuge. Horace, *Epp.*, i, 8, 36; Propert., iv, 8 25; Seneca, *Epp.*, 87, 9; 99, 13; Tac., *A.*, xiv, 14: (Nero) nobilium familiarum posteros egestate venales in scenam deduxit; cf. Juvenal, 8, 183, describing the age of Nero.
 17, 36. nobles. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 39.
 17, 37. Laberius. Cf. esp. Juv., 8, 183 sqq.
 17, 38. arena. Dio, xliii, 23; Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 39; cf. Dirksen, *Tab. Heracl.*, p. 97 sq.
 17, 39. forbidden. Dio, xlviii, 43.
 18, 2. decree. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 43.
 18, 5. Vintelius. Dio, li, 22.
 18, 7. acted. Sueton., *Nero.*, c. 4.
 18, 9. gladiators. Dio, lvi, 25.
 18, 14. convicted. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 35.
 18, 17. continuing. Dio, lvii, 14.
 18, 17. chariots. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 18.
 18, 19. knights. *Id. ib.*, c. 30; Dio, lix, 10.
 18, 19. senators. Dio, lix, 13 (πολλοὶ τῶν πρώτων καταδικασθέντες . . . πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μονομαχῆσαντες).
 18, 21. abuse. Dio, lx, 7.
 18, 25. drive. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 12 (where, as Lipsius observes, only 'quadringentos senatores' cannot be right, and 'sexcentos equites' is hardly possible). Tac., *A.*, xiv, 14; xv, 32; Dio, lxi, 17.
 18, 27. knighthood. Tac., *Hist.*, ii, 62.
 18, 30. dancing. Sueton., *Domitian*, c. 8; Dio, lxxvii, 13.
 18, 30. fight. Dio, lxxvii, 14.
 18, 32. bear. Juv., 4, 99 sqq.
 18, 33. combat. Dio, *loc. cit.*
 18, 37. arena. *M. Antonin.*, c. 12.
 18, 41. helmets. Dio, lxxv, 8.
 19, 2. helmet. Seneca, *Qu. n.*, viii, 32.
 19, 4. school. Juv., 8, 197; cf. also Fronto, ed. Naber, *Epp. ad M. Caesarem et invic.*, v, 22 s.; Dio, lxxviii, 21; Philogelos, ed. Eberhard, 87.
 19, 20. buildings. The description follows Dionys. Halic., iii, 68.
 19, 26. Maximin. *Catal. imp.*, ed. Mommsen, in *Abhandl. d. Sächs. Ges.*, ii, 647: Hoc imperatore (Antonino Pio) Circensibus Apollinaribus partectorum columna ruit et oppressit homines

- m cxii. (Cf. *Anton. P.*, c. 9): *Ib.*, *Diocletian. et Maximin.*; *Partectorum podium ruit et oppressit homines* xiii. Momm-
sen remarks, that by *partecta* (a word only found here) are
probably meant the scaffolds forming the back rows of seats.
- 19, 32. seats. Pliny, *N. H.*, viii, 7, 21; and xxxvi, 24, 101.
- 19, 34. Trajan. Becker, *Topogr.*, 667. Also the obscure statement
in Pausanias, v, 12, 4 (οικοδόμημα ἐς ἰππων δρόμους προήκον καὶ ἐν
δύο σταδίων μήκος) probably refers to Trajan's extension of the
circus. According to Richter, *Topographie von Rom*, p. 842,
'Trajan's building was preserved in the main, although it may
have been enlarged and embellished. At least Caracalla's coins
(Cohen², *Carac.*, 236) show exactly the same representation of
the circus as those of Trajan (cf. *Chron.* of 354, p. 647, 19 M.).'
- 19, 41. exhibited. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 51. The inscription Orelli,
3065 = *CIL*, vi, 955, in which the 35 tribes give thanks for
their 'commoda' increased 'locorum projectione', refers not to
the seats in the circus, but to the 5000 new places added by
Trajan to the places of those who received corn doles; these
are also meant by Pliny, *loc. cit.* (populo . . . locorum quin-
que milia adjecisti). Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 446, 3.
- 20, 1. extensions. Marquardt, *StV*, iii², 506.
- 20, 3. course. On the disposition of the seats cf. *ibid.*
- 20, 9. bronze. *Expos. tot. mundi*, Riese, *Geogr. lat. min.*, i, 120, 10.
- 20, 13. Laterano. Preller, *Die Regionen Roms*, p. 221.
- 20, 20. resort. Cic., *Div.*, i, 58, 132.
- 20, 21. augurs. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 6, 141.
- 20, 24. boards. Juv., 6, 588.
- 20, 25. Circus. Cic., *Pro Milone*, c. 24: popa Licinius nescio quis de
circo.
- 20, 27. guests. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 74.
- 20, 29. shops. Tac., *A.*, xv, 38.
- 20, 30. fruit-dealer. C. Julius Epaphra pomar. de circo maximo
ante pulvinar. Orelli, 4268 = *CIL*, vi, 9822.
- 20, 32. used. Juv., 3, 65: ad circum jussas prostare puellas.
Anthol. Lat., ed. Riese, i, 190: Ille habuit doctas circi prostare
puellas. *Elagabal.*, c. 26. Salmasius (ed. Lugdun., *Script.*
hist. Aug.), p. 918b.
- 20, 33. brothel. Cyprian, *Spectac.*, 5.
- 20, 35. dress. Juv., 3, 65.
- 20, 35. danced. *Priap.*, 25 (*Anthol. Lat.*, ed. Meyer, 1642). Dio
Chrys., *Or.*, xx, p. 264 M., describes similar but more decent
incidents in a Greek hippodrome: ἤδη δὲ ποτε εἶδον ἐγὼ διὰ τοῦ
ἵπποδρόμου βαδίζων πολλοὺς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἀνθρώπους ἄλλο τι πράττοντας,
τὸν μὲν αὐλοῦντα τὸν δὲ ὀρχούμενον τὸν δὲ θαῦμα ἀποδιδόμενον τὸν δὲ
ποίημα ἀναγινώσκοντα τὸν δὲ εἰδοντα τὸν δὲ ἱστορίαν τινὰ ἢ μῦθον
διηγούμενον.
- 20, 37. performances. Cf. Marquardt, *StV*, iii², 511 ff.
- 21, 1. picking. Manil., *Astronom.*, v, 85 sq.
- 21, 10. won. This inscription, found in December 1887 on the
Via Campana, 3 *miglia* from Porta Portese, is not yet published
and was communicated to me by O. Hirschfeld. It reads:
Fuscus cursor prasini vix. ann. xxiv, vicit Rom, liii, ad deam

Diam ii. Bovillis i. Una palma rev(ocatus) bis eandem vicit. Hic omnium cursor(um) primus qua die missus est vicit stadi(um) C. Cestio M. Servilio cos. Machao, conser(vus) memoriae causa. On the circus of the Arval grove see Marquardt, *VG*, iii², 458, on that at Bovillae *ibid.*, p. 528, 6.

- 21, 14. millia. Pliny, *N. H.*, vii, 84.
 21, 16. day. *CIL*, iii, 2, 2007. Read 'day, as a . . . feat; Fletcher'.
 21, 19. hours. Waitz, *Anthropol. der Naturvölker*, iv, 411.
 21, 37. lion. Gell., v, 14.
 22, 7. laid. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxi, 7; Mommsen, *RG*, i⁵, 232.
 22, 12. freedom. Marquardt, *StV*, iii², 522, 4.
 22, 19. years. Henzen, 7419 d β.
 22, 21. victories. *CIL*, vi, 2, 10,047-49. Cf. Marquardt, *StV*, iii², 522, 2, and Appendix xxiv.
 22, 24. purses. Martial, x, 74. On the races, which presumably brought great profit to the victors, cf. Appendix xxiv.
 22, 26. advocate. Juv., 7, 112:

si libet, hinc centum patrimonium caussidicorum,
 parte alia solum russati pone lacernae.

For *lacernae*, perhaps *Lacertae*, the reading of the interpolated MSS. is correct. A lamp with a victorious *agitator* bears the inscription: C. ANNIVS LACERTA NICA and CORACI NICA (probably a call to the chief horse), Henzen, *BdI*, 1861, March 8. On the frequent use of the same names among this class of people see Appendix xxxix.

- 22, 27. Faction. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 520, 6.
 22, 28. fees. Cf. vol. ii, p. 23 f.
 22, 33. Libanius. Liban., ed. Reiske, ii, 190, 12.
 22, 39. charioteers. Jerome, *Ep.*, 83; cf. Symmachus, *Epp.*, vi, 42.
 22, 40. train. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxix, 5: nullum histrionum equorum-que trigarii comitator egressus.
 23, 4. deemed. Martial, x, 50 and 53; cf. Haupt, *Hermes*, 1872, p. 387.
 23, 6. Scorpis. Martial, xi, 1.
 23, 9. Rome. *Id.*, v, 25:

quam non sensuro dare quadringenta caballo,
 aureus ut Scorpi nasus ubique micet.

- 23, 12. costume. Lucian, *Nigrin.*, 29; Galen., *De praenot. ad Postum.*, p. 451 ed. K., xiv, 604, mentions τῶν μὲν ὀρχηστῶν καὶ τῶν ἡνιόχων ἐκθῶς . . . τοῖς τῶν θεῶν ἀγάλμασι συνέδρους, without naming Rome, which however the context shows to be intended.
 23, 14. fame. List of representations of circus games on mosaics, reliefs, coins, contorniates and gems in Huebner, *Mosaico di Barcellona*, *AdI*, 1863, p. 137 ss. Cf. *id.* in *Monatsber. der Berl. Acad.*, Feb. 3, 1868 (a glass cup with circus games; beside the name of the victorious charioteer is written 'av(e)', and beside the names of the other three 'va(le)'); and de Rossi, *Bull. Crist.*,

- 1878, p. 151, 5 (Vetri). Cf. *CIL*, vii, 1273 sq.; Martial, iii, 95, 14. E. Brizio, *Musaici di Baccano*, *BdI*, 1873, p. 133; Marquardt, *op. cit.*, 504, 5.
- 23, 16. official. *CIL*, vi, 2, 10,048 (monument of Diocles) l. 13: Actis continetur Avilium Teren factionis suae primum omnium vicisse ∞ xi. Cf. Appendix xxiv.
- 23, 24. prize. Henzen, 7419 d β (iii, p. 590) = *CIL*, vi, 2, 10,051.
- 23, 28. drove. Head of a boy charioteer: Ersilia Caetani-Lovattelli, *Una testa marmorea di fanciullo auriga*, in *Bull. com. d. R.*, 1880, p. 163 sqq. (pl. xi). *Id.*, *Di un mosaico di colori rappresentante gli aurighi delle quattro fazioni*, in *R. acad. dei Lincei*, cclxxviii (1880/81) *seduta de 15 maggio* 1881.
- 23, 32. share. *Id.*, *La iscrizione di Crescente*, in *Bull. com.*, 1878, pp. 164-176. In an article *Aus dem Sportleben des classischen Alterthums* in the weekly journal *Der Sporn* (*Centralblatt für die Gesamtinteressen des deutschen Sports*), 1879 (xvii. Jahrgang), no. 5, p. 35, the proportion of first prizes won by Crescens is considered by no means a brilliant record, and it is added that a fashionable English jockey would hardly be content with his gains.
- 24, 16. gained. On these details and others cf. Appendix xxiv.
- 24, 33. won. *Der Sporn*, 1879, No. 48, p. 369.
- 24, 36. fortune. *Leipz. Illustr. Zeitg.*, 20 November, 1886.
- 25, 3. Epona. Juv., 8, 146 sqq. The addition: fecimus et nos Hoc juvenes (l. 163) shows that what was not seemly in the Consul Lateranus was readily overlooked if done by young men; Tac., *A.*, xiv, 14 (foedum studium).
- 25, 5. devotee. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 4.
- 25, 6. often. Dio, lxxv, 5.
- 25, 7. zeal. Sueton., *Vitell.*, c. 4.
- 25, 8. expert. Dio, lix, 5; lxi, 17.
- 25, 10. gave. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 55; Bücheler, *Coniectanea*, in *Rh. Mus.*, xxxvii, p. 334, believes him to be the same to whom Phaedrus dedicated his third book.
- 25, 11. build. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xix, 4, 4.
- 25, 12. Verus. *L. Verus*, c. 6.
- 25, 12. Commodus. *Commodus*, c. 2.
- 25, 12. Geta. Herodian, iii, 10.
- 25, 13. Elagabalus. *Elagab.*, cc. 6 and 12.
- 25, 20. Nero. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 16. The inscription, Orelli, 2596 (proc. colleg. aurigariorum iiii fact.) is not genuine (*CIL*, vi, 5, 555*).
- 25, 22. indispensable. Marquardt, *StV*, iii, 523, 1.
- 25, 23. racehorses. For the authorities see *id. ib.*, p. 523 f. I only cite those which are lacking there.
- 25, 27. incited. Schol. Juv., 1, 155; cf. also Varro, *R. r.*, ii, 7, 1.
- 25, 31. pastures. Strabo, vi, 2, 6, p. 273; cf. Cic., *Verr.*, ii, 1, 10, 28.
- 25, 34. account. Cf. also Gregorovius, *Gesch. Roms in Mittelalter*, ii, 64.
- 25, 38. horses. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands unter den Römern*, i, 487 f., 514.

- 25, 39. distinguished. Cf. the lists *CIL*, vi, 10,053 and 10,056 (in which also the owners and vendors of the horses are named) and Roehl, *Ind. CIG*, iv, 3, p. 136.
- 25, 40. blood. Vegetius, *Veterin.*, iv, 6.
- 26, 1. Cappadocia. *Solin.*, 45, 5, p. 192, ed. Mommsen (ex auct. ignoto): terra illa Cappadocia ante alias altrix equorum et proventui equino accommodissima est. *Itiner. Hierosol.*, ed. Pinder and Parthey, p. 273: mansio Andavilis (not far from Tyana): ibi est villa Pampati, unde veniunt equi curules. Gothofredus suggests Palmati for Pampati (*Cod. Theodos.*, x, 6, 1; xv, 10, 1). Cf. Ad. Schlieben, *Die Pferde des Alterthums*, p. 97 ff.
- 26, 2. famous. *Expos. tot. mundi*, ed. Riese, p. 111, 7: Habes ergo Antiochiam quidem in omnibus delectabilibus habundantem, maxime autem circensibus . . . Ecce similiter Laodicia circenses et Tyrus et Berytus et Caesarea.
- 26, 4. Tagus. Symmachus, *Epp.*, iv, 62. Perhaps the Cappadocian studs, which were so near, were at that time exclusively imperial.
- 26, 6. three. Colum., vi, 29, 4.
- 26, 7. years. Pliny, *N. H.*, viii, 42, 162.
- 26, 8. male. Undoubted exceptions like Dicaeosyne (Zangemeister, *Rilievo di Foligno, AdI*, 1870, p. 257n.) are very rare. Cf. Appendix xxv and my *De nominibus equorum circensium, Program. Acad. Alb. Regim.*, 1875, iii; *CIL*, viii, 10,889-91 (6 names); *Eph. epigr.*, v, p. 566, 1318 (mosaic in the island of Meninx, 4 names); *ib.*, 317, 454, a leaden votive tablet from Carthage, once apparently containing 32 names, among which Beronica is perhaps masculine. Cf. Buecheler, *Rh. Mus.*, xli (1886), p. 160.
- 26, 9. Tuscus. Wilmanns, *E. I.*, 2601, l. 51.
- 26, 10. Victor. *Id. ib.*, 2600, 2, l. 3.
- 26, 16. harness. G(ustav) F(reytag), *Sportbericht eines römischen Jockeys*, in *Grenzboten*, 1869, ii, p. 447. A horse that won 54 races (1876-79) without a defeat is considered to have beaten all records (Silberer, *Allg. Sportszeitung*, 1883, No. 10; *N. Fr. Presse*, 7 March. 1883).
- 26, 17. slaves. Veget., *R. vet.*, praef., 10.
- 26, 18. victorious. Colum., iii, 9, 5: sacrorum certaminum studiosi perniciosissimarum quadrigarum semina diligenti observatione custodiunt et spem futurarum victoriarum concipiunt propagata sobole generosi armentum.
- 26, 24. goal. Pliny, *N. H.*, viii, 160. A similar case occurred at Alexandria, see Philo, *De animal.*, § 58.
- 26, 26. torches. *Solin.*, 45, 11, p. 194 M. (auct. ign.). The inciting of the horses was apparently done by the *hortatores*, *CIL*, 10,074-76. Such are to be seen on the mosaic of Barcelona (one waving a cloth).
- 26, 30. spectators. *Digg.*, xxxi, 65, 1: quadrigae legatum equo postea mortuo perire quidem ita credunt, si equus ille decessit, qui demonstrabat quadrigam.
- 26, 31. acclamations. Dio, lxxiii, 4.

- 26, 34. representing. Besides those mentioned by Marquardt, *StV*, iii^a, 524, 1, see *CIG*, 6311, and especially in this connexion, the remarkable mosaic of Barcelona, edited by E. Hübner, (*AdI*, 1863, p. 135 ss., *Tav. d'agg. D.*). On the thighs of the horses are inscribed the names of the breeders or owners, Concordius and Nicetus. In the mosaic of Gerona (*Mosaico Romano*, Gerona 1876, the inscriptions *Eph. epigr.*, iii, 1877, p. 202) there stands near each of the four *quadrigae* besides the name of the driver only the name of the principal horse.
- 26, 41. revived. Epictet., *Diss.*, i, 11, 27.
- 27, 4. business. Cf. Marquardt, *StV*, iii^a, 520 ff.
- 27, 10. rank. The inscription *CIL*, vi, 10,077 (L. Avilio Galatae fact. russ. lib.), shows that the freedmen of the parties received the Gentile names of the *domini factionum*. L. Avilius Planta was a *dominus fact. russ.* Cf. Appendix xxiv (to l. 13 of the inscription of Diocles).
- 27, 28. later. Dio, lvi, 27. Marquardt, *StV*, iii^a, 490, 1.
- 27, 35. runners. *Bull. com. d. R.*, 1886, p. 312, 1341 : A. Antonius Albanus cursor et supra cursores factionis prasinæ p. (cf. also n. on vol. ii, p. 21, 10).
- 27, 35. cellarers. *Ib.*, 1342 : cellarius factionis prasinæ.
- 28, 3. obscure. Marquardt, *StV*, iii^a, 521, 3.
- 28, 4. colours. *Ibid.*, p. 517 ff.
- 28, 10. disappeared. *CIL*, vi, 10,062 : D. m. Epaphroditus agitator f(actionis) r(ussatae) ; vicit clxxviii et at purpureum liber (i.e. manumissus) vic. viii. I do not believe that the denomination *pannus chelidonius* for the purple party is right, but as before (in Marquardt, iii^a, 518, 4) I prefer to read in the inscription *CIL*, vi, 10,046 : 'familiae quadrigariae T. Ateii Capitonis P. Anni Chelidoni' . . . etc. ; in spite of the specious analogy of 10,045 : decurionibus | et familiae | panni russei—C. Cejoni Maxim. etc.
- 28, 13. identity. Cf. the epigram of a later time, *Anthol. Lat.*, ed. Riese, 191, 5 : dilexit genitor prasinum, te russeus intrat.
- 28, 17. factions. A *factio Garamantina* in a forged inscription, Henzen 6080 = *CIL*, vi, 10,065, is made up from a call to a charioteer or a circus horse, 'Garamanti nica' (Marini, *Iscr. dol.*, no. 222, in Preller, *Regionen Roms*, p. 156 f. note), as I have shown in *Ind. lectt. hib. acad. Regim.*, 1858.
- 28, 26. Vitellius. Sueton., *Vitell.*, c. 7 ; Dio, lxxv, 5.
- 28, 26. Caracalla. Dio, lxxvii, 10 ; cf. lxxviii, 8.
- 28, 26. Caligula. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 55 ; Dio, lix, 14.
- 28, 26. Nero. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 23 ; Dio, lxxiii, 6 ; Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiii, 90.
- 28, 27. Domitian. Martial, xi, 33 :—

Saepius ad palmam prasinus post fata Neronis
pervenit et victor praemia plura refert.
I nunc, livor edax, dic te cessisse Neroni ;
vicit nimirum non Nero, sed prasinus.

On the reference of this epigram to Domitian, see my edition, i, p. 63.

- 28, 27. Verus. *L. Verus*, cc. 4 and 6.
- 28, 27. Elagabalus. Dio, lxxix, 14.
- 28, 28. leadership. Martial also was a partisan of the Greens; cf. vi, 46 and xi, 33; in Juvenal's time they had decidedly the upper hand (ii, 97). A monument of the Blues with the inscription: *Victoria Venetianorum semper constet feliciter*, of unknown date, Marini, *Atti*, p. 582, cf. 637 b = *CIL*, vi, 2, 10,074. Visconti, *M. PCI*, v, pl. 38-43, alludes to it and calls it an altar; Argoli on Panvin., *De lud. circ.*, i, 10, 69, speaks, perhaps by mistake, of two such stones. *CIG*, 6354 (Romae): Θ. Κ. Βασιλίου. Μνήμης χάριν ἐποίησεν Μ. Ἀδρ. Διονύσιος ἀδελφῷ (εἰς αἰ)ῶνα Βενετιανοῦ συστήματος πρίγκιπι. Theodoric had to protect the Greens against the Blues (Cassiod., *Var.*, i, 20 and 27). In Constantinople the Blues (always favoured by the emperors, at least from the time of Justinian) had the precedence (Wilken, *Histor. Taschenbuch*, 1830, p. 330). On a monument of a charioteer there cf. *BdI*, 1847, p. 123 s.
- 28, 36. colours. Cf. Marquardt, *StV*, iii^a, 517 ff. The mention of a *facio veneta* in an Arval inscription of the year 69 (Henzen, *Acta fr. Arv.*, p. 140) shows that at their races also there were four parties and four colours.
- 28, 38. bloodshed. Cf. my essay, *Die Circusparteien in der Kaiserzeit*, in *N. Jahrb. f. Philol.*, lxxiii, 745 ff.
- 29, 2. slaves. Cf. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, 491, 4 and especially the inscription *CIL*, vi, 9719 quoted below (epitaph of a slave Crescens, who is described as a *Venetianus*). Evidence of the use of the colours in the Circus games of the provinces is afforded, not only by the mosaics of Lyons, Barcelona, and Italica, but by the inscription Gruter, 339, 4 = *CIG*, 6803 = *CIL*, ii, 4315: *Factionis Venetae Fusco sacrauimus aram . . . etc.* The parties are also mentioned in *Pass. Perp. et Felic.*, c. 13: *et dixerunt (angeli) Optato: Corrige plebem tuam, quia sic ad te conveniunt, quasi de circo redeuntes et de factionibus certantes.* In the eastern part of the empire in the middle of the fourth century were very renowned circus games at Antioch, Laodicea, whence charioteers were procured for other cities, Tyre, Berytus, and Caesarea (n. on vol. ii, 26, 2), Nicomedia (habet autem et circenses, structuram valde bonam, in qua circensium spectaculum diligentius spectatur), Constantinople, Gortyn, Syracuse and Catana (in quibus spectaculum circensium bene completur). *Expos. tot. mundi*, 32, 49, 50, 65, 66.
- 29, 7. sinful. P. E. Müller, *De gen. aev. Theodos.*, ii, p. 59, note o.
- 29, 10. Attila. Gregorovius, *Gesch. d. Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*, i^a, 190.
- 29, 16. dead. Salvian., *De gubern. Dei*, vi. Cf. the poems of Luxorius, who lived at Carthage at the beginning of the sixth century, and speaks of the circus of that town and the green and blue charioteers; *Anthol. Lat.*, ed. Riese, 324-328.
- 29, 19. riots. *Expos. tot. mundi*, 50 (*Geogr. min. l.*, ed. Riese, 118, 6): *Nec non vero etiam circensium spectaculum saevissime (perniciosa et saevissima contentione C.) spectatur.*

- 29, 28. mania. See Choric., 'Ἐπὲρ τῶν ἐν Διονύσου τὸν βίον εἰκονιζόντων ed. Graux, *Rev. de philol.*, N. S., i (1877), p. 247, c. 14, 4.
- 29, 36. loyalty. Martial, xiv, 131.
- 30, 2. authority. Marquardt, *StV*, iii^a, 517, 5; Huebner, *De actis*, p. 42.
- 30, 9. bursting. Ovid, *A.*, iii, 2, 78: evolat admissis discolor agmen equis.
- 31, 11. colour. *Id. ib.*, 67 sq.; *A. a.*, i, 145.
- 30, 17. poisoned. Dio, lix, 14.
- 30, 21. Achilles. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 22.
- 30, 25. Tiridates. Cf. Dio, lix, 5; lxi, 17. The circus was generally strewn with *laminae* of mica. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvi, 162.
- 30, 28. Vinus. Dio, lxxv, 5; Sueton., *Vitell.*, c. 4.
- 30, 29. popular. Tac., *Hist.*, ii, 91.
- 30, 33. revolution. Sueton., *Vitell.*, c. 14.
- 30, 39. Teachers. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 29. Nipperdey dates the treatise, in the introduction to the third edition, p. viii sq., after Domitian's death. Liban., ed. R., i, p. 200, 3, (during the lecture of the rhetorician, among the pupils), πολλὰ μὲν νεύματα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπὲρ ἡνιόχων καὶ μύμων καὶ ἱππῶν καὶ ὀρχηστῶν. Scholte's supposition, *Observ. crit. in Juv.* (Traj., 1873), p. 41, that *viridis thorax*, Juv., 5, 143, means the braided tunic of a charioteer of the Greens (as a favourite gift for boys) would be very plausible, if Juvenal had written *prasinum thoraca*, but anyhow it may be right.
- 30, 41. safe. Martial, x, 48 (published under Trajan).
- 31, 2. engrossed. Cf. vol. ii, p. 2.
- 31, 6. exchanged. See Appendix xxv.
- 31, 12. superior. Pliny, *Epp.*, ix, 6.
- 31, 14. Cannae. Juv., ii, 197 sqq.
- 31, 17. partisanship. M. Anton., *Comment.*, i, 5.
- 31, 21. put. *L. Verus*, c. 6.
- 31, 24. pupils. *Ad amicos*, i, 6: Venetus venalis est. Scis hoc perpetuum Veneti(s) fatum esse, ut numquam venierit, veniat semper. (Perhaps 'ut numquam venerit, veniat semper'; that he is always coming, but never comes.)
- 31, 25. Circus. Fronto, *Epp. ad amicos*, ii, 3.
- 31, 28. great. Lucian, *Nigrin.*, 29.
- 31, 32. senseless. Galen, *De ordine libror. suor.*, ed. Bas., p. 369; ed. K., xiv, p. 53.
- 31, 36. fodder. *Id.*, *Method. therapeut.*, iv, 6, ed. K., x, 478.
- 31, 40. chariot. Dio, lxxvii, 10.
- 32, 2. slaughter. Herodian, iv, 6.
- 32, 7. Factions. He lived in Rome in his later years. Cf. E. Moeller, *De Ammiano Marcellino* (Regim., 1863), pp. 13-21.
- 32, 17. brought. Ammian., xiv, 6, 26; xxviii, 4, 11 and 29. Cf. Symmach., x, 29 and 25: expectantur cotidie nuntii, qui appropinquare urbi munera promissa confirment, aurigarum et equorum fama colligitur; omne vehiculum, omne navigium scenicos artifices advexisse jactatur.
- 32, 22. greeted. *Exc. Valesii*, 60 (Ammian., ed. Wagner et Erfurdt,

- i, p. 620). Cassiodor., *Chronicon*, 519. Cf. Gregorovius, *Gesch. Roms im Mittelalter*, i^a, 288-292.
- 32, 26. killed. Cassiodorus, *Var.*, i, 20 and 27; cf. 30-33.
- 32, 29. was. *Id. ib.*, iii, 51.
- 33, 2. children. Cassiodorus, *Var.*, iv, 42.
- 33, 6. Totila. Gregorovius, *op. cit.*, i, 436.
- 33, 21. games. Cf. vol. ii, p. 10.
- 33, 23. Symmachus. Cf. on him De Rossi, *Ann. dell'Inst.*, xxi, p. 283 ss. Jahn in *Berichte d. Sächs. Ges.*, January 14, 1851, and also Seeck, *De Symmachi vita, chronologia et prosopographia Symmachiana*, in his edition of Symmachus, 1883.
- 33, 23. owned. One was situated on the Caelian on the site of the Villa Casali, the second beyond the Tiber, the situation of the third is unknown. Seeck, *loc. cit.*
- 33, 36. wishes. Symmach., *Epp.*, iv, 60; ix, 132.
- 33, 39. son's. Seeck, p. lxxii. His quaestorship fell in the year 393 (p. lix).
- 33, 38. outbid. Symmach., *Epp.*, iv, 58-60; v, 82.
- 34, 1. post. *Id. ib.*, iv, 6 (he thanks Stilicho, who had contributed). Cf. vii, 48, 105 sq.; ix, 22.
- 34, 2. money. *Id. ib.*, ix, 20.
- 34, 3. breeders. iv, 60 (Eupraxius); ix, 18 sq. (Pompeia and Fabianus).
- 34, 3. connoisseurs. ix, 12.
- 34, 4. support. iv, 6; v, 83; vii, 82, 105 sq.; ix, 23.
- 34, 7. Laudacius. iv, 63.
- 34, 10. breeds. vii, 48.
- 34, 16. purchased. ix, 20 and 24.
- 34, 20. some. v, 36.
- 34, 25. narrow. v, 82.
- 34, 35. ship. Symmachus, *Epp.*, iv, 42 and 33. The first was written earlier.
- 34, 38. bets. Juv., 9, 201; Martial, x, 1, 14; Tertullian, *De spect.*, c., 16.
- 34, 38. Soothsayers. Tzetzes, *Chil.*, xiii, *hist.*, 497, 479.
- 34, 40. identified. Firmic. Matern., *Mathes.*, ii, 33 sq.
- 35, 1. pace. Arnob., i, 53; Veget., *De arte veterin.*, v (iii), 73 (74). Cf. Gothofredus on *Cod. Theodos.*, ix, 16, 11. P. E. Mueller, *De gen. aev. Theodos.*, ii, p. 709; Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, p. 223.
- 35, 4. daemon. J. Schmidt, *Ephem. epigr.*, v, pp. 317, 454; Buecheler, *Devotion von Carthago*, in *Rh. Mus.*, xli (1886), p. 160. Delattre, *Inscriptions imprécatoires trouvées à Carthage* (*Bull. de corr. Hellén.*, 1888, pp. 294-302) quotes three inscriptions (all in Greek) of the seven found upon leaden plates in holes bored in the sepulchral cippi in the cemetery there. Two of them, which agree in the main, contain adjurations of a νεκυδαίμων ἄσπος to injure and to impede in their course 24 horses (including 12 of the Blues) and their 3 or 4 charioteers: ἀφέλε αὐτῶν (the horses) τὴν νεκρὴν, ἐμπόδισον αὐτοῖς τοὺς πόδας, ἔκκοψον, ἐκνεύρωσον αὐτοὺς ἵνα μὴ δυνασθῶσιν τῇ αὐρίον ἡμέρα ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ μηδὲ τρέχειν μηδὲ περιπατεῖν μηδὲ νεικήσαι μηδὲ ἐξελεῖν τοὺς πυλῶνας τῶν ἱππαφίων, μήτε προβαλεῖν τὴν ἀρῆαν (arsam) μήτε κυκλεῖσθαι τοὺς

καμπτήρας· ἅμα πεσέτωσαν ἅμα τοῖς ἰδίοις ἡνίοχαις (their names follow). Κατάδησον αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας· ἀφελε αὐτῶν τὴν νείκην, τὴν ἀπόβασιν καὶ τὴν δρασιν, ἵνα μὴ δυνασθῶσιν βλέπειν τοὺς ἰδίους ἀντιπάλους ἡνιοχοῦντας ἅμα· μάλλον ἄρπασον αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀρμάτων καὶ στρέψον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ἵνα πεσέτωσαν μόνοι, ἐμ παντὶ τόπῳ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου συρόμενοι, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν τοῖς καμπτήρσιν μετὰ βλάβης τοῦ σώματος σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις, οὓς ἐλαύνουσιν. "Ἡδη, ταῦτα. The third plate with the heading *κατάρα* contains an adjuration, that Victoricus, a charioteer of the Blues, may be fettered to-morrow in the circus with his horses, ὡς οὗτος ὁ ἀλέκτωρ καταδέδεται τοῖς ποσὶ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ.

- 35, 15. lore. Ammian. Marcell., xxvi, 3, 3; cf. xxviii, 1, 27; 4, 25.
- 35, 17. run. Jerome. *Vit., Hilarion.*, c. 8.
- 35, 18. suspected. Cassiodorus, *Var.*, iii, 51.
- 35, 27. ward. De Rossi, *Bull. di Archeol. crist.*, 1869, vii, p. 60 s.; Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, p. 1171.
- 35, 28. bells. Jahn, *Columb. d. Villa Pamfili*, p. 48. Such bells still exist; cf. Bruzza, *BdI*, 1877, p. 84, where two are described, bearing the inscriptions *Εὐτυχῆς ὁ φορῶν* and *Εἰσαπῶν Νεβφου(ον) νεῖκα* (with a palm); a third (*Εἰσαπῶν Πρωτογένη νεῖκα*) in Bruzza, (*Nuovi campanelli iscritti (Commentat. Mommsen*, p. 556). Bruzza, who recognizes here names of horses, not of charioteers, supposes that the use of these bells was derived from Alexandria.
- 35, 33. poor. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 26.
- 35, 36. injured. *Elagab.*, c. 23: ante lucem, ut solet populus ad ludos celebres convenire.
- 35, 41. means. Juv., 9, 142.
- 36, 3. been. Martial, xiv, 160; Seneca, *De vit. b.*, 25, 2.
- 36, 9. increased. Cf. vol. i, p. 245 f.
- 36, 37. magistrate. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 12. Mommsen, *StR*, i^a, 394, 4.
- 37, 1. might. Cf. vol. ii, p. 7 f.
- 37, 10. bounds. The whole internal arrangement of the circus is treated in detail by Zangemeister, *Rilievo di Foligno rappresentante giuochi circensi*, *AdI*, 1870, p. 232 ss. Cf. also J. Friedländer's treatise cited by Marquardt, *StV*, iii^a, 504, 6.
- 37, 13. moat. Zangemeister, *op. cit.*, p. 248.
- 37, 20. usual. Race of 7 chariots at Alexandria, Philo, *De animal.*, § 58.
- 37, 36. chalk. Lucret., vi, 92: ad candida calcis Currenti; Varro, *Satt. Menipp.*, 288 (Buecheler): nemini fortuna currum a carcere intimo missum Labi inoffensum per aecor candidum ad calcem sivit. I certainly believe that the gloss emended by Zangemeister, p. 243; *λευκή ἱπποδρομίας creta*, refers to it and not to the starting line.
- 37, 38. awarded. Cf. *CIL*, vi, 10,048, 10,055 and Appendix xxiv.
- 37, 39. races. According to an unintelligible testamentary foundation at Anzia (Mauretania Caesariensis), *CIL*, viii, 9052, ll. 10 and 15, there were to take place there twice a year circenses *ce es (?) missus sex *cxxxv*.

- 37, 40. normal. Marquardt, *StV*, iii³, 514 f.
 38, 2. last. See the *Fasti* of Philocalus, in *CIL*, i, p. 334 sqq.
 38, 4. fewer. In the *Fasti* of Philocalus, only twelve are mentioned at the festival of Carna and Lorius (?).
 38, 5. given. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, 515, 2.
 38, 9. double. Mommsen, *CIL*, i, p. 387 sq.
 38, 11. thirty-six. According to the *Fasti Philoc.*, there were thirty on November 13 (Jovis epulum) and December 25 (natalis invicti i.e. Solis, later Christi, p. 409 sq.), and thirty-six on October 22 (ludorum Solis dies extremus).
 38, 14. three-in-hands. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 524.
 38, 18. confined. *Anthol. Lat.*, ed. Meyer, 1428; *CIL*, ii, 4314; *Bull. com. d. Roma*, 1886, 312, 1343: Gigas agit | factionis | prasinæ | vicit primas in biga | . . xxvi. majores ii.
 38, 20. boys. Cf. the inscription of the 'bigarius infans' Florus, *CIL*, vi, 10,078.
 38, 22. ten. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, 524, 4; *CIL*, vi, 10,049, 10,051.
 38, 26. sixteen. Appian, xii, 112. A gem (Caylus, *Rec.*, i t., 371, 1) shows a charioteer with a palm in a chariot with 20 horses.
 38, 25. unlucky. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 24.
 38, 32. prevent. Zangemeister, p. 259 f.
 38, 39. belt. Cf. the torso of a charioteer in Gurlitt, *Antike Denkmäler*, *Epigr. arch. Mitteilungen*, i, 20. Handles of charioteers' knives, see *Bull. com.*, iv (1876), p. 189, pl. 21, 2.
 39, 1. have. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxviii, 237.
 39, 2. colours. The sleeves could have other colours; cf. Brizio, *Musaici di Barcano*, *BdI*, 1873, p. 133 s. Cf. Marquardt, *StV*, 519, 4.
 39, 3. starting. In the following description I have chiefly used, besides some passages from the early fathers (as Lactant., *Inst. div.*, vi, 20; Gregor. Nyss., *De vit. Mos.*, *init.*), Sil. Ital., xvi, 315 ss., who from his account evidently had the Roman Circus before his eyes.
 39, 9. signal. Cic., *De div.*, i, 48.
 39, 11. looked. Tertull., *De spect.*, c. 16.
 39, 13. gates. We have no precise knowledge of the method of starting; cf. Huebner, *Mus. di Barcellona*, in *AdI*, pp. 150-152. It is however certain that at the time of Cassiodorus the chariots drove up to a marked line (which Zangemeister, p. 239 ff., finds, probably correctly, in the Lyons mosaic), and that the race began here (Cassiodorus, *Var.*, iii, 51); but it is quite uncertain when this arrangement was introduced. In modern trotting-races the American mode of starting is considered the best. The horses come up at a trot, and when, having passed the starting-post, they are approximately level, the signal for the start is given with the words 'Go on'. (*Zum technischen Betriebe der Trabrennen*, in *Der Sporn*, 1879, no. 6, p. 42).
 39, 14. dust. Frontin., *De aquis*, 97: circus maximus ne diebus quidem ludorum circensium nisi aedilium aut censorum permissu irrigabatur: quod durasse etiam postquam res ad curatores transiit sub Augusto, apud Ateium Capitonem legimus.

- 39, 18. lasted. For trotting races (with sulkies) the average time for 1000 metres seems now to be 1 m. 43½ seconds (*Zum technischen Betriebe der Trabrennen*, in *Der Sporn*, 1879, no. 6, p. 43; for 5000 metres 8 minutes, 37 seconds, *ibid.*, p. 208; 4800 metres in 8 m. 43 s., p. 224). [The record for 1 mile was in 1905 1 m. 58½ s.; for 1 pacing mile 1 m. 55 s. in 1906. TR.] In the Roman circus the horses evidently always ran full gallop.
- 39, 23. finish. Manil., *Astron.*, v, 71-84; cf. Philo, *De animal.*, c. 58.
- 39, 33. collisions. See Choric., *loc. cit.* (n. on p. 29, l. 28), c. 19, 8, p. 245: *τί δ' ἂν εἴποις περὶ τοῦς ἰθύνειν τοὺς ἵππους εἰδόντων, ἀπολλάκεις ἀλλήλους ἐξάγονται δυοῖν ἐν ταυτῷ συμπλεκόμενων ἁρμάτων; ἀλλὰ καὶ κίνδυνος ἐκεῖ συνεχῆς ἵππων τε κἀνδρῶν, κἀν ἀνέλη τις τοῦτο, συναείλε καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀμίλλης ἡδονὴν τῶν θεωμένων.* Fred Archer 'hurls himself round the most dangerous corners, forces his way through the horses and at the decisive moment comes on with such an impetus, very often close to the inner barrier, even though it looks as if there were no room left for him, that by these devices and violent expedients he turns apparent defeats into victories, which would be hardly possible to any of his rivals' (cf. vol. ii, p. 24).
- 39, 37. spectators. Lactant., *Inst. div.*, vi, 20, 32.
- 40, 7. end. Seneca, *Epp.*, 83, 7; Juv., II, 197.
- 40, 9. sight. Rutil. Numat., *It.*, 201 sq.
- 40, 10. pauses. At the intervals after every 6 *missus* in the case of 24 races; after every 5 in the case of 20. Cf. Marquardt, *StV*, iii², 516 note. Cf. also Appendix xxv.
- 40, 28. AMPHITHEATRE. My essay, *Ueber Gladiatorenspiele und Thierhetzen zu Rom in der Kaiserzeit* (*Rhein. Mus.*, N. F., x [1855], pp. 544-590), reappears here, much altered and enlarged. The *Commentatio de Gladioloribus* by G. Spaeth (*Programm des Ludwigsgymnasiums zu München*, 1863) contains nothing new. The treatises of M. Planck, *Ursprung der Gladiatorenspiele* (*Ulmer Gymnasialprogramm*, 1866), and Goguel, *Les gladiateurs romains* (Strasbourg and Paris, 1870) are unknown to me. The latest works on the subject are by P. J. Meier: *De gladiatura Romana quaestiones selectae* (Bonn, 1881), and other essays which are cited below.
- 41, 2. banquets. Strabo, v, 4, p. 250 C.
- 41, 2. Etruria. Henzen, *Explicatio musivi Borghesiani*, in the *Dissertationi della pontif. Accad. Rom. di archeol.*, xii (1852), p. 74. Besides the statements of the authors (*Val. Max.*, ii, 4; *Nicol. Damasc.*, in *Athen.*, iv, p. 155 J.; Tertull., *De spect.*, c. 5, after Suetonius), there are other indications that fights of gladiators took place in Etruria; thus the word *lanista* ('executioner' in the Etruscan language according to Isidor., *Orig.*, x, p. 247) and the Etruscan Charon, who, like Mercury the guide of souls (Dio, lxxii, 19), was one of the characters appearing in the amphitheatre (Tertullian, *Apol.*, c. 15). Also a picture in a tomb at Tarquinii shows gladiatorial combats (Canina, *Etruria maritima*, pl. 85; Micali, *Storia dell'Italia*

- etc.*, p. 53); likewise sepulchral urns, P. J. Meier, *De glad.*, p. 36,
1. Cf. G. Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, vol. i
41, 9. Decius. Val. Max., ii, 4, 7; Livy, *Epit.*, 16.
41, 16. fought. Livy, xxiii, 30; xxxi, 50; xxxix, 46; xli, 28.
41, 20. probably. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxv, 52. Cf. Mommsen, *Gesch.
d. röm. Münzw.*, p. 554, 164. From the number of pairs (at
an unusually magnificent spectacle) one would be more in-
clined to refer it to the sixth century of the city.
41, 25. colonies. Buecheler, *Die staatl. Anerkennung des Gladia-
torenspiels*, in *Rhein. Mus.*, xxxviii (1883), pp. 476-479.
Marquardt, *StV*, iii^a, 555.
41, 33. pairs. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 10; Plutarch, *Caes.*, c. 5.
41, 35. combatants. Dio, liv, 2.
42, 1. duels. Horace, *Sat.*, ii, 3, 84.
42, 3. Genius. Pers., 6, 48.
42, 6. decree. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 34.
42, 8. some. Mommsen, *RGDA*^a, p. 90.
42, 9. fought. Dio, lxviii, 15.
42, 13. 265. Pliny, *N. H.*, iii, 66; Preller, *Regionen*, p. 85.
42, 14. scale. Tac., *Hist.*, ii, 95.
42, 16. sometimes. *Gordiani tres*, c. 3.
42, 20. talents. Polyb., xxxii, 4, 5. Cf. vol. ii, p. 9, of this work.
42, 21. silver. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxiii, 3, 14.
42, 22. amber. *Id. ib.*, xxxvii, 3, 45.
42, 28. nomads. Dacians and Suevi, 725, Dio, li, 22; Britons,
47 A.D. *ib.*, lx, 30.
42, 33. arena. *Aurelianus*, c. 33.
42, 35. Sarmatians. *Probus*, c. 19.
42, 37. Saxons. Symmachus, *Epp.*, ii, 46.
42, 41. Parthians. Henzen rightly recognizes on the Torlonia
relief (*Expl. mus. Borgh.*, p. 107) Parthian arms; cf *AdI*,
1842, p. 18 and Ammianus' description, xxiv, 4, 15; 6, 8;
xxv, 1, 12.
43, 13. candelabra. Sueton., *Domit.*, c. 4; Dio, lxvii, 8.
43, 14. dwarfs. Dio, *ib.*; Stat., *Silv.*, i, 6, 51 sq. According to
Martial, i, 43, 10 and xiv, 213, dwarfs had already appeared in
earlier times.
43, 16. age. Dio, lxiii, 3.
43, 18. noble. *Id.*, lxi, 17; Tac., *A.*, xv, 32; Dio, lxvi, 25; *Lib.
Sp.*, 6b.
43, 19. prohibited. Dio, lxxv, 16. Cf. also Nicol. Damasc., in
Athen., iv, p. 154 A.
43, 24. forum. Vitruv., x, *praef.* 3: nec solum id vitium in aedi-
ficiis sed etiam in muneribus, quae a magistratibus, foro
gladiatorum scaenisque ludorum (?) dantur, quibus nec mora
neque exspectatio conceditur sed necessitas finito tempore
perficere cogit. Dio, xxxvii, 58 (A.U.C. 694): καὶ τι καὶ θέατρον
πρὸς παρήγυρὰν τινα ἐκ ξύλων ὑποδομημένον ἀνετράπη * καὶ ἀνθρώποι
παρὰ πάντα ταῦτα πανπληθεῖς ἀπώλοντο.
43, 27. arisen. Cf. Appendix xxxvi, and on what follows, Becker,
Topogr., 680 ff.
43, 33. gladiators. Stieglitz, *Archäol. d. Baukunst*, vol. ii, p. 301,

believes Pliny's account, fabulous as it sounds, and refers to an article by the architect Weinbrenner (*Die beweglichen Theater des Curio*, in *N. deutsch. Merkur*, 1797, p. 307 ff.). Also Prof. Rudolf Bergau of Nuremberg considers this building by no means improbable, 'as the construction and technical execution of Roman buildings compel us to presuppose a very high degree of elaboration in the machinery, the manual work and the technique generally. It is enough to recall the *velarium* stretched over the whole Colosseum, the erection of the obelisks, which was not only considered a remarkable performance in the year 1586 (Hübner, *Sixtus V*, ii, 160 ff.), but even in the nineteenth century in Paris, and the roof of the basilica in the forum of Trajan'. Paul Laspeyres (d. 1881) was of the same opinion, and remarked that the construction would be much simpler if one merely assumed a shifting of the spectators' seats; but that it would appear by no means impossible with the appliances available in that age, if one were to assume a rotation of the great masses of the timber framework, especially if the buildings in question were not on a very large scale.

43. 41. severest. Walter, *Gesch. d. röm. Rechts* (2nd edition), ii, p. 419 § 783 (Ulpian, in *collat. leg. Mos.*, xi, 7; Paul., *Sent. rec.*, v, 17, § 3, c. 1; *C. Th. ad l. Fab.* [9, 19]. *Fr. i. pr. D. h. t.*).
44. 1. non-citizens. Marquardt, *StV*, iii², 559, 2.
44. 2. estate. Paul., *Sent. rec.*, v, 23, § 1, 15, 16, 17, fr. 3, § 5. Ulpian, l. ix, *De Off. Proc.* (Digg., xlviii, 8, § 12); Marcian, l. ii reg. (*ib.*, xlix, 19, 3).
44. 14. obtained. Ulpian, *Coll.*, loc. cit.
44. 22. turned. Pliny, *Ep. ad Tr.*, 31 sq.
44. 24. robbery. Callistratus, lib. vi de cognit. (Digg., xlviii, 28, § 15): nonnulli etiam ad bestias hos damnaverunt.
44. 24. sacrilege. Quintilian, *Decl.*, 9, 21: in ludo fui . . . morabar inter sacrilegos incendiarios et . . . homicidas. Cf. Martial, *Spect.*, 7, 7-10.
44. 25. mutiny. *H. A.*, *Claud. Goth.*, c. 11.
44. 32. beasts. Cic., *In Pison.*, 36, 89; cf. Drumann, ii, 69 f.
44. 39. deformity. Cic., *Ad Fam.*, x, 32; Drumann, ii, 610, 44.
45. 1. arena. Dio, lxix, 10.
45. 5. beheaded. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 35.
45. 8. law. *Id.*, *Claud.*, 14.
45. 10. scenery. *Id. ib.*, 34.
45. 14. Tacitus. Tac., *A.*, xii, 56.
45. 20. appear. *Hadrian*, c. 17.
45. 23. fighting. Josephus, *A. J.*, xix, 7, 5.
45. 25. pardoned. Cf. vol. ii, p. 5, 23-38, of this work.
45. 28. criminals. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 12.
45. 33. Claudius. Dio, lx, 30.
45. 38. Berytus. Josephus, *B. J.*, vi, 9, 2; vii, 2, 1; vii, 3, 1.
46. 3. triumph. *Paneg.*, viii, 23, 3; vi, 12, 3.
46. 6. bravoës. Dio, xxxix, 7 sq.; Cic., *Pro Sulla*, 19, 54; *Sext.*, 39, 85.
46. 10. Ebria. Pompon., *Auctorat.*, fr. 1 (Ribbeck).
46. 12, 13. money. Cic., *Ad Attic.*, iv, 46 and 8a.

- 46, 17. mentioned. Valer. Max., ii, 3, 2.
 46, 20. Spartacus. Drumann, *RG*, iv, 74.
 46, 25. bodyguard. Caes., *B. C.*, i, 14; cf. Cic., *Ad Att.*, vii, 14, 2, where the number is uncertain; Drumann, iii, 427 f.
 46, 27. school. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 31.
 46, 30. patricians. Sallust, *Catil.*, c. 30, 7; Cic., *Catil.*, ii, 12; *Pro Sext.*, 4, 9; Drumann, v, 453.
 46, 33. win. Cic., *Pro Sext.*, 4, 9; Drumann, v, 563, 18.
 46, 35. fixed. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 10.
 46, 36. maximum. Dio, lix, 11.
 46, 38. capital. Mommsen, *Die Gladiatorenessenzen*, in *Hermes*, xxi, p. 274, 3, who refers the deliberations in the senate *de ampliando numero gladiatorum* (Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 54) to the legal restrictions of the municipal games (often mentioned in inscriptions, e.g. *CIL*, x, 1211), and to petitions to the senate and emperor for exemptions from these games. Cf. *StR*, ii², 1071.
 46, 40. excursions. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 25.
 47, 5. murder. Tac., *A.*, i, 22.
 47, 8. Thasos. *CIG*, 2164.
 47, 9. ownership. *CIG*, 2511 and *Add.*, ii, p. 1028.
 47, 11. company. Wrongly doubted by Ritschl, *CIL*, i, 755. Cf. Henzen, *BdI*, 1865, p. 105 sq. Pamphilus sociorum, Henzen, *Eph. ep.*, iii, 204, 6; Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxiii, 120: in officinis sociorum (Garum sociorum, Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 439, 4. One Capratinus Curtiorum, Ritschl, *Tesseræ*, n. 52).
 47, 15. troop-master. *Bull. Nap.*, 1853, p. 115; *CIL*, iv, p. 70 ss.; Kiessling, *N. Jahrb.*, 1872, p. 69.
 47, 17. gladiators. Hübner, *Monatsber. d. Berl. Acad.*, 1868, p. 89 (one 'Valentinus legionis xxx' on a clay vessel at Colchester).
 47, 20. prices. Dio, lix, 14.
 47, 23. knocked. Sueton., *Calig.*, 38.
 47, 27. trainer. *Id.*, *Vitell.*, c. 12; cf. Petron., c. 45.
 47, 30. reason. *Hadrian*, c. 18.
 47, 31. sales. *Digg.*, xlviii, 8, 11: servo sine iudicio ad bestias dato non solum qui vendidit, poena, verum et qui comparavit tenebitur. Cf. Wallon, *Hist. de l'esclavage*, iii, p. 61.
 47, 33. provinces. Marquardt, *Prl.*, i², 190, 5 and 6.
 47, 38. condemned. Gell., v, 13, after Apio, *Aegyptiac.*, v.
 48, 2. hire. Gaius, *Instit.*, iii, § 146.
 48, 6. returned. *Digg.*, xi, 4, l. 5; Wallon, iii, p. 245.
 48, 9. condemnation. Macrin., c. 12.
 48, 13. liable. Callistrat., lib. iii edict. monitor.; *Digg.*, xxxviii, 1, 38.
 48, 18. freedmen. Petron., *Sat.*, 45; Dio, lx, 30: *ὅτι κατὰ τὴν πόλεμον καὶ τῶν ξένων ἀπελευθέρων . . . ἐμαχέσαντο*. P. J. Meier, *De gladiat. Rom.* (Bonn, 1881), p. 48, 2, declares the 'liberti' in Petronius to be *rudiaris*.
 48, 20. Gades. See vol ii., p. 44.
 48, 24. fighting-school. Seneca, *Controu.*, v, 33.
 48, 30. trades. Mommsen, *CIL*, i, 1418 = Orelli, 4404.

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- 48, 32. applications. There was an *auctoratus* of Pomponius and a *Bucco auctoratus*.
- 48, 34. chance. Borghesi, *BdI*, 1842, p. 32.
- 48, 35. freeborn. *CIL*, i, 745, 747, 749, 756, 776 (in the years 740, 747, 752, 760 and during the reign of Claudius). Ritschl, *Die Tesseræ gladiatoriae*, p. 14 [304].
- 48, 38. Sempronius. Parrucci, *Graffiti*, p. 60.
- 48, 41. pay. *Auctoratus* ob sepeliendum patrem, Quintilian, *Decl.*, 9 and 302; vir fortis gladiator, Calpurn., 50.
- 49, 4. drachmae. Lucian, *Toxaris*, 58.
- 49, 7. steel. Lips., *Saturn.*, ii, 5; cf. Juv., ii, 8: scripturus leges et regia verba lanistae.
- 49, 12. peace. Manil., *Astron.*, iv, 225.
- 49, 14. sword. Tertullian, *Ad mart.*, c. 5.
- 49, 18. brigandage. Dio, lxxiv, 2.
- 49, 22. arena. Martial, *Lib. spect.*, 29, 6.
- 49, 24. fingers. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 21.
- 49, 24. bowls. Cf. on lances, *Digg.*, xii, 1, 11; xxx, 51; *disci*, xvi, 3, 26 § 2. Presenting of gold coins on dishes, on the circus mosaic of Lyons, and Juv., 6, 204.
- 49, 27. appearance. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 7.
- 49, 29. generals. *Id.*, *Nero*, c. 30.
- 49, 34. belts. From Pompeii: *Mus. Borb.*, iii, plate lx; iv, pls. xiv and xxix; v, plate xxix; vii, plate xiv; x, plate 31. Further instances in the Despuig collection, Hübner, *Antiken von Madrid*, p. 307. Cf. Adr. de Longpérier, *Rev. archéol.*, viii, pl. 165, and the monument of M. Antonius Exochus, Fabretti, *Col. Traj.*, 256.
- 49, 35. feathers. Cf. e.g. Gell, *Pompeiana*, i, pl. 18, and a lamp from Constantine in *Rev. arch.*, xvi, pl. 371, 2. The Schol. Juv., 3, 158 mentions peacocks' feathers (seven in Lucil., *Salt.*, 3, 22). But probably the helmets adorned with ostrich feathers are also helmets of gladiators (Pliny, *N. H.*, x, 1, 2).
- 49, 36. attire. Schol. Juv., 8, 207, among the monuments, particularly the Borghesi mosaic.
- 49, 40. necklets. *Pertinax*, c. 8.
- 50, 5. fencer. Cic., *De or.*, iii, 23, 86.
- 50, 6. mentioned. Cf. vol. ii, p. 46.
- 50, 10. begged. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 26.
- 50, 12. sharp. *Id.*, *Calig.*, c. 54; Dio, lix, 5.
- 50, 15. Allienus. Dio, lxvi, 15.
- 50, 15. Hadrian. *Hadrian*, c. 14.
- 50, 17. Parthians. *M. Antoninus*, c. 8.
- 50, 19. excusable. *Did. Julianus*, c. 9.
- 50, 21. art. Dio, lxxvi, 7.
- 50, 30. always. The assertions of Dio, lxxii, 22, Herodian, i, 15, *Vita M. Antonini*, 19, *Commodi*, c. 12 may be combined thus. Cf. Meier, *De gl.*, p. 55, 1.
- 50, 39. wish. *Commod.*, cc. 8 and 11; *Clod. Albin.*, c. 6; Dio, lxxii, 17 sqq.
- 50, 41. tuition. Juv., 6, 246 sqq.

- 51, 1. favourites. Martial, v, 24, 10: *Hermes cura laborque ludiarum*.
- 51, 6. saw. Juv., 6, 78-113; Petron., c. 126, *arenarius aliquas accendit aut perfusus pulvere mulio aut histrio*.
- 51, 9. Hercules. Cic., *Phil.*, 2, 25, 63; Drumann, *RG*, i, 504.
- 51, 11. fame. Plutarch, *Galba*, c. 9, 1.
- 51, 14. Commodus. *M. Anton.*, c. 19.
- 51, 15. poets. Martial, v, 24.
- 51, 16. seal-rings. Cf. Appendix xxvi.
- 51, 26. free. Cf. the inscriptions mentioned by Henzen, *BdI*, 1879, p. 46 ss. with 'lib(eratus)' and the number of the fight after which the gladiator was freed; e.g. *CIL*, v, 4511: *Thrax lib. viii (liberatus pugnarum octo)*.
- 51, 28. itinerant. Schol. Juv., 6, 105.
- 51, 30. estate. Horace, *Epp.*, i, 1, 5.
- 51, 31. seats. Juv., 3, 158.
- 51, 32. make. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xix, 1, 15; Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 55. Without doubt the same called by Dio, lx, 28: *τὸν τῶν Κέλτων ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαίου ἀρξάντα* (formerly misinterpreted); he was saved from death by Messalina in the year 46.
- 51, 35. gladiator. *Macrinus*, c. 4.
- 52, 27. faced. Mérimée, *Lettres sur l'Espagne*, 1833; Bernhardt, *Reiseerinnerungen aus Spanien* (1867-1871), 1886, pp. 35, 46, 247 f.
- 52, 29. made. P. Poetellius (P.l.) *lanista ad ar(um) Forin[ar(um) Rom(ae) dd (?) vix. | ann. xliix | h. s. e., CIL*, vi, 2, 10,200. An inscription of a 'lanista August(i)', *CIL*, x, 1733 = *IRN*, 2895 (Naples) is rightly doubted by Mommsen. One M. Tul. Olympus 'negotiator familiae gladiatoriae' (Arelate), Herzog, *Gall. Narb.*, n. 352 = *CIL*, xii, 727.
- 52, 32. disrepute. L. Julia munic. cap. viii lin. 49 (quive lanistaturam fecerit).
- 52, 34. *lanista*. Martial, xi, 66.
- 52, 35. about. Sueton., *Vitell.*, c. 12 (*lanistae circumforaneo*).
- 52, 38. business. Tac., *A.*, iv, 62 (ut qui . . . in sordidam mercedem id negotium quaesivisset).
- 52, 40. mentioned. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 42 (*lanistarum familiae*) Dio, lv, 26.
- 53, 40. early. Cic., *Catil.*, 2, 5, 9, in Jordan, *Hermes*, ix, 416 ff.; he also believes the 'ludus Aemilius', Hor., *A. P.* 32, to be a gladiatorial school. So Ulrichs (*Archdol. Analekten*, 1885, p. 15 f.), who believes that a school had become a necessity because of the amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus (30 B.C.), and was erected soon after, probably in its neighbourhood.
- 53, 41. Caligula. Josephus, *A. J.*, xix, 4, 3.
- 53, 41. Caligula. Pliny, *N. H.*, xi, 144, 245.
- 54, 4. imperial. *Catal. imp.*
- 54, 8. enlarged. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 179. Mommsen, *StR*, ii*, 1070-1072, who believes that as the *ludus magnus* arose with and after the Flavian amphitheatre, the *ludus matutinus* was, before Vespasian's time, the only school of gladiators in Rome.

- 54, 10. mortuaries. *Catal. imp.* (armamentarium samiarium spoliarium).
- 54, 11. overseers. Preller, *Regionen d. St. R.*, p. 121 f. A *curssor* (sic) *ludi magni*, *CIL*, vi, 10,165.
- 54, 13. order. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*
- 54, 14. tribunes. Henzen, 6520 = *CIL*, xiv, 160 (the offices in ascending order): trib. coh. i Germanor. proc. ludi matutini. proc. annonae Augusti Ostis, etc.; *CIL*, x, 1685 (as before): praef. fabr. trib. milit. leg. iii Cyr. procur. ludi famil. glad. Caes. Alexandriae ad Aegyptum adlectus inter selectos ab imp. Caes. Aug. . . . etc.
- 54, 14. civil. *CIL*, xiv, 2922 (descending order); proc. xx her. proc. patrimoni proc. ludi magni proc. ludi matutini. proc. reg. urbis etc. *CIL*, viii, 7039 (as before): proc. Aug. dioeceseos Hadrumetinae et Thevestinae et ludi matutini et ad putandas rationes Syriae civitatum trib. leg. vii geminae praef. coh. i Gaetulorum.
- 54, 15. heads. Henzen, 6947 (ascending order): proc. Aug. Armeniae major. ludi magni hereditatum et a censibus a libellis Aug. praef. vigillum praef. Aegypti.
- 54, 15. step. So also *CIL*, viii, p. 968 ad 8328 (descending): proc. quadr. G(alliarum?) proc. ludi magni.
- 54, 18. sought. *CIL*, ii, 1085 (descending order): proc. prov. Sicil. proc. alimentor. per Apuliam Calabr. Lucaniam Bruttios subproc. ludi magni.
- 54, 20. Capua. *Did. Julianus*, c. 8.
- 54, 20. Praeneste. Tac., *A.*, xv, 46. The watch kept by soldiers proves that it was imperial.
- 54, 22. existence. Cf. n. on l. 14 (tribunes).
- 54, 26. Cyprus. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, 1071, 2; Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, 181, 4. Mommsen, *Add. ad CIL iii* (*Ephem. epigr.*, v, p. 44): [proc.] Augg. ad f(amil.) gladiat. (per) Asiam e(t adhae)rentes p(rovin)cias pro(c.) Augg. ad xx tr(ans Pa)dum.
- 54, 32. levy. Dio, lxxvi, 10.
- 54, 35. licence. *Digg.*, xlviii, 19, 31 (Modestinus libro iii de poenis).
- 54, 39. emperor. *Digg.*, *ib.*
- 55, 2. unknown. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 31. I do not know whence Wilmanns, *E. I.*, 2610, deduces the continued enforcement of this edict. It proves nothing as regards the games given by the governors, that imperial permission was needed for the municipal spectacles.
- 55, 6. camp. Josephus, *A. J.*, xix, 4, 3.
- 55, 7. Otho. Tac., *Hist.*, ii, 11.
- 55, 10. millenary. *Gordian. tert.*, c. 33.
- 55, 11. Gallienus. *Gallien.*, c. 8.
- 55, 11. triumph. *Aurelian.*, c. 33. Read 'Aurelian'.
- 55, 16. Severus. Jordan, *Forma Urbis*, tab. i, 4; xv, 102.
- 55, 20. vizors. Bechi, *Mus. Borb.*, v, tav. xi (1829); cf. Garrucci, *Bull. Nap.*, N. S., i, p. 99 ss.; Minervini, *ib.*, 1859, pp. 116-120 and p. 175.
- 55, 26. hall. Goro von Agyagfalva, *Wanderungen durch Pompeji*,

- p. 120 f.; Overbeck-Mau, *Pompeji*⁴, pp. 193-198. According to Nissen, *Pompeji-Studien*, p. 253 ff., the court with the portico was used for walking or for elections (? als *Stimmplatz*); according to Overbeck-Mau, p. 197, the audience in the great theatre sheltered there from sudden rain.
- 55, 30. preserved. *Bull. Nap.*, N. S., i, tav. vii, 13 and 14; better *ib.*, 1859, tav. x; cf. the April number of *Bull. Ital.*, 1860 (no. 182), which I have not been able to consult.
- 55, 38. weapons. Appian, *B. civ.*, i, 68; Vellei., ii, 30, 5; Flor., ii, 8 (iii, 20).
- 55, 40. commit. Seneca, *Epp.*, 70, 17; Symmach., *Epp.*, 2, 46.
- 55, 41. foiled. Tac., *A.*, xv, 46; cf. Zosim., i, 66.
- 56, 6. found. Overbeck-Mau, *Pompeji*⁴, p. 196.
- 56, 12. food. Lips., *Saturn.*, ii, c, xvi; Cyprian, *Epp.*, 2: impletur in succum cibus fortioribus corpus, ut arvinæ toris moles robusta pinguescat, ut saginatus in poenam carius pereat.
- 56, 14. *hordearii*. Pliny, *N. H.*, xviii, 72. Cf. Sueton., *Cl. rhet.*, c. 2.
- 56, 16. flesh. Galen, vi, 529.
- 56, 18. spendthrift. Juv., ii, 20.
- 56, 20. prescribed. Tac., *Hist.*, ii, 88: singulis ibi militibus Vitellius paratos cibos ut gladiatoribus saginam dividebat.
- 56, 21. return. Seneca, *Epp.*, 37, 2.
- 56, 22. preserved. Scribon. Larg., *De comp. medic.*, 102, 203, 207, 208, and Pliny, *N. H.*, xxvi, 135.
- 56, 24. diet. S. Preller, *op. cit.*, p. 122. A bronze bust erected by the *venatores* at Corinth to their physician, *CIG*, 1106 = Kaibel, *Epigr. graeca*, 885.
- 56, 25. esteemed. *CIL*, vi, 631.
- 56, 29. guilds. Mommsen, *De collegiis*, pp. 102, 108; 78, 25. Cf. Mommsen, *IRN*, 4615 = *CIL*, x, 4856.
- 56, 31. worshipped. Orelli, 2566 = *CIL*, vi, 631 sq. with Henzen's annotation.
- 56, 33. union. Henzen, 7209 = *CIL*, xii, 1590.
- 56, 33. elsewhere. Henzen, 7210 (collegium venator. Polentinorum. *CIL*, xi, 1, 862 = Orelli, 4063 (Mutina) colleg. harenariorum. Also the inscription at Puteoli, Mommsen, *CIL*, i, 1234: Mercurio retiarii (?) . . . can(dum) mag(istri) curarunt, belongs perhaps to a college of gladiators.
- 56, 35. Thracians. Borghesi, *Bull. Nap.*, i, p. 95; *CIL*, vi, 10, 197.
- 56, 36. *coarmio*. Orelli, 2571 = *CIL*, x, 7297.
- 56, 39. messmate. Garrucci, *BdI*, 1865, p. 80: D. M. Priori retiario lud. mag. Juvenis murmillio lud. mag. con(v)ictori b. m. f..
- 56, 41. instructor. Doctor Thraecum, *CIL*, vi, 10, 192. Henzen, 6171 (Bergomum): Thr. Pinnesis s[pectatus] v[ictor] de Val. Valerian[i] familia ?] nat. Raet. docet Faustus [doctor Thracum est ?]; differently in Mommsen, *CIL*, v, 2, 5124. Doctor myrmillonum, *CIL*, vi, 10, 174 sq. Docto[ri] murm[ill]. (Concordia) *CIL*, v, 1, 1907. Doctor secutorum, Fabretti, 234, 613. D. M. Aniceto prov. sp. Acl. Marcion. doctor et primus (primus palus. Garucci, *op. cit.*) b. m. *ib.*, 614 =

- Henzen, 6173 = *CIL*, 10, 183. Doctor oplomachor., *ib.*, 10, 181. Magister Samnitium, Cic., *De orat.*, iii, 23. Donat., *Vil. Vergil.*, 7, 28: in Balistam, ludi [gladiatorii] magistrum—distichon fecit. Cf. Haupt, *Hermes*, i, 41 ff. 'Doctor' only, *CIL*, iii, 10, 198 sq.
- 57, 1. wooden. Seneca thinks he can recognize such a *palus* on a lamp: *Expl. mus. Borgh.*, tav. vii, 1, and *BdI*, 1843, p. 93.
- 57, 4. practice. Goro, *op. cit.*, p. 122; cf. Lips., *Sat.*, i, cxv.
- 57, 10. riposte. Quintilian, v, 13, 54.
- 57, 10. used. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 26; Petron., *Sat.*, c. 45: Thraex qui et ipse ad dictata pugnavit, *i.e.* a gladiator trained in the school. Cf. Juv., 11, 8: dictata magistri.
- 57, 12. public. Jerome, *Epp.*, 48, 113; *Id.*, *Praef. in Comm. Eschiel.*, 13: facile est dare dictata de populo et singulos ictus calumniari.
- 57, 12. service. Tertullian, *Ad marty.*, c. 1.
- 57, 15. thrusting. Valer. Max., ii, 3, 2.
- 57, 16. Commodus. A left-handed fighter was called *scaeva* (whence Scaevola). Buecheler, *Ind. Bonn. aestiv.*, 1877, p. 12, quotes from Ulpian (*Digg.*, xxi, 1, 12): sciendum est scaevam non esse morbosum vel vitiosum, praeterquam si imbecillitate dextrae validius sinistra utitur, sed hunc non scaevam sed mancum esse, and admirably emends Seneca, *Controv.*, *praef.*, iii, 8 ss.; quidam sic cum scaeva componi cupiunt quomodo alii timent (instead of 'aliti est'). Cf. Henzen, *BdI*, 1879, p. 46 ss.; Orelli, 6174 = *CIL*, vi, 2, 10, 180: liberatus mur[millo] scaev[a] pugna iiii [quarta] (or rather 'pugna[rum] iiii', Meier, *Glad. Rom.*, p. 48, 2). 'Scaeva' as a name for a gladiator: Victor, *Caesares*, c. 17 (Commodus). *CIG*, 2889: ὁπαῖς Σκαεῖας (= 'scaeva'). Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 529 Βλκτωρ Σκαεῖας. Cf. Heuzey, *Mission archéol. en Macédoine* (1876), p. 283. In pictures one often sees the sword at the left side, in some cases no doubt intentionally. Meier, *Westdeutsche Ztschr. f. Gesch. und Kunst*, i, 168.
- 57, 20. revived. Cf. on this Appendix xxxix.
- 57, 21. fellows. Cf. Appendix xxviii.
- 57, 25. tiros. *CIL*, vi, 631.
- 57, 27. fee. Sueton., *loc. cit.*
- 57, 31. fight. Epictet., *Diss.*, i, 29, 37.
- 57, 33. profitless. Seneca, *De provid.*, 4, 4.
- 57, 34. equals. *Id. ib.*, 3, 4.
- 57, 36. contemptuous. Seneca, *Dial.*, ii (Nec injuriam . . . etc.), c. 16, 2.
- 57, 37. groan. Cic., *Tusc.*, ii, 20, 46.
- 57, 38. master. *Id. ib.*, ii, 17, 41.
- 57, 40. die. *Id. ib.*, and Seneca, *Epp.*, 30, 8.
- 58, 9. replied. Dio, li, 7. Herod supported Q. Didius, the legate of Augustus against these gladiators, Josephus, *A. J.*, xv, 6, 7; *B. J.*, i, 20, 2.
- 58, 9. Lucius. Appian, *B. c.*, v, 30, 33; Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 14.
- 58, 10. Brutus. Vell., ii, 58, 2; Appian., *ib.*, iii, 49.
- 58, 13. soldiers. Tac., *Hist.*, ii, 12, 23 sq., 34 sq., 43.

- 58, 14. stood. *Id. ib.*, iii, 57, 76 sq.
 58, 17. obedient. *M. Anton.*, cc. 21 and 23.
 58, 19. Capua. *Did. Julianus*, c. 8.
 58, 28. giver. Quintilian, *Decl.*, ix, 7 (instead of 'fortunae conscius aliquando fulgor' read 'f. conspicuus etc.').
 58, 35. Fadius. See vol. ii, p. 44.
 58, 41. broken. Seneca, *Epp.*, 70, 20. The carriage must have had very high wheels, like those now used by the Roman *carrettieri*. Göttling's repeatedly expressed notion (*AdI*, xiii, p. 60) that the other suicide was Thumelicus is, deservedly, quite forgotten.
 59, 3. suppressed. Tac., *A.*, xv, 46.
 59, 5. overcome. Zosim., i, 71.
 59, 12. hands. Symmachus, *Epp.*, ii, 46.
 59, 13. announced. Cf. Marquardt, *StV*, iii^a, 561. I only mention the quotations missing there.
 59, 18. begged. Cf. on the *scriptores* Henzen in Gerhard's *Archäol. Ztg.*, 1846, p. 295, and *Coll. Inscr. lat.*, 5663, 6566, 6975-6977. Zangemeister, *CIL*, iv, p. 10.
 59, 22. For 'elsewhere' read 'at various spots' (in Pompeii).
 59, 30. awning. *Museo Borb.*, i, *rel. dei scavi*. Garrucci, *Bull. Nap.*, 1853, p. 115. (TOTIVS ORBIS DESIDERIVM in an inscription quoted there is evidently also one of those advertisements). Mau, *Scavi di Pompei, Sepolcri della via Nucerrina* (*Mith. d. Arch. Instituts*, 1888, p. 120 ff.) gives two new advertisements of gladiatorial games, found on tombs by what appears to have been an abandoned road from Pompeii to Nuceria. P. 144: Glad. par. xx Q. Monni | Rufi. pug. Noia (Nolae?) k. Mais vi | v Nonas Maias et | venatio erit (not later than the early part of the reign of Augustus). P. 145 (sulla parete in fondo alla cella del monumento n. 2): Numini | Augusti | glad. par. xx et venatio Da (?) Pompei flaminis Augustalis | pugnab. Constant. Nuc. iii Pr. Non. | Nonis viii Eidus Maias | Nucerinii officia mea certo index (?). From the form *Eidus* not later than Tiberius.
 59, 37. exported. *Hist. Aug., Claud.*, 5 ('in indice ludiorum' instead of 'ludorum', Ritschl, *Tesserae*, p. 641). Garrucci, *Graffiti di Pompei*, pl. x, p. 66, gives the picture of such a *libellus*. Apparently the list was written before the games and V and M were added afterwards; otherwise the victor would always stand first.
 69, 6. arena. Even if the relief in *Bull. Nap.*, iv, plate 1, does not represent an amphitheatral *pompa* it at any rate (Jahn, *Ber. d. Sächs. Ges.*, 1861, pp. 313-315) has much in common with it. According to Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxv, 49 (where, after mentioning the decoration of ships and funeral piles, he proceeds: iuvatque pugnatorios ad mortem aut certe caedem speciose vehi), there seem to have been processions of gladiators in carriages (on their way to the amphitheatre?).
 60, 8. gauntlet. Seneca, *Apocol.*, 9, 3 (inter novos auctoratos ferulis vapulare).
 60, 9. mentioned. Eusebius, *H. E.*, v, 1 (τὰς διεξόδους τῶν μαρτί-

- γων τὰς ἐκείσε εἰθισμέναις); Tertull., *Ad mart.*, c. 5; *Passio SS. Felicit. et Perpet.*, c. 8, 33 (populus—flagellis eos vexari pro ordine venatorum postulavit), where Holstenius quotes other passages besides.
- 60, 13. naturally. Dio, lvii, 13; cf. Lips., *Exc. ad Tac.*, iii, 37.
- 60, 17. combats. Martial, viii, 80; cf. *Lib. Spect.*, 29.
- 60, 18. blunted. *M. Anton.*, c. 11; Dio, lxxi, 29.
- 60, 22. flutes. Juv., 3, 35 (quondam cornicines et municipalis arenae Perpetui comites). *CIG*, 3675: οὐκέτι χαλκελάτου φωνὴν σάλπιγγος ἀκούων Οὐδ' ἀνίσων αὐλῶν, κελαδὸν λαῶν ἀνεγείρω. *CIL*, x, 4915 (Venafrum): Tibicinis cantu modulans alterna vocando Martios ancentu stimulans gladiantes in arma vocavi; cf. Mommsen's note. Music is also often depicted in the reliefs representing gladiatorial games. Three gladiators' trumpets of the shape shown in Overbeck-Mau, *Pompeii*⁴, p. 182, 3 ft. 11 in. in diameter, were found in a tavern at Pompeii, *BdI*, 1885, p. 252.
- 60, 37. *habet*. Donat., *Ad Ter. Andr.*, i, 1, 56; Prudent., *Psychom.*, 49 sq., cf. Gronov., *Obs.*, ii, 25; Turneb., *Advers.*, xvii, 10.
- 60, 39. custom. Plutarch, *Lycurg.*, c. 19, 8: καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀθλημάτων ταῦτα μόνον μὴ κωλύσαντος ἀγωνίζεσθαι τοὺς πολλὰς, ἐν οἷς χεὶρ οὐκ ἀνατρέπειται. Krause, *Agonistik*, p. 522, 4.
- 60, 41. left. Cf. besides Schol. Pers., 5, 119; Sidon. Apoll., C., 23, 129; Garrucci, *Graffiti*, p. xi, and the monument of Scaurus, *Mus. Borb.*, xv, pl. 27 ss. Hence 'manum tollere', Cic., *Consol. fr.*, 7; 'ad digitum pugnare', Martial, *Lib. spect.*, 29, 4; Quintilian, viii, 5, 20; cf. viii, 5, 12. Meier, p. 48, 1.
- 61, 1. thumbs. A relief (from Cavillargues, now in the museum of Nîmes) shows the fight of a Samnite and a *retiarius*, and four spectators, amongst them a woman, with upturned thumbs. *BdI*, 1853, p. 130. The inscription, pug]NANTES MISSI (equivalent to 'stantes missi', *CIL*, xii, 2747; cf. Orelli, 2571 = *CIL*, x, 2, 7297 and 2581 = *CIL*, vi, 1, 10, 194, where ST. MISS. is to be taken together) is not a cry of the public, but an explanatory note. 'Stans missus' is the gladiator dismissed unconquered after an undecided fight, next to victory the most honourable issue; 'missus' is the vanquished gladiator dismissed by the grace of the master of the games or of the public. Meier, *De gl. R.*, p. 49 sq.
- 61, 6. willing. Seneca, *De ira*, i, 2, 5; Lactant., *Inst. div.*, vi, 20. In the epitaph on the *secutor* Urbicus, *CIL*, v, 25,933, the exhortation ascribed to the deceased: te moneo ut quis quem vicerit occidat, apparently recommends to the victors not to wait for the decision of the public; perhaps Urbicus was slain by an adversary whom he had previously defeated.
- 61, 12. Augustus. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 15. The inscription of Minturnae, Mommsen, *IRN*, 4063 = *CIL*, x, 6012 (of the year 249) shows that this prohibition was not in force everywhere and at all times.
- 61, 13. edict. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 4.
- 61, 15. fight. 'Suppositicius' (Martial, v, 24, 8; *CIL*, iv, 1179;

- 'gl(adiatorum) par(ia) xxx et cor[um] supp[ositi]cii] pugn[abunt] Pompeis', cf. Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 14, 21; Lactant., *Inst. div.*, vi, 20) is called by Petron., c. 45, *tertiarius*, as the third to the other two fighters. Meier, *loc. cit.*, p. 50 sq.
- 61, 17. ground. Martial, ii, 75, 5.
- 61, 18. sand. Petron., c. 34: duo Aethiopes cum pusillis utribus, quales solent esse qui harenam in amphitheatro spargunt.
- 61, 18. palms. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 33: cum palma victorum more discucurrit. Meier, *loc. cit.*, p. 46, 2.
- 61, 32. shields. If the text in Cic., *Ad Attic.*, vii, 14, 2: scutorum in ludo (J. Caesaris Capuano) ICO is right (Victorius supposed *secutorum*; cf. against this Meier, *loc. cit.*, p. 19), *scuta* had by that time become a general designation for gladiators.
- 61, 32. permeated. Quintil., ii, 11, 1. A teacher of rhetoric was asked, Theodorus an Apollodorus esset? Ego, inquit, parmularius sum.
- 61, 34. Caligula. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 32 (sica), 54 (Threx); cf. 55 (myrmillonum armaturas recidit).
- 61, 34. Titus. Sueton., *Tit.*, c. 8 (studium armaturae Threcum prae se ferens).
- 61, 35. won. Martial, xiv, 213.
- 61, 36. contempt. *Id.*, ix, 68.
- 61, 41. spoken. Sueton., *Domit.*, c. 10.
- 62, 9. identical. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 33.
- 62, 12. shields. M. Antonin., *Comment.*, i, 5.
- 62, 14. been. Fabretti, *Inscr. antiq.*, p. 222, 592 = *CIL*, vi, 9719, l. 10: Crescens O (mulieris) scr(vus) natione Bessus olear(ius) de portic(u) Pallantian(a) Venetian(us) parmular(ius). Vix(i) bene jaceo secur(us).
- 62, 21. backs. Cf. the slightly discrepant statements of Appian, *Bell. civ.*, ii, 102; Dio, xliii, 23; Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 39; Pliny, *N. H.*, viii, 22.
- 62, 23. performed. Dio, iv, 8.
- 62, 24. realistic. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 21.
- 62, 29. amphitheatre. Dio, lxi, 9. The 'consummatio gladiatorum' of Pliny, *loc. cit.*, probably means such a battle, cf. Josephus, *A. J.*, xix, 7, 5 (Agrippa's spectacle at Berytos, where 700 men fought on each side).
- 62, 30. Circus. Dio, lxvii, 8.
- 62, 36. games. Livy, xxxix, 22.
- 62, 37. had. Val. Max., ii, 7, 13 sq.; Livy, *Epit.*, 51; *id.*, xxvi, 2.
- 63, 2. prisoners. Cf. vol. ii, pp. 43, 45 f.
- 63, 4. *bestiarius*. Seneca, *Epp.*, 87, 9; cf. Apulei., *Metam.*, iv, 72; Symmach., *Epp.*, v, 59; Claudian, *Cons. Mall.*, 293.
- 63, 5. dishonour. Ulpian, lib. iv ad Edict. (*Digg.*, iii, 1 § 6): et qui operas suas ut cum bestiis depugnaret locaverit (loses the right of accusation).
- 63, 6. scars. Tertull., *Ad mart.*, c. 5.
- 63, 7. unpaid. Ulpian, *loc. cit.*; cf. Tertull., *Ad nat.*, i, 18.
- 63, 9. families. Henzen, 6178 = *CIL*, v, 1, 2541 (Ateste: famil. venatoria, which, as Henzen thinks, refers rather to *bestiarii* than to hunters; cf. 7209 = *CIL*, xii, 1590: coll. venator.

- Deensium qui ministerio arenario fungunt [Sueton., *Nero*, c. 12: confectores ferarum et varia harenae ministeria]).
- 63, 9. trained. Seneca, *Epp.*, 70, 20, even mentions a 'ludus bestiariorum'.
- 63, 11. founded. Baumgarten, *Gesch. Spaniens*, iii, 207, 222 f.
- 63, 12. given. Preller, *Reg. d. St. R.*, p. 121.
- 63, 14. morning. *Ibid.*, advertisement in Pompeii: matutini erunt, *CIL*, iv, 1200. But in *CIL*, x, 7295 (Panhormi) apparently the *venator* (here *missio*) begins at noon.
- 63, 16. daybreak. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 34. In Martial, viii, 67 the *venationes* at the *Floralia* have not ended at the fifth hour. Also in Lucian, *Toxaris*, c. 58 the beast-fights come first. *Bestiarii* seems generally to be the name of the criminals destined for the beast-fight, so it is a sign of cruelty to like to see them (Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 34), and they are worse fighters than the worst gladiators (Petron., c. 45). *Venatores* on the other hand are practised hunters, and probably not as a rule condemned criminals.
- 63, 18. games. Cf. Appendix xxx.
- 64, 18. sudden. G. Freytag, *Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit*, i⁸, 344. Monach. Gall., *Gesta Karoli*, ii, 8 sq. (Pertz, *Monum.*, ii, 752). *Einhardi Annales*, 801 (*ib.*, i, 190): Ipsius anni mense Octobrio Isaac Judaeus de Africa cum elefanto regressus portum Veneris intravit et quia propter nives Alpes transire non potuit, Vercellis hiemavit. Cf. 817 (p. 197).
- 64, 19. easy. I have taken these facts from Burckhardt, *Cultur der Renaissance*, pp. 288-290. On the zoological gardens and menageries at the Hague (fourteenth cent.), Amsterdam, Lübeck, Ghent (fifteenth cent.), those of the Grand Masters of the Teutonic Order at Marienburg and Stuhm, and the court menageries of Dresden and Vienna (from the middle of the sixteenth cent.) cf. Stricker, *Zur Vorgeschichte der zoologischen Gärten*, in *Im neuen Reich*, 1879, no. 41, p. 539 ff.; also the collection of Virchow and Holtzendorff, Heft 336. Further, *Beilage zur Allgem. Zeitung*, 15 Oct. 1882 (menageries of Henry I at Woodstock, of the emperor Frederick II etc.).
- 64, 40. animal. Politian, *Miscell.*, c. 3. Reumont, *Lorenzo de' Medici*, ii, 466 f.
- 64, 41. Dily. *Reisen des J. Schiltberger* (1394-1427), edited by K. F. Neumann, p. 103.
- 65, 1. Cairo. F. Fabri, *Evagator.*, iii, 30.
- 65, 3. France. Mongez, *Mémoire sur les animaux proménés ou tués dans les cirques*, *Mém. de l'Institut*, vol. x, p. 417 ss., and Oken, *Allgem. Naturgesch.*, vii, 2, pp. 1321-1329.
- 65, 12. transhipped. Brehm, *Illust. Thierleben*, ii, 493.
- 65, 15. event. Seb. Münster, *Cosmographi* (Basel, 1578), p. MCCCCL—without doubt the same animal, which Emanuel sent together with an elephant to Leo X in the year 1513. Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, 290, 4.
- 65, 18. better. Brehm, *op. cit.*, ii, 756. S. Kiechel of Ulm saw a rhinoceros in Constantinople at the end of the sixteenth century. *Bibliothek. d. litter. Ver. in Stuttgart*, vol. lxxxvi, p. 414 f.

- 65, 19. 1664. *London Gazette*, 1664; cf. *Quarterly Review*, June 1855.
- 65, 23. Germany. Oken, *op. cit.*, p. 1193.
- 65, 34. milk. Dickens, *Household Words*, i (1850), p. 445 ss. (the hippopotamus).
- 65, 39. exaggeration. Dio, xliii, 22.
- 66, 9. delight. Aurel. Vict., *Epit.*, i, 25.
- 66, 11. laid. Mommsen, *RGDA*³, p. 94. For '500' read '3,500'.
- 66, 14. sorts. Sueton., *Titus*, c. 7. *Eutrop.*, vii, 21.
- 66, 14. tame. Dio, lxvi, 25.
- 66, 16. Dacian. *Id.*, lxviii, 15.
- 66, 18. Gardens. The zoological gardens in London contained on January 1, 1864, 567 quadrupeds, 1063 birds, 100 reptiles (*Ausland*, 1866, p. 240). The animals of the amphitheatre were nearly all quadrupeds.
- 66, 21. cooks. Galen, *Περὶ ἀνατομ. ἐγχειρήσ.* vii, 10, ed. K., ii, 619; cf. iv, p. 349.
- 66, 21. drugs. Vol. i, p. 176 ff.
- 66, 25. cage. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvi, 40.
- 66, 30. individuals. The emperor Macrinus is said to have been a hunter in Africa, *Macrin.*, c. 4 (see also vol. ii, p. 51 of this work). Firmic., *De math.*, iv, 7, 3sq. (bestiarum venatores aut Marsos tales qui aspides venari consueverunt . . . vel bestiarum magistros). An ἀρχικυνηγός? in Lebas-Waddington, 1743a (Ilium).
- 66, 31. merchants. Symmach., *Epp.*, v, 22 (ursorum negotiatores).
- 66, 41. supported. Strabo, ii, 5, 34, p. 131 C.
- 67, 6. pasturages. *Anthol.*, ed. Jacobs, iv, 202. *Epigr. adesp.*, 398. The damage caused by a lion is estimated at 6000 francs a year; Brehm, *Illustr. Thierleben*, i, 209.
- 67, 10. Sais. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxviii, 121.
- 67, 11. Nubia. Ammian. Marc., xxii, 15, 24. Cf. also Cless (Numidia), *StRE*, v, 736.
- 67, 13. Nile. Themist., *Or.*, x, p. 140a.
- 67, 14. occur. Brehm, *op. cit.*, ii, 768.
- 67, 18. menageries. Philostrate., *Apoll. Tyan.*, i, 28, ed. K., p. 20; Ammian., xxiv, 5, 1; Liban., ed. R., i, 603, 19.
- 67, 20. century. Ammian., xxxi, 10, 19; Julian, *De Constantii imp. reb. gest. or.*, ii, ed. Spanheim, p. 53 B.
- 67, 18. reinforced. *Panegg.*, i, 10; xii, 22; Marcellin. Com., *Chron.*, ad an. 496.
- 67, 22. lions. Ammian., xviii 7 4.
- 67, 23. animals. *Id.*, xxiii, 6, 50.
- 67, 26. panthers. *Digg.*, xxxix, 4, 16, § 7. Cf. Dirksen, *Abhandl. d. Berl. Acad.*, 1834, p. 104.
- 67, 28. exempted. Symmach., *Epp.*, v, 60 and 62.
- 67, 31. fell. *Instit.*, ii, 1, § 12; cf. Schirmer, *Kennen die Römer ein Jagdrecht des Grundeigenthümers?* in *Ztschr. f. Rechtsgesch.*, xi, 311 f., and *id.*, *Noch einmal das Jagdrecht des römischen Grundeigenthümers*, in *Ztschr. der Savignystiftung*, iii, *Röm. Abh.*, pp. 23-33.

- 67, 34. imperial. Juv., 12, 106.
 67, 35. sovereignty. *Aurelian*, c. 5.
 67, 36. licence. Aelian, *Nat. anim.*, 10, 1: ἀνὴρ τῆς τούτων (clephantorum) ἀγρὰς οὐκ ἀπειρος, δύναμιν λαβὼν ἐκ βασιλείας τοῦ Ῥωμαίων πάλαι, Ἀλέξανδρος ὄνομα, καὶ σταλείς ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν . . . κ.τ.λ.
 67, 41. selling. *Cod. Theod.*, l. xv, *Tit. xi*, l. 1. When Symmachus, *Epp.*, vii, 122, begs, 'ut aliarum ferarum Libycarum mihi emptio sacra auctoritate praestetur', perhaps he only means lions.
 68, 4. lions. *Aurelian*, c. 20.
 68, 4. procurator. Ti. Claudius Spectator procurator Laurento ad helephantos, Orelli, 2951.
 68, 12. devoted. *Gordianus tert.*, c. 33. For *arcoleontes* (C) Salmasius conjectured *argoleontes*, Scaliger *agrioleontes*; I think *archileontes* is more likely.
 68, 14. staff. For 'procuratores a loricata' (Henzen, 6342), which Borghesi (and De Rossi, *BdI*, 1877, p. 83) erroneously referred to this, cf. Hirschfeld, *VG*, pp. 3, 4. M. Aurelius Victor Augg. lib. adjutor ad feras, *CIL*, vi, 2, 10, 208. Aurel. Sabinus Augg. lib. pp. (praepositus) herbariarum, 10, 209.
 68, 16. criminals. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 27.
 68, 17. save. *Aurelian*, c. 33. A lion requires 8 pounds of good meat a day, Brehm, *Illustr. Thierleben*, i, 210.
 68, 19. served. Bunsen, *Beschr. Roms*, iii, 473.
 68, 21. cohorts. Orelli, 22 = *CIL*, vi, 130: custos vivari coh. praett. et urbb. (241 A.D.); cf. Hübner, *Monatsb. d. Berl. Acad.*, 1868, p. 89.
 68, 21. vivarium. Procop., *Bell. Goth.*, i, 22; cf. Jahn, *Ann. d. I.*, x, 208; Becker, *Topogr.*, 207.
 68, 25. park. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 31.
 68, 30. leopards. Symmachus, *Epp.*, iv, 12; vii, 59.
 68, 31. Africa. Vol. i, p. 113 f.
 68, 33. Republican. Marquardt, *StV*, iii*, 488, 5.
 69, 2. provided. Cic., *Ad Fam.*, ii, 11, 2; viii, 9, 3. Cf. Plutarch, *Cic.*, c. 36.
 69, 3. return-favour. Symmachus, *Epp.*, ix, 125.
 69, 8. catch. Strabo, xv, 1, 42; Pliny, *N. H.*, viii, 24; Arrian, *Hist. Ind.*, c. 13.
 69, 9. boars. Claudian, *Laud. Stilich.*, 3, 305; Stat., *Silv.*, ii, 5, 28.
 69, 10. ostriches. Aelian, *Hist. an.*, xiv, 7.
 69, 11. lion-pits. Claudian, *ib.*, 3, 341. Pliny, *ib.*, viii, 54; cf. Xenophon, *De venat.*, c. 11. Cf. Appendix xxxi.
 69, 20. green. Claudian, *ib.*, 3, 322.
 69, 22. mostly. The embarking of the elephants (at Hannibal's crossing of the Rhone) described (after Polybius, iii, 46; Livy, xxi, 28) by Sil. Ital., iii, 460; Aelian., *Nat. an.*, x, 17.
 69, 23. delay. Pliny, *Epp.*, vi, 34.
 69, 23. wreck. Symmachus, *Epp.*, ix, 117.
 69, 24. safeguarding. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvi, 40.
 69, 25. heavy. Claudian, *loc. cit.*
 69, 28. succumb. Apulei., *Metam.*, iv, 72. Symmachus, *Epp.*, ii, 76.

- 69, 33. stay. *Cod. Theod.*, xv, tit. xi, 1, 2.
 70, 3. backs. *Gallieni*, c. 8.
 70, 4. amphitheatrical. *Mon. d. I.*, iii, pl. 38; cf. Henzen, *AdI*, 1840, p. 20.
 70, 5. decorated. Also the metal plates which are hung about the beasts in the Borghesi mosaic are probably such *bracteae*. Henzen took them for devices to irritate them.
 70, 7. plate. Seneca, *Epp.*, 41, 6.
 70, 8. Capitol. Juv., 10, 65; cf. Schol.
 70, 9. scarlet. Pliny, *N. H.*, viii, 197.
 70, 12. people. *Gordiani*, c. 3.
 70, 13. tamed. Cf. vol. ii, p. 66 f.
 70, 16. docility. Plutarch, *De solert. anim.*, c. 5, 5, p. 963 C. For the taming of beasts see Jahn, *Columbar. d. Villa Pamfili*, p. 34 ff.
 70, 18. practised. Lumbroso, *L'Egitto*, p. 105; cf. Philo, *De animalibus*, § 23 sqq.
 70, 19. constellation. Manil., iv, 234 sqq.; v, 700; Firmic., *Mathes.*, viii, 17.
 70, 20. escorted. Dio, xxxix, 22; or to the Capitol according to Suetonius, *Caes.*, c. 37.
 70, 22. team. Cic., *Philipp.*, 2, 24; Plutarch, *Antony*, c. 9; Pliny, *N. H.*, viii, 55.
 70, 24. nobles. In the edict of the aediles, *Digg.*, xxi, 1, 40-42, boars, wolves, bears, panthers, and lions are mentioned as in the possession of private persons; cf. Seneca, *De ira*, iii, 23; Juv., 7, 76; Plutarch, *De cohib. ira*, c. 14 sq., p. 462 F.; Pausan., viii, 17, 3 (white boars and bears); Epictetus, *Diss.*, iv, 1, 25; Dio, lxxviii, 7; *Elagab.*, cc. 21, 25, 28.
 70, 25. rabble. Jahn, *Archäol. Beitr.*, p. 435; O. Keller, *Thiere d. klass. Alterthums in kulturgeschichte. Beziehung* (1887), pp. 3-5; Cic., *Ad Att.*, vi, 1, 25 (cynocephalus in essedo); Luxor., *De simiis canum dorso impositis*, *Anthol. Lat.*, ed. Meyer, 341; Philo, *loc. cit.*, § 23 sq. (with an interesting description of the tricks of a goat, cf. § 90). A monkey in silk with bare back and buttocks as 'ludibrium mensis', Claudian, *In Eutrop.*, i, 303-307.
 70, 27. boys. Martial, v, 31.
 70, 27. reared. Aelian, *Nat. anim.*, vii, 4.
 70, 28. water. Dio, lxvi, 25; Aelian, *loc. cit.*, Pliny, viii, 181.
 70, 29. motionless. Pliny, *ib.*, Keller, p. 55, 26 and 27.
 70, 30. stags. Martial, i, 104, 3 sq. A tame stag adorned, Calpurn., *Ecl.*, 6, 33 sqq. Tame stags are also mentioned in *Instit.*, ii, 1, 15.
 70, 30. yoked. Martial, *ib.*; Luxor., *Anthol. Lat.*, ed. Riese, 360, *De pardis mansuetis, qui cum canibus venationem faciebant*.
 70, 30. cranes. Pliny, *N. H.*, x, 59.
 70, 31. fought. Dio, lxvi, 25.
 70, 32. death. Martial, iv, 35, 74.
 70, 36. anew. *Id.*, i, 6, 14, 22, 48, 51, 104.
 70, 37. teachers. *Id.*, i, 104; viii, 74; Seneca, *Epp.*, 85, 41; Caylus, *Rec. d'antiq.*, vi, pl. 1.

- 70, 38. cymbals. Aelian, *Hist. Ind.*, c. 14, 5; cf. Martial, i, 104; Pliny, *N. H.*, viii, 4 sq.; Plutarch, *De fort.*, c. 3; Aelian, *Nat. an.*, ii, 11.
- 70, 40. rope. Pliny, *ib.*; Sueton., *Galba*, c. 6; described differently in Dio, lxi, 17.
- 70, 41. Latin. Aelian, *H. a.*, ii, 11; Pliny, *N. H.*, viii, 6; Philo, *De animal.*, § 24 sq.
- 71, 2. practising. Pliny, *loc. cit.*; Plutarch, *De solert. an.*, c. 12, 3.
- 71, 5. turned. Cf. with the simple report of the eye-witness, Cicero (*Ad Fam.*, vii, 1), the narration in Pliny, *N. H.*, viii, 21, and especially Dio, xxxix, 38.
- 71, 8. elephant. Dio, lv, 27.
- 71, 9. bull. Martial, *Spect.*, 9, 17, 19, 22. Fight of bear and bull, Seneca, *De ira*, iii, 43, 2. *Mus. Borb.*, xiv, pl. 48 (in the background are rocks, probably after a decoration in the amphitheatre). The same on a lamp, Bartoli, *Luc. sep.* i, f. 33.
- 71, 10. driven. Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.*, vii, 29.
- 71, 11. pricked. Cf. the Borghesi mosaic and Henzen's commentary. Taurocentae, *IRN*, 237 = *CIL*, x, 1074.
- 71, 11. hot. Martial, *Spect.*, 19; Ruinart, *Acta mart.*, p. 171.
- 71, 11. straw. Cic., *Pro C. Cornel. de maj. or.* i. fr.: videlicet homines foeneos in medium ad temptandum periculum projectos. *Gloss. Labb.*, pilae taurariae (cf. Salmas., *Ad Hist. Aug.*, p. 154). Similar scenes seem to be represented on some diptychs from Gori; cf. Henzen, *Ann. d. I.*, xxv, 118; Martial, ii, 43, 6:
 at me (toga velat) quae furias passa est et cornua tauri,
 noluerit dici quam pila prima suam.
- 71, 12. tossed. Martial, *Spect.*, 9, 19, 27.
- 71, 13. ropes. Cf. the references to fights between bears and bulls above in the note to p. 71, l. 9.
- 71, 17. survived. Fernan Caballero, *Ausgew. Werke*, v, 177 n., and Appendix xxxi.
- 71, 22. war. Strabo, iv, 5, 2, p. 199; cf. Grat. Falisc., *Cyneg.*, 174 sqq.; Nemesian., *Cyneg.*, 124 sqq.
- 71, 25. cages. Symmachus, *Epp.*, ii, 77.
- 71, 27. been. Martial, xi, 69; cf. the fable of *Cod. Bodl.* 69 in Crusius, *De aetate Babrii*, in *Leipz. Studien*, ii, 2, p. 188 f. Sartor arenarius magister? *CIL*, viii, 7158 (Cirta).
- 71, 29. bisons. Martial, *Spect.*, 15, 27.
- 71, 31. proficient. Herodian, i, 15.
- 71, 32. blow. Pliny, *N. H.*, viii, 34.
- 71, 32. easily. *Id. ib.*, viii, 54.
- 71, 36. heroes. Martial, *Spect.*, 27.
- 71, 39. Eleusis. Artemidor., *Onirocr.*, i, 8, p. 15.
- 71, 39. Athens. *CIA*, iii, 1, 114: Βασιλεῖ Ῥοιματάλκα ἀγωνισόμενος Σαραπίων ταυροκαθάπτῃς. Rhoematales therefore probably gave a bull-baiting as archon in Athens (37/38 A.D.). An inscription of a *venator* near Küstendje, who, πολλοὺς ἐν σταδίοις πλῆξας βόας, at last fell a victim to a βούς ἀγριος (i.e. a bison, Keller, *Thiere d. klass. Alterth.*, 54, 14).
- 71, 39. Pergamus. Aristides, *Or.*, xxv, ed. Jebb, p. 324.

- 71, 39. Miletus. *CIG*, 2858 (Βογγία).
- 71, 39. Smyrna. *Id.*, 3212 (ταυροκαθάψια); cf. also Dio Chrys., *Or.*, 66, p. 606 M. in f., and the reliefs from Smyrna, representing the baiting of zebus, in Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
- 71, 39. Lesbos. Relief: before a zebu named Helix wearing a girth, lies an unarmed man, *AdI*, 1842, p. 148 sq., *tav. d'agg. Q.* The wild bull described by Philo, *De animal.*, § 51, he had probably seen in Alexandria.
- 71, 37. bull-fights. Bottiger, *Kl. Schr.*, vol. iii, p. 325 (*Stierkämpfe, ein Sieg des Alterthums über die Modernen*). Cf. also *Anthol. Pal.*, ed. Jacobs, ii, 192 (ix, 543); Heliodorus, *Aethiop.*, x, 28 ss. The subject is also treated at length in Waddington, *Voy. en Asie min.*, p. 137, on the inscription at Caryanda, no. 499, according to which the giver of the spectacle (ταυραφέρης) ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐρεθιζομένου ταύρου δένειμα the flesh, etc. He distinguishes ταυροκαθάψιαι (bull-baiting) and ταυρομαχίαι (fights between bulls), and thinks the latter were introduced into Asia Minor from Rome.
- 71, 40. Caesar's. Pliny, *N. H.*, viii, 182; Appian, *B. C.*, ii, 102; Vellei., ii, 56.
- 71, 41. irritated. Ovid, *Melam.*, xii, 103.
- 72, 1. foot. *Gallieni duo*, c. 12.
- 72, 3. horns. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 21; Dio, lxi, 9. Cf. also *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxi, table 3, 1, with explanation by P. J. Meier. In Spain bull-fights are first recorded in the seventh century: King Sisebut (612–620) reproached Bishop Eusebius of Tarraco for his passion for them; see Dahn, *Könige der Germanen*, v, 184; vi, 286.
- 72, 5. lions. Sueton., *ib.*; Dio, *ib.*
- 72, 7. defenceless. *Aurelian*, c. 37: sane Mnestheus postea sur-
rectus ad stipitem bestiis objectus est. Ruinart, *Acta mar.*,
p. 171: qui nudis corporibus stabant et commotis manibus
eas (feras) in semet ipsos provocabant, id enim facere jubeban-
tur. The *Sammlung röm. Denkmäler in Baiern*, published by
the Academy, 1808 (a magazine of pottery, probably near Pons
Oeni) represents numerous potsherds, among them plates v and
vii, *venationes*; plate x, men bound naked to stakes, with bears;
plate viii, bulls and figures in hooded mantles, presumably
magistri. On a lamp of about the second century is a man on
a *pulpitum*, bound naked to a stake, and a lion leaping at him
(quite baselessly connected by Bruzza with Androclus). *Bull.*
crist., 1879, p. 21, plate iii, 1. Quint. Smyrn., vi, 532: εὖτε
σὺς μέσῳ ἔρκει ἢ λέοντες ἤματι τῷ, δὲ ἀνακτες ἀολλίσσας ἀνθρώπους
Ἀργαλέως τ' εἰλέωσι κακὸν τεύχοντες θλεθρὸν θηρίον ὑπὸ κρατερῶς· οἱ δ'
ἔρκεις ἐντοὶς ἐόντες Δμῶας δαρδάπτουσιν ὁ τις σφισιν ἐγγὺς ἴκηται. Here
the δμῶες are probably attendants.
- 72, 9. were. Dio, lx, 13; lxxi, 29; Ammian., xxix, 3, 9: habebat
(Valentinianus) duas ursas saevas hominum ambestrices, Micam
auream et Innocentiam.
- 72, 12. morrow. M. Antonin., *Comment.*, x, 8. Josephus, *B. J.*,
vii, 8, 7: οἱ δ' ἀπὸ θηρίων ἡμβρωται πρὸς δευτέραν αὐτοῖς τροφήν
ζῶντες ἐφυλάχθησαν, γέλωτα καὶ παιδιὰν τοῖς πολεμίοις παρῶσόντες.

- 72, 14. body. Galen, *De anatom. administr.*, iii, 5, ed. K., ii, p. 385: τῶν τε γὰρ ἐπὶ θανάτῳ κατακρηθέντων καὶ θηρίοις παραβληθέντων ἰθεόσαντο πολλοὶ πολλὰκις ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν ὅπερ ἐβουλήθησαν ἐκδοστοτε διὰ ταχέων. Cf. also Cels., *praef. lib. i* (p. 10, ed. Targ.). The Empiricus declare the vivisection of human beings to be useless: interdum enim gladiatorem in arena, vel militem in acie, vel viatorem a latronibus exceptum sic vulnerari, ut ejus interior aliqua pars aperiatur et in alio alia. Cf. Appendix ii.
- 72, 24. devoured. Strabo, vi, 2, 6.
- 72, 30. ranking. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 182-184.
- 72, 33. substructures. According to Promis, *Aosta*, p. 169, in all three amphitheatres they belong to the time of the Antonines; cf. Appendix xxxvi, and Rucca, *Dell' uso de' sotterranei anfiteatri* (from the *Mem. dell' acad. Ercolan.*, vol. iv), Napoli, 1851; but Rucca goes much too far in his conception of the use of this basement, e.g. he thinks that with the exception of the *essedarii* and *andabatae* all the men and beasts came up through the trap-door.
- 72, 34. level. Parker, *Archaeology of Rome*, part vii, 1876, pl. iii, cf. plates iv-viii, xvi, xvii and xxvii (the amphitheatre of Capua); the text is quite useless, with the exception of the reports on the excavations.
- 72, 38. thousand. Rucca, *Sull' ipogeo dell' anfiteatro Puteolano*, p. 11 s.
- 72, 40. space. Dio, lxi, 4.
- 73, 5. together. Seneca, *Epp.*, 88, 22.
- 73, 10. killed. Dio, lxxvi, 1; cf. the coin struck on this occasion, Eckhel, *D. N.*, vii, 182. According to Dio, lxi, 1, such a ship had even served as the model for the one in which Agrippina was to meet her death; cf. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 5 sq.
- 73, 14. emerged. Calpurn., *Eclog.*, 7, 69 sqq.; cf. Haupt, *Ind. lect. Berolin.*, 1854, 2, p. 31. On theatrical decorations and machinery in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries see Baudrilart, *Hist. du luxe*, iii, 486 ss.
- 73, 21. unhappy. Plutarch, *De sera num. vind.*, c. 9. The *Passio SS. Felicitatis et Perpetuae*, c. 18, shows that the victims of the arena were splendidly dressed; the Christian men on this occasion had to appear in the costumes of priests of Saturn (in scarlet and purple mantles, Tertull., *De testim. animae*, c. 2; *De pall.*, c. 40), the Christian women as priestesses of Ceres.
- 73, 25. torn. Tac., *A.*, xv, 44 with Nipperdey's note.
- 73, 27. tunic. Tertullian, *Ad mart.*, c. 5; *Ad nationes*, i, 18.
- 73, 31. Hercules. *Id.*, *Apol.*, c. 15.
- 73, 32. thief. *Anthol. Pal.*, ed. Jacobs, ii, 374.
- 73, 33. coals. Martial, viii, 30; x, 25. These executions also took place early in the morning; so also in Alexandria, Philo, *In Flacc.*, p. 529 M.
- 73, 39. arson. Martial, *Spect.*, 7.
- 74, 3. bear. *Id. ib.*, 21, 21b.
- 74, 5. Europa. Aelian evidently alludes to such a representation, *Nat. anim.*, vii, 4, where he says that bulls were trained to carry women.

- 74, 5. Pasiphae. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 12 : inter pyrrhicharum argumenta taurus Pasiphaen ligneo juvencae simulacro abditam iniit, ut multi spectantium crediderunt. The same spectacle in Martial, *Spect.*, 5.
 74, 6. Cupids. Juv., 4, 122.
 74, 7. Daedalus. Martial, *Spect.*, 8.
 74, 7. Hercules. Martial, *Spect.*, 16 sq.
 74, 10. stars. *Id. ib.*, 25-26.
 74, 12. NAUMACHIAE. On the *naumachiae* see Richter, *Topographie von Rom*, pp. 879, 881. The word is already found in Lucil. (*Fragment. salt.*, ed. Gerlach, 14, 4):

naumachiam licet haec inquam alveolumque putare et calces: delectes te, hilo non rectiu' vivas.

- 74, 19. land-fights. Dio, lxi, 9. The amphitheatre was built in the year 57, Tac., *A.*, xiii, 31; perhaps it was opened with this spectacle. Cf. the annotation of Reimarus.
 74, 21. feast. So Dio, lxii, 15. Tac., *A.*, xv, 37 only writes of the notorious festival arranged by Tigellinus, which took place on the *stagnum Agrippae*, without mentioning the *naumachia* and other shows. Perhaps Dio has combined the account of the latter with that of the festival of Tigellinus.
 74, 23. could. Rucca, *Dell' uso de' sotterranei anfiteatrali* (Napoli, 1851), p. 15; to the Colosseum belonged 'delle vaste conserve ne' muri addossati al monte Celio, in parte ancora esistenti', and, as Fea thinks (*Osservazioni sull' arena e sul podio etc. confutate da Fea*, p. 2) the arena was provided with water from the *Sette sale* also. Cf. Parker, *Archaeology of Rome*, p. vii, 1876, pls. x and xv. The aqueduct of the amphitheatre at Capua also still exists.
 74, 26. Corinthians. Dio, lxvi, 26.
 74, 26. battle. Sueton., *Domitian*, c. 4.
 74, 30. lake. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 39.
 74, 33. oarsmen. Appian, *Bell. civ.*, ii, 102.
 74, 33. filled. Dio, xlv, 17.
 74, 36. due. Becker, *Topogr.*, 657 n., 1416, and Preller, *Die Regionen d. St. R.*, p. 206 n. Over this basin led a *pons naumachiarius*, which was burnt and reconstructed in the time of Tiberius. Pliny, *N. H.*, xvi, 190 and 206. Dio (xl, 10) could still see traces of this *naumachia*.
 74, 41. Persians. *RGDA*², c. 23, ed. Mommsen, p. 94. I follow Hirschfeld's restoration of these texts (*Wiener Studien*, 1881, p. 257 f. 1), viz. in *utrisque classibus* instead of *quibus in* *classibus*, and *ἐν ἐκατέρῃσιν στήλας* for *ἐν [τοῦτῳ τῷ] στήλας*.
 75, 4. Garigliano. Tac., *A.*, xii, 56 with Nipperdey's note.
 75, 6. warriors. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 21, mentions twelve triremes on either side; Dio, lxvi, 39, fifty.
 75, 8. signal. Sueton., *ib.*; cf. *Aetna*, ed. Munro, 293 ss., as to which Sauppe, in *Gött. gel. Anzeigen*, 1874, p. 493 proposes *moveri* for 'movere' in l. 297.
 75, 29. banquet-room. Becker, *Topogr.*, n. 1418; Dio, lxi, 20; Tac., *A.*, xiv, 15.

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- 75, 30. spectacles. Dio, lxvi, 25; Sueton., *Tit.*, c. 7.
 75, 37. Fucinus. Martial, *Lib. spect.*, 28, cf. 24-26.
 75, 38. new. Preller, *Regionen d. St. R.*, p. 207.
 75, 40. real. Sueton., *Domit.*, c. 4; Martial, i, 5.
 76, 2. died. Sueton., *l. c.*; Dio, lxvii, 8. Cf. vol. ii, btm. of p. 8.
 76, 3. naumachy. Becker, *op. cit.*; Aurel. Vict., *Caes.*, 28.
 76, 4. Domitian. Preller, *op. cit.*
 76, 7. *naumachiae*. Gregorovius, *Gesch. d. St. Rom.*, iii, 29; 3.
 76, 16. children. Epictet., *Manuale*, 29, 3.
 76, 18. *sbirri*. Cf. Huber, *Skizzen aus Spanien*, i, 217 f.; K. P. Moritz, *Reisen eines Deutschen in Italien* (1786-1788), vol. ii, p. 203.
 76, 18. passionately. *Dial. de orat.*, c. 29.
 76, 21. dispute. Horace, *Epp.*, i, 18, 19.
 76, 25. was. *Id.*, *Sat.*, ii, 6, 44.
 76, 26. avoided. Epictet., *Manuale*, 33, 2.
 76, 31. smitten. Ovid, *A. a.*, i, 164 sqq.
 76, 37. out-rivalled. Martial, v, 65.
 76, 40. laugh. Stat., *Silv.*, i, 6, 51 sqq.
 77, 4. eye. Cic., *Tusc.*, ii, 20, 46.
 77, 6. gave. Pliny, *Epp.*, vi, 34.
 77, 11. aroused. *Id.*, *Paneg.*, c. 33.
 77, 13. Europe. Gibbon, *History* etc., xxx (Basil, 1787, vol. v, p. 171). *Hist. Aug. Maxim. et Balbin.*, c. 8: alii hoc litteris tradunt (quod verisimilius credo) ituros ad bellum Romanos debuisse pugnas videre at vulnera et ferrum, et nudas inter se cohortes, ne dimicantes in bello armatos hostes timerent aut vulnera et sanguinem perhorrescerent.
 77, 17. spear. Cic., *Ad Fam.*, vii, 1, 3.
 77, 19. inconclusive. Varro, *Sat. Menipp.*, fr. 24; Petron.³, ed. Buecheler, p. 165.
 77, 21. wearisome. M. Antoninus, *Comment.*, vi, 46.
 77, 24. cheap. Tac., *A.*, i, 76.
 77, 26. school. Cf. vol. ii, p. 59.
 77, 29. Socrates. Symmachus, *Epp.*, ii, 46.
 77, 30. extant. In the declamations which treat of gladiators, there are no allusions to the inhumanity of these spectacles. The words of Varro, in Non., *s. lusus vel lusio*: ab hujusmodi lusionibus radices crudelitas agere solet, might perhaps be referred to gladiatorial games, although, as is well known, authors of the best period only call them *munera*, never *ludi*. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvi, 203: M. Varro . . . inquit . . . inde enim cinis lixius potus medetur, licet videre gladiatores, cum deluserunt, hac iuvare potione. In the inscription at Corduba, Huebner, *Ephem. epigr.*, iii, p. 37: edito ob honorem, flaminatus munere gladiatorio et duabus lusionibus, the *lusiones* are certainly not amphitheatral games. Cf. Garrucci, *Sull' epoca e sui frammenti dell' iscrizione dell' anfiteatro Puteolano*, Napoli, 1851, pp. 5-8, and Ritschl, *Die 'Tesseræ gladiatoriae'*, p. 61, n. 1. *Munus*, 'the obligation, or due performance' (Mommson, *Röm. Forschungen*, i, 345) can originally only have been the 'officium mortuorum honori debitum' (Tertullian, *Sp.*, 12).

- Munificus* is also mainly used in this sense. Poetic transference: *circi munus*, Ovid, *Fasti*, v, 190. Ritschl, *op. cit.*, p. 62 f.
- 77, 33. grief. Seneca, *Cons. ad Helv. matr.*, c. 17; cf. Jonas, *De ord. libror. L. Ann. Senecae*, p. 30.
- 77, 34. writings. *Epp.*, 7, 2. He speaks with indignation also in *Epp.*, 90, 45. Of the work *De tranq. animi* (c. 2, 13: *juvat jam et humano sanguine frui*) cf. Jonas, *op. cit.*, p. 41 sqq.
- 78, 36. greatness. In the year 58, when there was as yet no amphitheatre, German ambassadors were brought into Pompey's theatre, '*quo magnitudinem populi viserent*', Tac., *A.*, xiii, 54.
- 78, 37. contemporaries. Martial, *Spect.*, 1.
- 79, 2. robes. Not only the magistrates in office, but all who had held curule offices wore the *praelecta* at popular festivals; Mommsen, *StR.*, i², 437, 1.
- 79, 6. gaze. Suetonius, *Calig.*, c. 35: *edente se munus* (Ptolemaeus) *ingressum spectacula convertisse hominum oculos fulgore purpureae abollae animadvertit*.
- 79, 9. foreign. Josephus, *A. J.*, xiv, 10, 6. A rescript of Julius Caesar contains the words: *ἰδοῦσθαι τε Ἰρκανῶ καὶ παῖσι τοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ πρεσβευταῖς τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεμφθεῖσιν ἐν τε πυγμῇ μονομάχων καὶ θηρίων καθεζομένους μετὰ τῶν συγκλητικῶν θεωρεῖν*.
- 79, 11. people. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 43: *quodam autem muneris die Parthorum obsides tunc primum missos per mediam arenam in spectaculum induxit superque se subsellio secundo collocavit*. Dio, lxviii, 15: (Trajanus) *τοὺς . . . πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἀφικνουμένους ἐν τῷ βουλευτικῷ θεάσασθαι ἐποίησεν*.
- 79, 14. togas. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 58: *patris patriae cognomen . . . detulerunt ei . . . plebs . . . ineunti Romae spectacula frequens et laureata*. Dio, lxxii, 21 mentions the crowning of the senators with laurel. This was no doubt the regular practice, at least at great festivals.
- 79, 18. proletariat. Calpurn., *Eclog.*, 7, 26 and 79. Cf. Marquardt, *StV.*, iii², 557, 7.
- 79, 21. artistic. Calpurn., *op. cit.*, 7, 47.
- 79, 24. interior. Lucret., iv, 75 sqq.
- 79, 25. sky. Pliny, *N. H.*, xix, 25; cf. Appendix xxxiv.
- 79, 27. cooled. Cf. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, 558, 4.
- 79, 34. typical. Augustine, *Confess.*, vi, 8.
- 80, 12. accommodated. Stephan, *Das Verkehrsleben der Alten*, in Raumer's *Hist. Taschenbuch*, v, 9, p. 22 n.
- 80, 16. Mérimée. P. Mérimée, *Lettres sur l'Espagne*, 1830 (Monsaique, Bruxelles, 1833, p. 302).
- 80, 20. Maximilian. Maximilian, afterwards emperor of Mexico, (*Aus meinem Leben*, ii, 67) expresses a certain measure of enthusiasm for bull-fights. Cf. the expressions of disgust in Brehm, *Illustr. Thierleben*, ii, 676-683.
- 80, 23. weaning. On the gradual cessation of the amphitheatral spectacles see P. E. Mueller, *De gen. aev. Theodos.*, ii, p. 80 sqq.; or for a better and more complete account, Wallon, *Hist. de l'esclavage*, iii, 421 ss.
- 80, 29. bury. Jerome *Vita Hilar.*, c. 3. De Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, v,

- p. 77 ss., thinks that on a bucket found in Tunis with the Christian inscription ἀντλήσατε ὕδωρ μετ' εὐφροσύνης he recognizes a victorious gladiator (*thrax* or *retaliarius*), whom he considers a symbol of the victorious Christian soul. Apart from the extreme improbability of such a symbol, I have no doubt that the figure represents a charioteer.
- 80, 31. orders. *Cod. Theodos.*, xv, 12, 1 (with Gothofredus' commentary).
- 80, 33. prohibition. Mommsen in *Ber. d. Sächs. Ges.*, 1850, p. 213.
- 80, 37. Volsinii. Henzen, 5580.
- 80, 39. horrible. Firmic. Matern., *De math.*, iii, 5, 8; vii, 22.
- 80, 40. forbade. *Cod. Theodos.*, ix, 40, 8.
- 81, 2. amusement. Prudent., *In Symmach.*, ii, 1122 sqq. Cf. Obbarius, *Proleg.*, xi, 39.
- 81, 7. populace. Theodoret, *Hist. eccl.*, v, 26. Cf. Appendix xxxv.
- 81, 8. abolished. Usener, *Aufhebung der Gladiatorenschulen*, in *N. Rh. Mus.*, 1882, p. 479 f.; Marquardt, *StV*, iii², 565, 2.
- 81, 10. existent. Augustine, *C. D.*, iii, 14, 2: pugnantes etiam gladiatores . . . et tamen si in arenam procederent in se pugnaturi gladiatores, quorum alter filius alter pater esset, tale spectaculum quis ferret? quis non auferret? But in iv, 14, 22 he only names *aurigae*, *venatores*, *histriones*.
- 81, 16. callousness. Mueller, *op. cit.*, p. 87; Wallon, p. 427.
- 81, 20. valleys. Salvian., *De gubern. Dei*, vi (172), ed. Rittershus.
- 81, 24. Sundays. *Cod. Just.*, iii, 10, 11 (10, 9).
- 81, 27. instituted. Gregorovius, *Gesch. d. St. Rom*, i², 290, 1.
- 81, 37. solemnly. *Just.*, *Nov.*, cv, c. 1.
- 81, 39. clerics. *Cod. Just.*, i, 4, 34. Cf. also *Anthol. Pal.*, ix, 581 (ed. Jacobs, ii, 207): εἰς τὸ μωρητέριον ἔγγον κυρηγέσιον, ἐν ᾧ ἀγωνίζονται ἄνδρες πρὸς θήρας.
- 82, 5. bloody. Cassiodorus, *Var. epp.*, v, 42. Some of the arrangements mentioned there perhaps *Rev. archéol.*, vii, pl. 153 (Mérimee, *Plaque de marbre gravée du musée de Narbonne*). Cf., besides the diptychs in Gori, *Thes. dipt.*, a new one of this kind in *Mon. ined. dell' Inst.*, v, pl. 51, with explanation by Henzen, *AdI*, xxv, pp. 115-118. Henzen thinks he can recognize here a figure intended to deceive the beasts; cf. also the epigram in *Anthol. Pal.*, iv, 538 (ed. Jacobs, ii, 190): εἰς τὸν ἀπὸ κέντου κατερχόμενον θηριομάχον and the contorniates in Sabatier, *Descr. gén. d. méd. cont.*, pl. viii, 11; ix, 4 and 6.
- 82, 11. officials. *Lex col. Genetivae. Ephem. epigr.*, iii, p. 93 s. and p. 102; on the time of the composition ii, 119 s., iii, 97. *CIL*, ix, 2350 (Allifae): duumviratu suo acceptis a re p. xiii m.n. venationes plenas et gladiatorum paria xxi dedit.
- 82, 16. communal. Curator muneris publici, *CIL*, xiv, 2972, 3011, 3014 (curat. mun. pub. glad. ter.), all at Praeneste.
- 82, 16. bequeathed. Curator muneris gladiatorii Villiani ad Deam Aug. Voc., *CIL*, xii, 1529.
- 82, 19. Emperor. Mommsen, *StR*, ii³, 887, 8.
- 82, 32. three. Cic., *Ad Attic.*, ii, 8, 2 (Antium); *IRN*, 6036 = *CIL*, ix, 3437 (Peltuinum); Petron., c. 45.
- 82, 32. four. *IRN*, 4063 = *CIL*, x, 6012 (Minturnae); *IRN*,

- 2518 = *CIL*, x, 1785 (Puteoli); Garrucci, *Graff. di Pompei*, pl. x, p. 66: munus P. Sornii v, iv, iii prid. Id.
- 82, 32. lasted. The five days' spectacles at Praeneste, *CIL*, xiv, 3015, and Cic., *Ad Attic.*, xii, 2. (708), and those of six days at Forum Clodii, *CIL*, xi, 1, 3303 are *iudi*, not *munera*. Dessau (*CIL*, xiv, p. 290b, and *Mitt. d. Archäol. Instit.*, ii, 1887, p. 194) confuses them.
- 82, 35. panthers. *IRN*, 4768 = *CIL*, ix, 2350 (Allifae); 4877 = *CIL*, ix, 2237 (Telesia); *IRN*, 112 = *CIL*, x, 539 (Salernum); Pliny, *Ep.*, vi, 34 (Verona).
- 82, 35. ostriches. *IRN*, 2569 = *CIL*, x, 3704 (Cumae); 5789 = *CIL*, ix, 4208 (Amiternum).
- 82, 37. had. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxiii, 49.
- 82, 39. four. *CIL*, x, 3704 (Cumae); *IRN*, 5789 = *CIL*, ix, 4208 (Amiternum).
- 82, 40. ten. *CIL*, xiv, 3015 (Praeneste).
- 82, 40. twenty. *CIL*, ix, 2350 (Allifae: gladiatorum paria xxi); xiv, 3663 (Tibur 184 A.D.); Murat., 617, 5 (Auximum).
- 82, 40. thirty. Orelli, 2545, cf. n. on 83, 17-19 below; *CIL*, ix, 2350.
- 83, 2. colleagues. *IRN*, 2378 = *CIL*, x, 1074d.
- 83, 8. contractor. *CIL*, iv, 1177 sqq.; cf. Kiessling, *N. Jahrb. f. Philol.*, 1872, p. 68.
- 83, 10. pending. Petron., c. 45.
- 83, 12. extorted. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 37.
- 83, 14. tavern-keeper. Martial, iii, 59, cf. *ib.*, 16, 99. *CIL*, xi, 1, 862 (Mutina): D. m. Q. Alfidio Q. l. Hylae vi. vir. Foro Sempromi colleg. harenariorum Romae negotianti lanario Alfidia Severa patri pientissimo.
- 83, 21. *venatio*. Orelli, 2545. According to Henzen the inscription belongs to Ferrara, but the place is not mentioned before Paulus Diaconus (Ferraria).
- 83, 26. plays. *CIL*, ix, 2350.
- 83, 31. glory. *IRN*, 4040 = *CIL*, x, 4760 (Suessa): munus . . . secundum dignitatem coloniae. Cf. *CIL*, ix, 4208.
- 83, 38. 'know'. *CIL*, x, 6012.
- 83, 40. criminals. *CIL*, ix, 3437.
- 84, 14. pairs. *CIL*, ii, 1305.
- 84, 29. pay. Livy, xli, 20.
- 84, 37. jealousy. Cf. Appendix xxxvi.
- 84, 39. Rhodes. Dio, *Or.*, xxxi, 1, 1.
- 84, 41. hamper. Plutarch, *Praec. ger. rep.*, c. 30, 4: τῶν φιλοτιμιῶν δσαι τὸ φονικὸν καὶ θηριῶδες ἢ τὸ βωμολόχον καὶ ἀκόλαστον ἐρεθίζουσι καὶ τρέφουσι, μάλιστα μὲν ἐξέλαυνε τῆς πόλεως, εἰ δὲ μὴ, φεύγε καὶ διαμάχου τοῖς πολλοῖς αἰτουμένοις τὰ τοιαῦτα θεάματα.
- 85, 3. despair. *Id. ib.*, cc. 5, 14, and 29, 1; *De cupid. divitiar.*, c. 5.
- 85, 9. gladiators. Dio Chrys., *Or.*, lxvi, p. 606 M. in f.
- 85, 9. Hadrian. *Hadrian.*, c. 19.
- 85, 12. Plutarch. Cf. also Plutarch, *Non posse suaviter vivi*, c. 17, 6. In *De sollert. anim.*, c. 1, 4, hunting is praised: ὅτι τοῦ πεφυκότος ἐν ἡμῖν ἡ μεμαθηκότος χαίρειν μάχαις ἀνδρῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διὰ σιδήρου τὸ πολὺ δεῦρο τρέψασα, καθαρὰν παρέχει θέαν.

- 85, 13. Lucian. Lucian, *Anachars.*, c. 37.
 85, 15. depriving. Plutarch, *loc. cit.*
 85, 19. precious. Pseudo-Plutarch, *De esu carn.*, ii, 2, 3.
 85, 21. pity. Favorinus composed an oration *ὑπὲρ τῶν μορομαχῶν* (Philostrat., *Vitt. soph.*, 491, 6, ed. Kayser), probably to display his art by defending what was universally condemned, for Philostratus mentions in the same context orations *ἐπὶ τῷ λήρῳ* and *ὑπὲρ τῶν βαλαβελῶν*. Favorinus liked these 'infames materias', Gell., *N. A.*, xvii, 12. Only Libanius speaks of gladiators with a certain admiration, perhaps out of opposition to the Christian zealots (*De vita sua*, c. 3).
 85, 22. abstain. Julian, *Fragm. epist.*, p. 304 D.
 85, 26. Palestine. Schürer, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, p. 387: 'It is not permitted to sell to the heathen bears, lions, or anything else whereby the people could be harmed. It is not allowed to help them in building a basilica, a stadion or a scaffold'. From a treatise on idolatry and heathenism in the fourth *Seder* of the *Mishna* (edited at the end of the second century A.D.).
 85, 37. permission. Evidence for this statement, as for all the rest, in the list of amphitheatres in Appendix xxxvi.
 85, 39. demolition. Cf. the description of the amphitheatre of Sutri in Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, vol. i, p. 159 ff.
 86, 10. craft. The Colosseum was reputed to be the seat of demons; Gregorovius, *G. d. St. Rom*, viii, 388, 1. See Benvenuto Cellini's story of the sorcery of which he was a witness in the Colosseum, book 2, chapter 1 (Goethe, 28, 138). The *Allg. Zeitg.* of 10 December, 1864, relates the following: 'In the Coliseum a crowd of curious people now assembles every day to watch the excavations of a certain Testa, who is convinced, on the authority of an old parchment, that at a particular spot he will find an enormous treasure, which is catalogued in the manuscript'.
 86, 18. interrupted. Stancovich, *Anfiteatro di Pola*, p. 10.
 86, 24. For 'tradition' read 'speculation'.
 86, 25. Gallienus. Fr. Michel, *De la popularité du roman des Quatre fils Aymon et de ses causes* (*Actes de l'ac. de Bordeaux*, 1st half-year 1842, p. 58 s.) only known to me from the *Mém. de la société des antiquaires de l'ouest*, 1843, p. 162.
 86, 28. Nîmes. Clérissieu, *Antiquités de la France*, p. 88 ss.; Millin, *Voyage dans le midi de la France*, iv, p. 220 ss.; Pelet, *Description de l'amphithéâtre de Nîmes* (1853), p. 137 ss.
 87, 6. still. *Revue archéol.*, vii, p. 194.
 87, 8. clearing. Estrangin, *Études sur Arles*.
 87, 22. excavated. Texier, *Mém. sur la ville et le port de Fréjus. Mém. prés. p. div. sav. à l'acad. des inscr.*, 2nd series, vol. ii (1849), p. 235 sq.
 88, 16. held. Cf. *Journal du voyage de Montaigne en Italie*, 1580/1581, i, 152 s.
 88, 22. courage. Maffei, *Verona illustrata*, P. N. degli anfiteatri, vol. v, pp. 135-148 (ed. 2da, Milano, 1826).
 88, 25. place. *Mém. de Mme. de Rémusat*, ii, 150.
 88, 27. circle. Treitschke, *Deutsche Geschichte*, iii, 271.

- 88, 34. fall. Beda Venerab., *Collect.*, cap. 3, *de bell.* On the derivation of the name *Colosseum* cf. Appendix xxxvi. The restorations mentioned in *CIL*, vi, 1796, c. h. 1-16 were according to Lanciani, *BdI*, 1881, p. 6, effected under Theodosius, Placidus and Valentinian III by the prefect Flavius Paulus. As early as Theoderic's time part of the building was used as a dwelling. Cassiodorus, *Var.*, iv, 42. Cf. vol. ii, p. 32 f. of this work.
- 88, 36. devastated. Marangoni, *Delle memorie sacre e profane dell'anfiteatro Flavio* (1746), p. 46.
- 88, 40. divisions. *Id. ib.*, pp. 49-53.
- 89, 11. Laterano. *Id. ib.*, pp. 53-55. Cf. the mention of the Colosseum in Fazio degli Uberti (*Dittamondo*, written between 1355 and 1367); Jordan, *Topogr. d. St. Rom.*, ii, 391.
- 89, 17. united. Marangoni, p. 55 s.
- 89, 23. mentioned. Gregorovius, *G. d. St. Rom.*, vii, 614 ff.
- 89, 24. Pius. Marangoni, pp. 58-60.
- 89, 28. ashes. *Id.*, p. 47 (Sallengre, *Nov. thes. antiq. Roman.*, i, p. 502).
- 89, 31. Farnese. *Id.*, p. 46.
- 89, 32. workmen's. *Id.*, p. 60 s.
- 89, 34. given. *Id.*, pp. 64 and 72.
- 89, 37. bricked. *Id.*, p. 64.
- 89, 38. grass. *Id.*, p. 73.
- 89, 41. provision. *Id.*, p. 67 ss.
- 90, 3. original. For the latest restorations see Canina, *AdI*, 1852, p. 258 ss.
- 90, 16. Theatre. I refer in general to my essay in Marquardt *StV*, iii², 529 ff., and I only give authorities here for statements and sentences which are lacking there, or occur in a different connexion.
- 90, 19. frequent. Cf. vol. ii, p. 12.
- 90, 19. least. *Ibid.*
- 90, 22. performed. Seneca, *Clem.*, i, 6, 1: cogitate in hac civitate . . . in qua tribus eodem tempore theatris viae postulantur.
- 91, 1. Pentheus. Juv., 6, 71.
- 91, 25. wearied. Choric., 'Πρὸς τῶν ἐν Διονύσου τὸν βίον εἰκονιζόντων, ed. Graux in *Rev. de philol.*, N. S., i (1877), p. 238, c. 14, 7; cf. p. 225, c. 8, 4 (mimes at the *Brumalia* in the emperor's presence); p. 227, c. 8, 22: *φαίνεται τοίνυν αὐτῇ (ἡ βασιλεία) μάλιστα μέμους χρωμένη.*
- 91, 33. famishing. Grysar, *Sitzungsb. d. Wiener Acad.*, xii, p. 251. Tertullian, *Apol.*, 15. A *mimus* Actaeon is alluded to by Varro, *Sat. Menipp.*, 513, Petron. ed. Buecheler², p. 216: Quod si Actaeon occupasset et ipse prius canes suos comedisset et non nugas saltatoribus in theatro fieret.
- 91, 35. disguise. Cf. vol. i, p. 256.
- 91, 37. was. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 57; Juv., 8, 185.
- 92, 1. astonishment. Plutarch, *De sollert. anim.*, c. 19, 9.
- 92, 2. often. Cic., *Rabir.*, c. 12; Prudent., *In Laur. marty.*, p. 144. For 'demagogy' read 'roguery'.
- 92, 6. charms. Juv., 6, 45; 1, 35; 8, 185.

- 92, 8. enriched. Cic., *Phil.*, 2, 27.
- 92, 10. pursuers. Seneca, *Epp.*, 114. Haupt, *Hermes*, vii, 182, reads *militēs fugitivi pro divites*, needlessly in my opinion.
- 92, 11. Abuse. Philo, *Ad Gai.*, p. 598 M.: καταχλευαζόμενοι καὶ κερτομούμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἀντιπάλων ὡς ἐν θεατρικοῖς μύμοις.
- 92, 12. boobies. Cf. the list of actors in the dedication plays, which according to two Roman inscriptions (of 212 and presumably of a somewhat earlier date) were arranged by soldiers of the corps of *vigiles* and of the fleet of Misenum; Mommsen, *Hermes*, v, 303 ff.; *CIL*, vi, 1063.
- 92, 13. expression. Gell., *N. A.*, xvi, 7.
- 92, 14. coarse. Philo, *op. cit.*, p. 552. ἡ ἐπὶ μύμοις ἀσχερῶν καὶ σκωμμάτων μὴ ὑπομειδῶντα σεμνότερον, ἀλλὰ μειρακιωδέστερον καυχάζοντα.
- 92, 16. flute. Grysar, *op. cit.*, p. 264 ff.
- 92, 18. action. Quintilian, iv, 2, 53; Plutarch, *Qu. conv.*, vii, 8, 4. Also the mime mentioned in *De soll. an.*, c. 19, 9, was πλοκήν ἔχων δραματικὴν καὶ πολυπρόσωπος. Troops of mimes contained also *actores quartarium*: *CIL*, vi, 10, 118 [quar]tarum in mimis saltantibus utilis actor). *BdI*, 1885, p. 240.
- 92, 21. end. Cic., *Pro Cael.*, c. 27.
- 92, 35. naked. Grysar, p. 271 ff. The idea that they showed themselves in complete nudity on these occasions cannot be proved by quoting accounts of performances at Byzantium and Antioch in the time of St. John Chrysostom. *Gloss. Labb.*: sum nudus, fero levia γυμνητάω.
- 92, 40. praetors. *Trist.*, ii, 497 sqq.
- 93, 1. verse. Martial, iii, 86.
- 93, 2. emperor. *Id.*, xiii, *praef.*
- 93, 9. immorality. Salvian., *De gubern. Dei*, vi; cf. Cyprian, *De spectaculis*, 6, and vol. i, p. 246 f.
- 93, 12. mimes. Suid., s. καθημαξευμένος: Ἀλιανός· Γύναιον ἐκ Συρίας, καθημαξευμένον ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ προσιόντος. ἐταῖρα γὰρ ἦν ἐμφανὴς καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς μύμοις δι' ἀκολασίας περιπαθεστέρα, τοῖς τε φαινομένοις εἰς τὴν κοινὴν ὄψιν σχήμασιν ἐκκαλουμένη τοὺς ὁρῶντας εἰς τὰ πάθη τοῦ σώματος, καὶ κατατείνουσα τὸν δῆμον καὶ ὅσον μετὰ τοῦ δῆμου πρὸς συνῶδὴ καὶ μαρικὴν ἀσέλγειαν.
- 93, 15. dancers. Grysar, *op. cit.*, p. 310 ff. Cf. pp. 253 and 272. Jerome, *Epp.*, 52, 2 says of the story of Abishag and King David: nonne tibi videtur . . . figmentum esse de mimo vel Atellanarum ludicro?
- 93, 17. naked. Falke, *Deutsche Trachten- und Modenwelt*, i, 278. Louis XI was received on his entry into Paris in 1461 by the most beautiful girls of the city quite naked, with poems. Among the plays which were acted at Lille in 1468 before Charles the Bold was the Judgment of Paris, in which the three goddesses appeared entirely naked in accordance with the myth. Even as late as 1520 Dürer witnessed similar spectacles during his journey in the Netherlands. The municipality of Antwerp, he writes to his friend Melanchthon, presented all kinds of shows in the street at the entry of Charles V, among which were to be seen the most beautiful and well-born girls of the

- city, almost entirely naked, being covered with nothing but dresses of thin gauze. The grave young emperor looked another way, but Dürer confesses that he gazed at them attentively 'because he was a painter'.
- 93, 39. distributed. Choricus, 'Περὶ τῶν ἐν Διονύσου τὸν βλοπτεκονίζοντων', ed. Ch. Graux, in *Rev. de philol.*, N. S., i (1877), p. 262 ss. The passages cited are : 7, 9, p. 224 ; 10, p. 229 ; 13, 6, p. 236 ; 15, 3, p. 239 ; 16, p. 240 s., 19, p. 244 s. It seems to have been the same in the West. Masculus, an *archimimus*, was condemned to death by Gaiseric because he was a Catholic, but was afterwards reprieved. Victor, *Vit. pers. Vandal.*, i, 15, 47.
- 94, 8. Laberius. Macrobi., *Sat.*, ii, 7.
- 94, 9. Atticus. Cic., *Ad. Att.*, xiv, 3 (710 A.U.C.): tu si quid πραγματικῶν habes, rescribes; sin mimus, populi ἐπισημασταν et mimorum dicta perscribito.
- 94, 16. edict. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 43.
- 94, 18. effeminacy. *Id. ib.*, c. 68.
- 94, 20. applause. *Id.*, *Tiber.*, c. 45.
- 94, 27. reasons. Tac., *A.*, iv, 14. On the banishment of the pantomimes see vol. i, p. 247.
- 94, 28. arena. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 27.
- 94, 34. Italy. *Id.*, *Nero*, c. 39.
- 94, 39. times. *Id.*, *Galba*, c. 12 (Cod. Memm: *venitione Simus*; Roth, *venit Onesimus* [earlier editors, *venit io Simus*]; Lachmann, *venit Dorsennus*).
- 95, 3. Tiber. *Id.*, *Vespas.*, c. 19.
- 95, 6. divorce. *Id. Domitian.*, c. 12 (scenico exodio).
- 95, 7. stage. *M. Anton.*, c. 8. Also Galen mentions this Marullus (Grysar, *op. cit.*, p. 301) π. ἀνατ. ἐπιχειρ., vii, c. 12, ed. Kuehn, iii, 631 : ὁ Μαρύλλου τοῦ μιμογράφου καὶς ἰθεραπεύθη καὶ ζῆ νῦν ἐστι.
- 95, 9. Faustina. *M. Antonin.*, c. 29.
- 95, 10. Commodus. *Commod.*, c. 3 : appellatus est a mimis quasi obstupratus eosdemque ita ut non appareret subito deportavit.
- 95, 10. Greek. *Maximini*, ii, c. 9.
- 95, 15. concealment. Choric., *op. cit.*, 14, 3, p. 238.
- 95, 21. confusion. Meyer, *Anthol. Lat.*, ii, p. 89, no. 1, 1173, 17.
- 95, 26. *atellanae*. Petron., c. 53.
- 95, 31. Claudius. Welcker, *Die griechische Tragödie*, iii, pp. 1441 and 1458.
- 95, 33. Empire. *Mimographi* are mentioned by Galen, ed. K., ii, p. 644, *De anatom. administr.*, vii, 16 : τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἐς γελωτοποιῶν τοῖς γράφουσι τοὺς μῖμους τῶν γελοίων ἀφελσθῶ; and by Jerome as still known in his day, *Epp.*, 54, 15 : etiamsi clementissima fueris, omnes comoedi et mimographi et communes rhetorum loci in novercam saevissimam declamabunt. *CIL*, ii, 4092 (Tarraco): Aemilius Severianus mimographus.
- 95, 36. credible. *Martyr. S. Genesii*, 286 A.D. Ruinart, *Acta martyrum*, p. 236. 'Rabbi Abahu complains, that there is no need of wit to make the audience laugh, if only the Jews are jeered at'. Hausrath, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, iii, 76.
- 96, 2. stage. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 11.
- 96, 6. favour. The mention of a freedman of Hadrian, the Athen-

- ian Aristomenes, as ὑποκριτῆς ἀρχαίως κωμῳδίας, in *Athen.*, iii, p. 315, cannot be taken for a proof that old comedies were represented on the stage.
- 96, 8. For 'doddering' read 'blustering and', and for 'mawkish' read 'dissolute'.
- 96, 9. centuries. Cf. Appendix xxxvi.
- 96, 16. hand. Quintilian, i, 11. The 'comoedi fibula' (Juv., *Sat.*, 6, 73; Martial, xiv, 215) shows that a fine voice was necessary for a comedian.
- 96, 17. Geminus. *M. Antonin.*, c. 2.
- 96, 24. Turpio. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 20.
- 96, 28. scene. Quintilian, vi, 2, 35.
- 96, 30. nobility. *Id.*, ii, 10, 13: quod faciunt actores comici, qui neque ita prorsus, ut nos vulgo loquimur, pronuntiant, quod esset sine arte, neque procul tamen a natura recedunt, quo vitio periret imitatio: sed morem communis huius sermonis decore quodam scenico exornant.
- 96, 32. scale. *Id.*, xi, 3.
- 96, 35. fishermen. *Id.*, xi, 3, 112. One may connect the 'fishermen' with such a piece as the *Rudens* of Plautus.
- 97, 9. decrepit. Read 'blustering'.
- 97, 13. other. Quintilian, xi, 3, 178-181.
- 97, 16. maiden. Juv., 3, 93-100.
- 97, 29. swallow. Cf. e.g. *Attore tragico*, *MdI*, vol. xi, *lav.* xiii (Robert, *AdI*, 1880, pp. 206-212).
- 97, 30. laughable. Lucian, *De saltat.*, 27.
- 97, 32. theatre. Philostrat., *Apoll. Tyan.*, v, 195, p. 89, ed. K.
- 98, 2. eye. Horace, *Epp.*, ii, 1, 181 sqq., 187.
- 98, 12. dances. Cf. Appendix xxxvii. On the declamation and gestures of the tragic actors see Ribbeck, *Röm. Tragödie*, p. 667 f.
- 98, 16. composer. My essay in Marquardt, *StV*, iii², 545.
- 98, 30. parts. Cf. the passages cited by Bergk, *Ueber einige Zeichen der Plautin. Hdschr.*, in *Philologus*, xxxi (1871/72), p. 239, 11. Cic., *De Or.*, i, 60; *De Legg.*, i, 4; *Ad Fam.*, ix, 22; *Pro Sestio*, 57.
- 98, 37. applause. Pliny, *Epp.*, ix, 34. 'This strange device occurs even at the end of the sixteenth century, e.g. in the *Ansiparnasso* of Orazio Vecchi (1597), and in Monteverde's *Ballo delle ingrate*, Ambros, *Gesch. der Musik*, i, 520. It is remarkable, in view of Goethe's ideas on musical representation, that he once, if only as a make-shift, ventured on something similar on the Weimar stage (Devrient, *Gesch. d. deutsch. Schauspielkunst*, iii, 247).
- 99, 2. themselves. Cf. Mommsen, *RG*, iii⁵, 612 f. The resolution of tragedy into its elements is on the whole very accurately explained by G. Boissier, *De la signification des mots cantare et saltare et saltare tragoediam*, in *Rev. archéol.*, N. S., 2, pp. 333-343.
- 99, 8. stage. I refer in general to my essay in Marquardt, *StV*, iii², 553 f., and to the treatise of Grysar cited there, *Ueber das canticum und den Chor in der Tragödie*.

- 99, 14. vocalist. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 24, with Casaubon's notes. Grysar, *op. cit.*, p. 56, 1 and Lipsius, *Electa*, i, 24. According to Pseudolucian., *Nero*, c. 9, Nero at the Isthmian games caused an excellent rival tragedian named Epirotes to be killed by his actors: ελαπέμπει Νέρων ἐπ' ὀκρυβάτων (in *cothurni*, as Kayser explains, *i.e.* in costume) τοὺς αὐτοῦ ὑποκριτὰς ὅλον προσηκόντας τι πράγματι. Nero certainly took several actors about with him, but it cannot be concluded with any certainty from this outrage that several actors could appear on the stage together with the singer.
- 99, 15. choir. A Chorus must probably be assumed from Epictet., *Diss.*, iii, 14: ὡς οἱ κακοὶ τραγῳδοὶ μόνοι ἔσται οὐ δύνανται ἀλλὰ μετὰ πολλῶν.
- 99, 17. linked. Grysar's statements on p. 45 are mere conjectures.
- 99, 19. dialogues. The passage of Dio Chrys., *Or.*, xix, 261 may refer to dialogues, but equally well to iambic solos alone.
- 99, 30. free. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 21. Cf. Euripides, *Herc. fur.*, 1035. The parts which Juv., 8, 223, Dio, lxiii, 9 and 22, and Philostrat., *Vit. Apollon.*, v, 6, mention as played by Nero, are probably only arbitrarily chosen examples.
- 99, 34. death. Suetonius, *Nero*, c. 46.
- 99, 39. appear. *Id.*, *Caes.*, c. 39; *Aug.*, c. 43.
- 99, 41. actor. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 15.
- 100, 2. texts. Mommsen, *RG*, iii⁵, 613. Grysar (*Der röm. Mimus*, in *Sitzungsber. d. Wien. acad.*, xii, pp. 327-330) has introduced much erroneous and irrelevant matter into the section on the *scena Graeca*.
- 100, 4. audience. See vol. ii, p. 91, 24-5 and note. Choric., *op. cit.*, c. 14, 7, p. 238: ἵπποδρομίας μὲν οὖν κάρχησιν ὑπεραίρει τὸ πρᾶγμα τῷ μηδὲν στασιῶδες τοῖς δῆμοις ἐμβάλλειν, θαυμαστοποιούς δὲ καὶ τραγῳδίας ὑπόκρισιν μετιόντας καὶ λύρα χρωμένους τῷ μὴ κόρον διδόναι, ἐκείνων γὰρ οὕτως ἐνεπλήσθησαν ἀνθρωποὶ τῶν θεαμάτων, ὡς μόλις δημοσιεύειν.
- 100, 7. mime. *Id. ib.*, c. 17, 2, p. 243: μῦμος γὰρ ἅπας, καὶ ἄγαν εὐφωγος ἢ, τὰ δεύτερα φέρει τραγῳδίας ὑποκριτοῦ, ὅς νῦν μὲν εἰσέρχεται παῖδα φονέα μητρὸς ὑποκρινόμενος, νῦν δὲ μητέρα ξίφος ἐπιφέρουσαν τέκνους ὑπὸ ζήλοτυπίας ἐρωτικῆς. If there was need of φωνασκεῖν and strict diet for mimes (c. 15, 9, p. 240), both were certainly all the more necessary for tragedians.
- 100, 22. Augustus. Sueton., in Jerome, ed. Roth (p. 301, 25).
- 100, 28. god. Henzen, *Tessera di un pantomimo*, *BdI*, 1875, p. 170 ss. J. Schmidt, *BdI*, 1879, p. 170. Buecheler, *Ind. Bonn. aestiv.*, 1877, pp. 11-13. *CIL*, vi, 2, 10, 115.
- 100, 30. disuse. Cf. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 551, and below.
- 100, 38. Lucan. Welcker, *op. cit.*, p. 1469; Jahn, *Proll. ad Pers.*, p. xxxiv; Genthe, *De M. Annaeo Lucano*, p. 64 sq. Cf. Teuffel, *RLG*⁴, 303, 4.
- 100, 41. Paris. Juv., 7, 92.
- 101, 5. men. Plutarch, *Qu. conv.*, ix, 15, 17. Cf. Liban., ed. Reiske, vol. iii, p. 381 sq.
- 101, 6. historical. Dosithe., *Interpr.*, iii, ed. Boecking, p. 65, says in the introduction to the section on mythology: Fabulae

- quoque pantomimorum inde accipiunt laudem et testantur in saltatione, vera esse quae scripta sunt.
- 101, 12. Cleopatra. Lucian., *De saltat.*, 54 and 58.
- 101, 15. Nero. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 54.
- 101, 17. Macrobius. Macrobi., *Satt.*, v, 17, 15: Virgil treated so beautifully the story of Dido, that his description was not only imitated by sculptors, painters and tapestry-weavers, but also 'histrionum perpetuis et gestibus et cantibus celebretur'.
- 101, 18. Gods. Lucian, *De saltat.*, c. 59.
- 101, 29. Myrrha. Lucian, *op. cit.*, 37-61. Grysar, *op. cit.*, 53 f.
- 101, 32. fall. Josephus, *A. J.*, xix, 1, 13.
- 101, 34. audiences. Cf. on later times P. E. Mueller, *De gen. aev. Theodos.*, ii, 104 sqq.
- 102, 7. turmoil. Sueton., in Jerome (ed. Roth, p. 301, 25). Cf. Macrobi., *Saturn.*, ii, 7, 18.
- 102, 8. orchestra. The first two are mentioned several times by Lucian, the last two by Ovid, *Remed.*, 753 sq., where indeed mimes may also be meant. Cf. Grysar, *Rhein. Mus.*, ii, p. 58. (Arnob., *Adv. gent.*, i, 2; Cassiodor., *Var.*, iv, 51.)
- 102, 12. start. Grysar, *op. cit.*, 57 f. Cf. Jahn, *Das Columbar. der Villa Pamfili*, p. 24.
- 102, 17. music. Ovid, *Remed.*, l.c.; Lucian, *Salt.*, 2 (ὕπὸ κρούμασι καὶ τερετίσμασι καὶ πόδων κτύπῳ).
- 102, 23. parts. Lucian names five, *ib.*, 66 (τοσούτων γὰρ μερῶν τὸ δράμα ἦν.). Cf. Grysar, *Rhein. Mus.*, ii, p. 38.
- 102, 26. Aërope. Lucian, 26, 67.
- 102, 26. Agave. *Anthol.*, ed. Jacobs, iv, p. 192; *Epigr. adesp.*, 353 (εἰς Ξενοφῶντος Συμπναίου ὀρχηστοῦ εἰκόνα).
- 102, 27. Cybele. Jerome, *Epp.*, 43: quomodo in theatralibus scenis unus atque idem histrio nunc Herculem robustus ostendit, nunc mollis in Venerem frangitur, nunc tremulus in Cybelen.
- 102, 32. Ganymede. Liban., ed. Reiske, iii, 391, 23.
- 102, 41. error. Lucian, *ib.*, 63.
- 103, 9. Lapithae. Liban., *ib.*, p. 373 sq.
- 103, 12. Priam. Manil., v, 479 sqq.
- 103, 28. ivy. Nonnus, *Dionys.*, xix, 136 ss. R. Köhler, *Ueber die Dionysiaka des Nonnus*, p. 29, 2.
- 103, 33. at once. Cassiodor., *Var.*, iv, 51.
- 103, 41. Hamilton. Goethe, *Werke*, 23, 257 f.
- 104, 2. skill. Fronto, *Epp. ad M. Antonin. Aug. de oratt.*, iv, 8: histriones quom palleolatim saltant, caudam cyni, capillum Veneris, furiae flagellum eodem pallio demonstrant. In Schol. Juv., 6, 653: spectant in theatro p a r a p a l l i u m Alcestin pro marito suo morientem, the corrupt word can hardly be supposed to mean anything of the kind.
- 104, 5. characters. In the only passage from which one might draw the conclusion that secondary actors appeared on the stage, Lucian, *De saltat.*, 83, the sense seems to be that the pantomime acted in such a way as to suggest the action of a second person facing him.
- 104, 11. doubtful. Quintilian, vi, 3, 65: Nam et finitione ausus est Augustus de pantomimis duobus, qui alternis gestibus con-

tendebant, cum eorum alterum saltatorem dixit, alterum interpellatorem.

- 104, 16. leaps. Lucian, *Salt.*, 71.
 104, 18. fast. Seneca, *Controv.*, iii, *praef.* 8: Nomio (edd. nomini meo) cum velocitas pedum non concedatur tantum sed obiciatur, lentiores manus sunt (according to the certain emendation of Buecheler, *Ind. Bonn. aestiv.*, 1877, p. 12).
 104, 21. body. Galen, vi, 155.
 104, 29. hands. Nonn., *Dionys.*, xix, 261-282.
 104, 31. speech. Quintilian, xi, 3, 87.
 104, 36. words. Seneca, *Epp.*, 121, 6.
 104, 36. finger. Quintilian, xi, 3, 91 sqq.
 104, 37. dance. Manu puer loquaci, Petron., ed. Buecheler³, p. 212. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 26: illa foeda et praepostera sed tamen frequens quibusdam exclamatio, ut oratores nostri tenere dicere, histriones diserte saltare dicantur. Among the Greeks Antipat. Thessalon., *Epigr.*, 27, mentions the Bacchus of Pylades *παμφώνοις χερσὶ λοχευόμενος*. Cf. *CIG*, 6305: *ιστορίας δέλτας καὶ χερσὶν πάντα λαλήσας*, and Grysar, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
 104, 41. rhetors. Athen., i, p. 20 D.
 105, 5. bald. Nonnus, *op. cit.*, 196-202.
 105, 8. strings. Quintilian, xi, 3, 88 sq.
 105, 12. contemplation. Macrobi., *Sat.*, ii, 7.
 105, 21. dress. Lucian, *Salt.*, 80.
 105, 26. saw. Macrobi., *loc. cit.*
 105, 27. characters. *CIG*, 6306 = Jacobs, *Anthol.*, iv, 282: *συμπάσων κείνοισιν ὅσων κινεῖτο προσώποις*.
 105, 28. tears. Lucian, *ib.*, 79.
 105, 32. tears. Minuc. Felix, *Octav.*, 37, 12.
 105, 36. mask. Lucian, *Salt.*, 27, 29. Cf. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, 551, 4.
 106, 4. health. Lucian, *Salt.*, 75 sqq.
 106, 6. absent. Cf the passages of Libanius in P. E. Mueller, *De gen. aev. Theodos.*, ii, p. 104 and Claudian in Eutrop., ii, 403-5.
 106, 8. Paris. Galen, *De compos. medicament. sec. locos*, ed. Kuehn, xii, p. 454.
 106, 11. food. Liban., *Pro saltat.*, *op. cit.*, p. 388 sq.
 106, 15. sex. Columella, *De r. r.*, i, *praef.* 15. Lactant., *Inst. div.*, vi, 20, 32.
 106, 19. inartistic. Apul., *Apol.*, c. 74.
 106, 22. Leda. Juv., 6, 63-66 (Thymele tunc rustica discit).
 106, 34. Pliny. Pliny, *Epp.*, vii, 24; *CIL*, x, 1946 = *IRN*, 2911 (Puteoli): C. Ummidius Actius Anicetus pantomimus (*CIL*, iv, 2155: Actiani: Anicetiani; 2150: Actio Anicet(e) vale).
 106, 37. Juvenal. Juv., *l. c.*
 106, 41. pantomimes. Julian, *Fragm. epp.*, p. 304 B.C.
 107, 2. monarchy. Zosim., *Hist.*, i, 6.
 107, 7. weary. Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, i, 32.
 107, 9. artists. Athen., i, p. 20 F, and Plutarch, *Qu. conviv.*, vii, 8, c. 3, are derived from the same source, a treatise of Aristonicus. Plutarch's words are: ἀποπέμπω δὲ τῆς ὀρχήσεως τὴν Πυλάδειον, ὀγκώδη καὶ παθητικὴν καὶ πολυπρόσωπον (this word should

also be read in Athen. instead of the meaningless πολυκοπον)
οδσαν . . . δέχομαι την Βαθύλλειον αὐτόθεν πέζαν τοῦ Κόρδακος
ἀπτομένην, Ἐχούς ἢ τινος Πανός ἢ Σατύρου σὺν Ἑρωτὶ κωμάζοντος
ὑπὸρχημὰ τι διατιθεμένην.

107, 10. art. Athen., *l. c.*

107, 15. Tragedy. Bursian in the *Litterar. Centralblatt*, 1869, no. 17, p. 490 f.

107, 18. dance. Seneca, *Controv. epit.*, iii, *praef.*: Pylades in comoedia, Bathyllus in tragoedia multum a se aberant.

107, 20. poet. Antipater Thessalon., *Epigr.*, 27. *Anthol. Gr.*, ed. Jacobs, ii, p. 102.

107, 21. writer. Boeth., *ib.*, p. 114.

107, 24. hero. Macrobi., ii, 7.

107, 27. Pylades. *IRN*, 2378 = *CIL*, x, 1074.

107, 29. schools. Seneca, *Qu. n.*, vii, 32: stat per successores Pyladis et Bathylli domus.

107, 31. time. Cf. Appendix xxxviii.

107, 32. Plutarch. Plutarch, *l. c.*

107, 40. accompanists. Cf. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 553, 4 and 5, and Petron., c. 53 (odaria saltare). Of the inscriptions with 'cantavit saltavit et placuit' Orelli, 2605 is spurious, but 2607 = *CIL*, xii, 188 is certainly genuine. The latter (d. m. puer, Septentrionis [the name also occurs in Orelli, 2527 = *CIL*, xiv, 2977] annor. xii qui Antipoli in theatro biduo saltavit et placuit) has occasioned the following amusing comment by Wallon in his (generally very valuable) *Hist. de l'esclavage*, ii, 129: On connaît l'inscription de ce jeune enfant du Nord, 'qui parût âgé de douze ans sur le théâtre d'Antibes, dansa deux jours et sût plaire' . . . Quel sort fatal le ravit si tôt et si loin de sa patrie, sous un ciel qui le conviait à vivre par tous les charmes d'un climat plus doux?

108, 6. danced. Ovid, *Trist.*, ii, 519; v, 7, 25; Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 54; Tac., *Dial.*, c. 26.

108, 6. *embolium*. Cic., *Pro Sest.*, 54, 116, cf. Schol. in *Mai. Auct. class.*, ii, 148.

108, 7. women. A bone stamp with the inscription: Sophe Theorobathylliana arbitrix imboliarum. *BdI*, 1873, p. 67 ss. = *CIL*, vi, 2, 10,128 (a pupil of Theoros and Bathyllus; cf. note on p. 100, 28. An *embolaria* Pliny, *N. H.*, vii, 158, Orelli, 2613 = *CIL*, vi, 2, 10,127.

108, 10. Sparta. Athen., xiv, 631 A.

108, 14. houses. Cf. on the whole subject my essay in Marquardt, *op. cit.*, 553, 1 and Appendix xxxix.

108, 15. *civitas*. Dio, *l. c.*; Sueton., *Nero*, c. 12.

108, 16. slaves. Orelli, 2639 = *CIL*, vi, 2, 10,141: Dis man. Naidi, Caesaris vernae ex numero pyrrhiche.

108, 21. cloaks. *Digg.*, xlviii, 19, 8, 11; Plutarch, *De sera num. vind.*, c. 9; Fronto, *Ad M. Caes.*, i, 2, 4; Lucian, *Piscator*, 36.

108, 23. squares. Apulei., *Met.*, x, 29, p. 734.

108, 25. sexes. *Anthol. lat.*, ed. Meyer, 959. De pyrrhicha:—

In spatio Veneris simulantur proelia Martis
cum sese adversum sexus uterque venit etc.

- 108, 25. Bacchic. Athen., xiv, 631 A.
 108, 27. shepherds. Lucian, *De saltat.*, l. c.
 108, 33. blood. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 12. Juv., 4, 122 (et pagma et pueros inde ad velaria raptos) probably also refers to a Pyrrhic. Cf. vol. ii, p. 74.
 108, 37. Pyrrhic. Apulei., *Met.*, x, p. 232-236.
 109, 28. knights. Philostrate., *Vitt. soph.*, ii, 10, ed. p. 256: ὁπότε οὖν σπουδαῖοιεν περὶ τὰς ἐγκυκλίουθ θεὰς ὀρχηστῶν δὲ αὐταὶ τὸ ἐπίπαν κ.τ.λ.
 109, 29. pantomimes. E.g. Pliny, *Paneg.*, 46.
 109, 32. despised. Liban., *op. cit.*, p. 350 reproaches his adversary with confusing the two kinds: ἀλλ' οἶμαι τὸ τοῦ βελτιόνοιο σχήματος ἡλπισε χεῖρον ἀποφαλεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν μετιόντων ὁ χεῖρον εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ τὴν τῶν μῦμων δόξαν ἔλξειν ἐπὶ τὴν ὀρχησιν.
 109, 37. disease. Seneca, *Controu.* *epit.*, iii, *præf.*
 109, 38. Rome. Tac., *Dial.*, 39.
 109, 38. women. Cf. vol. i, p. 247.
 110, 1. sexes. Cf. vol. i, p. 59. J. Schmidt, *Add. ad CIL viii, Eph. ep.*, v, 315 no. 443 (Carthage): Thyas saltatrix Metiliae Rufinae vixit annis xiii. Thalamus sponsae suae. The dancers were perhaps *embolariae* (vol. ii, p. 108, 6, 7 and n.).
 110, 3. dowry. Seneca, *Cons. ad Helv.*, 12; Luxorius, (*Anthol. Lat.*, ed. Riese, 310): in pantomimam pygmaeam, quae Andromachae fabulam frequenter saltabat et raptum Helenae.
 110, 4. decreed. Tac., *A.*, i, 77.
 110, 5. letter. Sueton., *Domitian*, c. 7; cf. Pliny, *Epp.*, vii, 24.
 110, 17. garment. Cic., *In Pison.*, 10, 22; cf. 8, 18; *Pro Planc.*, 35, 87; *P. red. in senatu*, 6, 13; *P. domo*, 23, 60; *Catilin.*, ii, 10, 23 (of the partisans of Catiline): nudi in conviviis saltare didicerunt. Macrobi., *Satt.*, iii, 14, 15.
 110, 18. statesman. Dio, xxxvii, 49.
 110, 20. Ovid. Ovid, *A. a.*, i, 595. Omit 'with her'.
 110, 24. dancer. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 9, 23.
 110, 24. Manilius. Manil., iv, 525 sqq.
 110, 28. youth. Seneca, *Controu.*, i, *prooem.*
 110, 28. Caligula's. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 55.
 110, 29. teachers. Colum., *R. r.*, *præf.*, i.
 110, 32. citizen. Pliny, *N. H.*, vii, 159: Stephanionem qui primus togatus saltare instituit. (Cf. Marquardt, *Præf.*, i², 119 n.) Presumably the same whom Suetonius, *Aug.*, c. 45, calls *logatarius*.
 110, 35. women. Seneca, *Qu. nat.*, vii, 32; *Epp.*, 90, 19: itaque hinc textorum, hinc fabrorum officinae sunt, hinc odores coquentium, hinc molles corporis motus docentium mollesque cantus et infractos.
 110, 37. passion. Martial, ii, 7 (et belle cantas et saltas, Attice, belle). Cf. also Apuleius, *Apol.*, c. 74, quoted vol. ii, p. 106.
 110, 38. house. Lucian, *De merc. conduct.*, 27.
 110, 40. indecorous. Sueton., *Domit.*, c. 8; Dio, lxxvii, 13. Cf. vol. ii, p. 17 ff.
 110, 40. emperors. *Hist. Aug. Commodi*, c. 1; *Elagabal.*, c. 32; *Herodian*, v, 3, 10.

- III, 6. calumniator. *Edict. praet., Digg.*, iii, 2, 1. Cf. Cic., *De rep.*, iv, 10; Cornel. Nep., *prooem*, 4.
- III, 6. Diocletian. *Cod.*, ii, 12, 21.
- III, 9. provinces. Dirksen, *Obs. ad tab. Heracl.* (viii, l. 34), part ii, p. 71.
- III, 11. marriage. (Through the *lex Julia*) *Digg.*, xxiii, 2, 42 and 44.
- III, 13. freedman. *Ib.*, xlviii, 5, 24 (Macer, libro i Publicorum).
- III, 15. slavery. *Ib.*, xlviii, 19, 14 (Macer, libro ii de re militari) :—si miles artem ludicram fecerit, vel in servitutem se venire passus est, capite puniendum, Menander scribit.
- III, 18. theatre. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 45.
- III, 18. remained. Tac., i, 77, where the passage 'divus Augustus immunes verberum histriones quondam responderat' is perhaps taken from the acts of the Senate. Suetonius gives a more precise and certainly more correct account of the matter. The proposal made then (in the year 15) 'ut praetoribus jus virgarum in histriones esset' appears to have aimed at the restoration of the law as it was before Augustus. Cf. my remarks in Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 540, 7. Kotzebue, *Erinnerungen an eine Reise nach Rom und Neapel* (1805), quotes from an edict respecting the theatres which at that time was published annually in Rome, and enjoined (although it remained a dead letter) that singers and dancers should in certain cases receive corporal punishment.
- III, 25. Pylades. Sueton., *l. c.*
- III, 27. infamous. Actors and sons of actresses appear comparatively often in the *tribus Esquilina* (of which perhaps not more than eight stones are known). Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 1, 443, 10.
- III, 40. ruin. Gell., xx, 4.
- III, 1. troops. Cf. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 539.
- III, 1. tragedy. Cf. Lüders, *Dionysische Künstler*, 116 ff., Anhang 112; *Digg.*, xl, 5, 12 (cum Firmus Titiano tragoedos tres legasset).
- III, 3. needed. Martial, vi, 6.
- III, 3. Martial. *Id.*, xiv, 214.
- III, 8. sale. Gai., *Inst.*, iii, 212; *Digg.*, xxi, 1, 34 (quum ejusdem generis plures res simul veneant veluti comoedi vel chorus). In Russia actors, and singers of both sexes, were very often serfs: Ségur, *Mémoires et souvenirs*, iii, 233. Haxthausen (*Studien*, i, 310) heard an opera in Nizhny-Novgorod in which all the singers were serfs.
- III, 9. table. Cf. vol. i, p. 218.
- III, 13. acting. Pliny, *Epp.*, vii, 24.
- III, 14. interceded. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 47; Dio, lvii, 11; Schol. Pers., 5, 9: Glyco tragoedus populo mire placuit et ideo a Nerone manumissus est, datis Vergilio tragoedo, domino ejus, pro parte dimidia quam possidebat HS iii.
- III, 16. hire. Julian, lib. xlv; *Digg.*, xxxviii, 1, 25.
- III, 17. friends. *Id.*, lib. i ex Minicio; *ib.*, 1, 27.
- III, 21. ring. Macrobi., *Saturn.*, iii, 14, 13.

- 112, 23. Gades. Cic., *Ad Fam.*, x, 32, 2.
 112, 31. happened. Seneca, *Epp.*, 80, 7: ille qui in scena latus incendit et haec resupinus dicit . . . servus est, quinque modios accipit et quinque denarios . . . Ille . . . diurnum accipit, in centunculo dormit. Cf. Lucian, *Apolog.*, 5; *Piscator*, 33. *Id.*, *Icaromenipp.*, 29: γελοῖον ἀνθρώπιον ἐπὶ δραχμῶν ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα μεμισθωμένον,
 112, 35. outcry. Cic., *De orat.*, iii, 51, 196; *Orat.*, 51, 173: *Parad.*, 3, 26.
 112, 40. born. Plutarch, *De tranquill. anim.*, c. 13.
 113, 1. offices. *Mitth. d. Archäol. Instit.*, 1888, p. 79 (Puteoli): L. Aurelio Aug(g.) lib. Pyladi, pantomimo temporis sui primo, hieronicae coronato iiii, patrono parasitorum Apollinis, sacerdoti synodi, honorato Puteolis d. d. ornamentis decurionalib. et duumviralib., auguri etc. The *parasiti Apollinis* known up to the present time (Marquardt, *StV*, iii², 538, 5) have been collected by Mommsen in the above work, p. 81. His derivation of the title from the *parasiti* of the mime appears to me impossible. The *archiereus synodi* and *sacerdos Apollinis (vittatus)*, *CIL*, vi, 10, 117, xiv, 4264) stood above them in rank. With Henzen, *BdI*, 1885, p. 240: L. Faenius Faustus quartar. par. Apol. cf. *CIL*, vi, 10, 118: quar]tarum in mimis saltantibus utilis actor.
 113, 3. synods. Cf. vol. i, p. 318.
 113, 4. statues. *CIL*, xiv, 2977. Henzen, 6185 = *CIL*, iii, 1, 375: Colonia (Parium) P. Publilium Ingenuum comoedum ob insignem artis prudentiam et morum probitatem. Cf. vol. ii, 23, 11-12 and note. *Bull. com. d. R.*, 1886, p. 89, 1121 . . . Primi (?) statuam | M. Iulio Honorato archim(imo).
 113, 8. Tarentum. Cic., *Pro Arch. poet.*, 5, 10.
 113, 12. time. Orelli, 2629 = *CIL*, v, 2, 5889. Cf. note on p. 113, 1, above.
 113, 17. inhabitants. Inscription of L. Acilius Eutyches, Orelli, 2625 = *CIL*, xiv, 2408.
 113, 19. limitation. Tac., *A.*, i, 77.
 113, 23. gifts. *M. Antonin.*, c. 11. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, 542, 1.
 113, 26. ox-gall. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiv, 94.
 113, 29. Apollinaris. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 19; cf. also *Elagab.*, c. 22.
 113, 33. sum. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 20; Plutarch, *Galba.*, c. 16, 2; Sueton., *Galba*, c. 15. For 'most' read 'much'.
 113, 36. Rome. Dio, lv, 10: ἐποίησε μὲν οὖν καὶ Πυλάδης ὁ ὀρχηστὴς πατήρην τινα, οὐκ αὐτὸς χειρουργήσας ἀτε ὑπεργήρως ὢν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τε σκευῇ ὀρχικῇ καὶ τοῖς ἀναλώμασιν.
 113, 37. Puteoli. *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst.*, 1888, p. 79 (see above, note on p. 113, 1) . . . ob . . . eximiaꝝ liberalitatem in edendo muner(e) gladiatorum, venatione passiva (i.e. promiscua).
 114, 1. Paris. Pliny, *N. h.*, vii, 128.
 114, 3. wealth. Meyer, *Anthol. Lat.*, ii, p. 89, no. 1173 (cf. vol. ii of the present work, p. 95), l. 3:—

hic ego praevalui tota notissimus urbe,
 hinc mihi larga domus, hinc mihi census erat,

- 114, 6. slaves. Choric., *Apol. mimor.*, 2, 3, *l. c.*, p. 214.
 114, 10. empresses. Cf. vol. i, p. 59 f.
 114, 16. 48 A.D. Cf. the passages quoted in the notes on the same passage, and on vol. i, p. 246 f.
 114, 19. accusers. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 19-22.
 114, 23. case. *Digg.*, xii, 4, 3, § 5; Tac., *ib.*, c. 27.
 114, 26. teacher. Dio, lxiii, 18; Sueton., *Nero*, c. 54.
 114, 26. Latinus. Cf. vol. i, p. 60.
 114, 28. convention. Cf. Appendix xxxix.
 114, 31. pantomime. Cf. vol. i, p. 247.
 114, 37. promoted. Cf. Appendix lviii.
 114, 38. spectacles. Fronto, *Principp. hist.*, 5, 13, ed. Niebuhr, p. 249.
 114, 38. Pylades. Dio, lxxviii, 10.
 114, 38. Pius. Antonin. Pius, c. 11.
 115, 3. Pylades. On the first see *L. Ver.*, c. 8; on the third Fronto, *Epp. ad L. Ver.*, 12; cf. Appendix xxxix.
 115, 4. pantomimes. *M. Antonin.*, c. 23.
 115, 12. legions. Dio, lxxvii, 21. But Dio's statement that P. Valerius Comazon, whom Elagabalus made an urban prefect, was a *histrion* is false. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 233 f.
 115, 9. escort. Tac., *A.*, i, 77.
 115, 10. accompany them. Seneca, *Qu. n.*, vii, 32, 3.
 115, 11. grooms. *Id.*, *Epp.*, 47, 17.
 115, 12. persons. Pliny, *N. h.*, vii, 184 (in *venere obiere*) et quos nostra adnotavit aetas duo equestris ordinis in eodem pantomimo Mystico tum forma praecellente. 'Nostra aetas' is the time of Nero, whose freedman Mysticus probably was. *Bull. com. d. R.*, 1886, p. 161, 1203: Claud(iae) Ep . . nis Mustici pantomimi lib. vix. an. vi.
 115, 13. crowd. Pliny, *N. h.*, xix, 9.
 115, 15. charioteers. Galen, *Method. med.*, i (ed. Kuehn, vol. x, p. 3).
 115, 17. fragrances. Dio, lxxvii, 3.
 115, 22. Paris. Martial, xi, 13.
 115, 24. favours. Cf. vol. i, p. 246 f.
 115, 33. clappers. Marquardt, *StV*, iii, 520 f. Cf. also Petron., *Sat.*, c. 5.
 115, 36. *claque*. Tac., *A.*, i, 16.
 115, 39. parties. Fest., p. 86 M.
 116, 9. themselves. Epictet., *Diss.*, iii, 4.
 116, 11. disorder. Henzen-Orelli, *Ind.*, p. 173. Wilmanns, *Exempla*, ii, 634.
 116, 18. executed. *Digg.*, xlviii, 19, 28, 3.
 116, 27. Maecenas. Dio, liv, 17; Tac., *A.*, i, 54.
 116, 31. accustomed. Tac., *ib.*
 116, 32. Drusus. Dio, lvii, 14.
 116, 38. place. Tac., *A.*, i, 77.
 116, 39. 22. Dio, lvii, 21.
 116, 39. 23. Tac., *A.*, iv, 14.
 116, 41. crimes. Cf. vol. i, p. 247.
 117, 1. recall. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 37.

- 117, 1. Caligula. Dio, lix, 2.
 117, 6. theatre. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 24.
 117, 11. head. *Id. ib.*, xiii, 24 sq.; Sueton., *Nero*, c. 26; Dio, lxi, 8.
 117, 15. Senate. Tac., *ib.* and c. 28; Sueton., *Nero*, c. 16 sq.
 117, 16. allowed. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 21.
 117, 18. day. Sueton., *Titus*, c. 7.
 117, 19. pantomimes. *Id.*, *Domitian*, c. 7.
 117, 21. forbade it. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 46: neque enim a te minore concentu ut tolleress pantomimos quam a patre tuo ut restitueret exactum est.
 117, 22. triumph. Dio, lxxviii, 10.
 117, 24. service. *Hadrian.*, c. 19: histriones aulicos publicavit. So *Alexand. Sever.*, c. 34: pantomimos populo donavit.
 117, 33. Rome. Aemilius Paullus gave Greek spectacles at Amp i-polis in 169, ad quae rudes tum Romani erant. Livy, xlv, 22.
 117, 36. contests. On musical contests cf. vol. ii, p. 351 ff.
 117, 39. Greece. Livy, xxxix, 22.
 118, 1. contests. Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i, 99 (Ol. 175).
 118, 3. Valerius. Valer. Maxim., ii, 4, 7.
 118, 5. Curio. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvi, 120.
 118, 6. theatre. Dio, xxxix, 38; Plutarch, *Pomp.*, c. 52.
 118, 10. vain. Cic., *Ad Fam.*, vii, 1, 3.
 118, 12. Martius. Plutarch, *Caes.*, c. 39.
 118, 13. exhibitions. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 45.
 118, 16. nephew's. Mommsen, *RGDA*², c. 22 (p. 90); Suet., c. 43; Dio, liii, 1.
 118, 21. years. Strabo, vii, 325 C.; Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 18; Di, li, 1. Cf. Franz, *CIG*, iii, p. 730 and the article *Actium* by Bursian in the *StRE*, i², 146.
 118, 23. Nicopolis. Stat., *Silv.*, ii, 2, 6.
 118, 23. Augustus. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 98.
 118, 25. Greece. Franz, *CIG*, iii, p. 730 a. Cf. 4472, 10: *Ἀγούστου ἐν Νικοπόλει τῆς περιόδου*.
 118, 27. Olympiads. Joseph., *B. J.*, i, 20, 4.
 118, 28. Julian. *Panegg.*, x, c. 9, 1.
 118, 32. Delphi. Cf. Appendix xli.
 118, 33. Herod. Joseph., *A. J.*, xvi, 5, 1; cf. *B. J.*, i, 21, 8.
 118, 35. games. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 59; Mommsen, *RGDA*², p. 42, 1. Caligula's prohibition (Sueton., *Cal.*, c. 23: Actiaes Siculasque victorias . . . vetuit sollempnibus feriis celebrari, cannot have remained in force after his death. On Poppaea's delivery in 63 a 'certamen ad exemplar Actiacae religionis' was ordered in Rome, Tac., *A.*, xv, 23. Among the victories of T. Flavius Archibius, *CIG*, 5804 is in l. 24: τὸν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ λερόν πενταετηρικὸν ἀγῶνα Ἀκτιακῶν παίδων (89 A.D.) and in l. 27: καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ λερόν πενταετηρικὸν ἀγῶνα Ἀκ[τιακῶν παίδων] (90 A.D.). Cf. p. 732. But here we must probably understand with Mic, *Quaest. agonist.* (Rostochii, 1885), p. 54, the *Olympia* celebrated in Alexandria (*CIG*, 5913), and by Ἀκτιακοὶ παῖδες, those whose age was fixed by the rules of the *Actia* at Nicopolis. The *Olympia* are also referred to in Gruter, 499, 6 = *CIL*, ii,

- 4136 (Tarracone) : cohorti I Breucor. trib. mil. proc. divi Titi Alexandriæ agnothetæ certaminis penetaeterici bis. On the other hand *CIA*, iii, 129 (third cent.): "Ἀκτῖα ἐν Τύρῳ and *CIL*, xiv, 474 : Actia aput Bostram.
- 118, 38. victory. Dio, li, 19.
- 118, 39. Agrippa. *Id.*, liii, 2 ; cf. Mommsen, *RGDA*², p. 41 sq.
- 118, 41. Actium. Augustus himself calls them *θεαὶ ἐκ τῶν εὐχῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας* ; a coin of the year 738 shows a sacrificing priest with the inscription : pro valetudine Caesaris s. p. q. R. On the obverse is a sacrificing Apollo with : Apollini Actio. Mommsen has rightly concluded from this that the 'ludi pro salute divi Augusti votivi' (762) in Pliny, *N. h.*, vii, 158 belong to this period.
- 119, 2. alternately. Dio, liii, 1 ; liv, 19, cf. Mommsen, *op. cit.*
- 119, 3. 9 A.D. Pliny, *N. h.*, vii, 158.
- 119, 8. Agrippa. Dio, liii, 1.
- 119, 12. hour. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 44 ; cf. Mommsen, *op. cit.* (730, 746 or 762).
- 119, 15. officials. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 21 : nec perinde magistratus rem familiarem exhausturos aut populo efflagitandi Graeca certamina a magistratibus causam fore, quum eo sumptu respublica fungatur.
- 119, 17. Caligula. Dio, lix, 9.
- 119, 19. birthday. *Id.*, lix, 13.
- 119, 19. Claudius. *Id.*, lx, 23.
- 119, 26. exchequer. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 20 ; Dio, lxi, 21 ; Sueton., *Nero*, c. 12 ; Eckhel, *D. N.*, v, 264. The reverse of a coin, struck in this year with the inscription CER. QVINQ. ROM. CON. S.C. shows a table on which are an urn and a wreath, and below it a *discus* and griffins holding a shield. *CIL*, iv, 1745 : Roma va(le) ; Neroneis Augusta(libus feliciter ?).
- 119, 28. Apollo. This is what Suetonius means, *loc. cit.* : instituit quinquennale certamen primus omnium Romae more Graeco triplex, he does not, as Nipperdey thinks, allude to the periodical return of the games, nor, as Marquardt, *Priv.*, i³, 117, 4, supposes, to the institution of contests for amateurs, for this was already the case with the chariot-races in the periodic games under Augustus.
- 119, 32. wreathed. Cf. Tac., *A.*, xvi, 4 ; Sueton., *Nero*, c. 21 ; *Vit. Luciani* and Haackh in the *StRE*, v, 584.
- 119, 37. oil. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 12 ; Dio, lxi, 21 ; Tac., *A.*, xiv, 47.
- 119, 41. arms. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 20.
- 120, 1. Sura. Schol. Juv., 4, 53 (apparently from Marius Maximus), see Valla. Cf. on Sura Appendix xi.
- 120, 5. dress. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 21 : Graeci amictus quis per eos dies plerique incesserant, tum exoleverant. Nipperdey explains 'exoleverant' as 'were no longer a novelty and no longer caused a sensation'.
- 120, 6. 65. Tac., *A.*, xvi, 4. Euseb., *Chron.* The continuance of the *Neronea* at a later period is not proved either by contorniates (Eckhel, *D. N.*, viii, p. 312, or by the cameo with the inscription : Νέρων Ἀθροῦσσε (Nero in a *quadriga* with sceptre

and *mappa*—Caylus, *Rec.*, i, tab. 86, 2) or again by the inscriptions, Gruter, 116, 3 and 499, 6, cited by Genthe, *De Lucani vita et scriptis*, p. 52 sq. (cf. note on p. 118, 35).

- 120, 10. Neronea. Aurel. Vict., *Caes.*, c. 27.
- 120, 11. Minerva. *Catal. imp.*: agonem Minervae instituit. Perhaps this is the ἀγὼν Ἀθηνᾶς προμάχου. *CIG*, 1068 (certainly after Hadrian) mentions among other victories in the *agones* also Ἀθηνᾶς Προμάχου ἐν Πώμῃ δ. (Four victories in twelve years, *CIG*, 5804.) *CIA*, iii, 129 (Anhang 19): inscription of a herald—Ἀθηνᾶς Προμάχου ἐν Πώμῃ γ (between 253 and 257).
- 120, 12. Agon. Morcelli, *Sull'agone Capitolino pubblicato da Labus*, ed. 2, Milano, 1816.
- 120, 13. Olympian. Franz, *CIG*, iii, p. 729. Cf. vol. ii, 2810 C. Add.: Πώμῃ Καπετώλεια Ὀλύμπια.
- 120, 15. summer. Morcelli, p. 12. The murders of Maximus and Balbinus took place during the Capitoline games in the year 238 (Herodian, viii, 8, 3). Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, p. 252, has collected the different reckonings of the month in which the event occurred, he himself decides for the middle of June; Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, iii, 1, 405, 1, for the 10th of July; Seeck, *Rhein. Mus.*, xli (1886), p. 168, for the 23rd of July. For the length of the period see Censorinus, *De die natali* (written before 238), c. 18, 11; Scaliger, *De emend. temp.*, 243; Eckhel, *D. N.*, iv, 437.
- 120, 18. ceased. Sueton., *Domitian*, c. 4. On the separate contests cf. Appendix xlii.
- 120, 21. wreath. Stat., *Silv.*, v, 3, 231: mixta quercus . . . oliva (the latter the crown in the *agon Albanus*). Martial, iv, 1, 6; 54, 1; ix, 23, 5; Juv., 6, 387: Capitolinam . . . quercum. Cf. Nohl, *Quaest. Statian.*, pp. 26, 30.
- 120, 22. hand. Martial, iv, 1, 6: perque manus tantas plurima quercus eat.
- 120, 22. pronouncement. *IRN*, 5252 = *CIL*, ix, 2860 (inscription of Histonium): CORONATVS EST INTER POETAS LATINOS OMNIBVS SENTENTIS IVDICVM.
- 120, 26. Senator. Burckhardt, *Die Cultur der Renaissance*, p. 202 ff. Cf. vol. iii, p. 46.
- 120, 35. century. Preller, *Die Regionen Roms*, p. 169.
- 121, 3. men. *CIG*, 5804.
- 121, 7. before. Dio, lxxix, 10.
- 121, 11. form. Preller, *op. cit.*, p. 169 f.
- 121, 18. wreaths. Sueton., *Domitian.*, c. 4.
- 121, 22. poet. Herodian, i, 9, 2.
- 121, 23. antiquity. Cf. Appendix xliii.
- 121, 25. emperors. *Bull. com. d. R.*, 1887, p. 186, 1922 (gymnico agone saepius coronatus).
- 121, 25. Hadrian. *CIG*, 3208, mentions the victory of a *citharoedus* in the Ἀδριάνια Πώμῃ β, and *ib.*, 246 the victory of a pugilist in the Ἀδριάνεια Πώμῃ.
- 121, 28. Severus. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 35.
- 121, 28. Gordian. *Catal. imp.*, *CIG*, 1068.
- 121, 30. Aurelian. *Catal. imp.*, p. 648, ed. Mommsen: (Aurelia-

- nus) agonem Solis instituit. Euseb., *Chron.*: primus agon Solis ab Aureliano constitutus. Julian, *Or.*, iv, 155 B.: ἀγὼν ἐν ἡλίῳ τετραετηρικοῦς ἀγῶνας.
- 121, 34. all. *CIG*, 5923.
- 121, 35. Arab. Euseb., *Chron.*: agon mille annorum actus.
- 121, 39. fame. Cyprian, *Epp.*, 58, 8.
- 121, 41. agon. Philogelos, ed. Eberhard, 62. The inscription *CIL*, vi, 488: Praesentiae matris deum P. Septimius Felix ob coronam millesimi urbis anni, which Mommsen refers to the theatral games of the millennial Secular Festival, may equally well refer to the gymnastic *agon* on the same occasion. From the inscription of a herald (*CIA*, iii, 129; cf. Anhang 19) who also won τὸν χειμαρῆ ἐν Ῥώμῃ, it must be assumed that all the contests usual in Greek *agones* took place then.
- 122, 6. Empire. Herodian, iii, 8, 9.
- 122, 7. medals. Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, iii, p. 274.
- 122, 8. Circus. *Ibid.*, iv, p. 148, no. 189.
- 122, 9. Barcelona. Huebner, *AdI*, 1864, p. 158.
- 122, 10. Carinus. *Carinus*, c. 18.
- 122, 14. gladiators. Claudian, *De cons. Fl. M.Th.*, 287. Cf. on this time Orelli, 2588; *CIG*, 5924; Cassiodor., *Var. epp.*, v, 42.
- 122, 18. men. Firm. Matern., vii, 22: Gladiatorium vel athletarum geniturae. Palaestritae, palaestritis praepositi: iii, 8, 4, 5; iii, 13, 5-10; v, 15 in f.; aut athletis hominibus (hominis?) potentis alicujus erunt honore praepositi.
- 122, 23. Rome. Marquardt, iii^a, 525.
- 122, 23. Etruria. Livy, i, 35: pugiles . . . ex Etruria acciti.
- 122, 24. Latium. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 45 (pugiles Latini).
- 122, 24. Africa. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 18 (Afri Campanique pugiles).
- 122, 26. boxers. *IRN*, 2378 = *CIL*, x, 1074: pugiles catervarios et pyctas.
- 122, 29. matches. Terence, *Hecyr.*, *prol.*, 25.
- 122, 32. taste. Horace, *Epp.*, ii, 1, 185.
- 122, 36. Ennius. Cic., *Tusc.*, iv, 33, 70.
- 122, 41. Greece. Cf. Marquardt, *Pril.*^a, 117 f. and especially Plutarch, *Qu. R.*, 40.
- 123, 2. Varro. Varro, *R. r.*, ii, 1, 1.
- 123, 7. income. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxix, 4.
- 123, 8. Blaesus. Junius Blaesus cons. suff. 10 A.D. Cf. vol. ii, p. 47, and Nipperdey on Tac., *A.*, iii, 35.
- 123, 10. Isidorus. Aelian, ed. Hercher, ii, 240.
- 123, 12. Celsus. Celsus, *De re med.*, i, 1 and 2.
- 123, 15. Trimalchio. Petron., c. 28.
- 123, 21. Naples. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 40.
- 123, 22. athletes. *Id.*, *Galba*, c. 15. Plutarch, *Galba*, c. 16, 2. Cf. vol. ii, p. 113.
- 123, 23. sand. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxv, 168.
- 123, 25. people. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 45.
- 123, 28. body. See especially Seneca, *Epp.*, 15.
- 123, 29. young. This follows from Seneca's polemic, *Epp.*, 88, 18: aequae luctatores et totam oleo ac luto constantem scientiam

- expello ex his studiis liberalibus . . . an liberale studium istuc juventuti nostrae credimus . . . ?
- 123, 35. amours. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 20.
- 123, 36. Greeks. Pliny, *N. h.*, xv, 19 : usum ejus (olei) ad luxuriam vertere Graeci vitiorum omnium genitores in gymnasiis publicando.
- 123, 38. immoral. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxix, 26 : illa perdidere imperi mores, quae sani patimur, luctatus, ceromata ceu valetudinis causa instituta, balineae ardentes etc.
- 123, 39. soul. *Id. ib.*, xxxv, 168 : ceromatis quibus exercendo juvenus nostra corporis viris perdit animorum.
- 124, 2. war. Lucan, *Pharsal.*, vii, 270.
- 124, 7. rubber. Martial, vii, 32.
- 124, 9. vineyard. *Id.*, xiv, 49 : Halteres.
- 124, 13. gymnast. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 13.
- 124, 15. interest. Plutarch, *Cato major*, c. 20.
- 124, 29. extend. Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 22.
- 124, 3. Gaius. Phot. *Cod.*, 79, p. 146 H., p. 43 Bekk. Krause, *Gymnastik*, p. 803.
- 124, 40. Regulus. Plutarch, *De sanitate praec.*, c. 5, p. 124.
- 124, 40. Liber. Martial, ix, 72, cf. viii, 77.
- 125, 3. necks. Juv., 3, 68 : et ceromatico fert niceteria collo.
- 125, 7. wreath. Horace, *Epp.*, i, 1, 49. Cf. Preller, *Röm. Myth.*, ii³, 112, 3.
- 125, 10. athletes. Of course I only speak here of inscriptions, which are the only source of our knowledge of professional athletics among the Romans. A relief of an athlete discovered near Varago in the district of Treviso bears the inscription (*BdI*, 1864, p. 27) :—
 Κλαυδιανὸν πύκτην λευτέριοι ἐνθάδε ἔθηκαν
 τευμώντες καὶ νῦν εἰκόνι καὶ στεφάνοις.
 λευτέριοι are *lintearii* or *capsarii*, cf. Neubaur, *Comm. epigr.*, p. 76 sq. Perhaps inscriptions of athletes were often composed in Greek in Italy.
- 125, 13. amateur. This is shown by the complaint of Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxv, 168.
- 125, 14. welcomed. Seneca, *De brev. vit.*, c. 12, 3.
- 125, 15. feats. *Id. ib.* : qui in ceromate (nam, pro facinus, ne Romanis quidem vitiis laboramus) sectator puerorum rixantium sedet.
- 125, 16. athletes. *Id.*, *Epp.*, 15, 3 : accedunt pessimae notae mancipia in magisterium recepta. Martial mentions *palaestritiae* among other slaves, iii, 58, 20 ; 82, 20 ; vi, 39, 9. Perhaps Pers., 4, 39 also refers to slaves.
- 125, 18. chewing. Seneca, *Epp.*, 15, 9.
- 125, 20. athletes. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxv, 2.
- 125, 21. grounds. Martial, vii, 32.
- 125, 23. Glaucias. Stat., *Silv.*, ii, 1, 110. The meaning of 'infantes gymnici', *CIL*, vi, 10, 158-10, 160, among whom were children in their second and sixth years, is obscure.
- 125, 26. wrestling. Quintilian, xii, 2, 12.
- 125, 26. competitors. Galen, *Περὶ λατρ. καὶ γυμναστ.*, c. 46, ed. K.,

- v, p. 894 : ἀλλ' ὅμως οἱ τούτων ἀτυχέστατοι καὶ μηδεπώποτε νικήσαντες ἐξαίφνης ἑαυτοὺς ὀνομάζουσι γυμναστάς. Omit 'in other branches.'
- 125, 29. performers. Tertullian, *Spect.*, c. 22 : xystici . . . quibus feminae corpora substernunt. Martial, vii, 57 :
 Castora de Polluce Gabinia fecit Achillam,
 Pythagathos fuerat, nunc erit Hippodamos.
- 125, 29. gifts. Juv., 6, 356.
- 125, 30. diet. *Id.*, 2, 53.
- 125, 32. dumb-bells. *Id.*, 6, 246 ; Martial, vii, 67.
- 125, 35. weapons. *Hadrian.*, c. 14, 26.
- 125, 38. hour. Galen, ed. K., vi, 406.
- 125, 39. running. *M. Antonin.*, c. 4.
- 125, 40. youth. *L. Verus*, c. 2.
- 125, 40. Narcissus. *Commodus*, c. 17 ; *Pescenn. Nig.*, c. 1 ; Dio, lxxii, 22.
- 126, 1. Severus. *Alex. Sev.*, c. 27.
- 126, 10. bravery. *Digg.*, iii, 2, 4 (Ulpianus libro vi ad edictum). It is evidently from ignorance that Tertullian, *Spect.*, c. 22, includes the *xystici* among the *infames*.
- 126, 12. Emperor. Lebas-Waddington, 16, 209.
- 126, 14. compete. *Digg.*, ix, 2, 7, 4 (Ulpian, libro xviii ad ed.) : Si quis in colluctatione vel in pancratio vel pugiles dum inter se exercentur, alius alium occiderit, si quidem in publico certamine alius alium occiderit, cessat Aquilia, quia gloriae causa et virtutis, non injuriae gratia videtur damnum datum. Hoc autem in servo non procedit, quoniam ingenui solent certare. Cf. also P. E. Mueller, *De gen. aev. Theodos.*, ii, p. 65 n.
- 126, 14. Severus. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 42.
- 126, 20. *xystarchus*. Dittenberger, *Hermes*, xii, 19 ff.
- 126, 22. festivals. The φιλοσέβαστος καὶ φιλορώμαιος 'Ἀλεξανδρέων περιπολιστικὴ εὐσεβῆς σύνοδος CIG, 5804 (Rome). Cf. *ad i*, 349 ; ii, 3476b and *ad no.* 3067. The ἐπὶ ξυστικῇ σύνοδος, Dittenberger, *Inscriften aus Olympia*, in *Denkmäler u. Forsch.*, 1876, p. 14. Lebas-Waddington, 1620a.
- 126, 28. baths. Cf. CIG, 5906-5913 and Franz's notes, p. 780. Lüders, *Die dionysischen Künstler*, p. 34 f. Foucart in Lebas-Waddington, ii, no. 16 (ἡ ἐπὶ σύνοδος τῶν Ἡρακλεϊστῶν).
- 126, 31. Titus. CIG, 5907. An 'archiater porticus Xysti' already before 368. Cf. vol. i, p. 169.
- 126, 39. assented. Orelli, 2588 = *CIL*, vi, 10, 154, cf. the note.
- 127, 2. Johannes. CIG, 5924 = *CIL*, vi, 2, 10, 153, probably the *Johannes Nicas* on a contorniate, Eckhel, *D. N.*, vii, 293.
- 127, 3. spectacles. De Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, v, 87.
- 127, 9. city. *CIL*, xiv, 474 (if he is not a musician).
- 127, 14. diet. Read 'dirt'. Seneca, *Epp.*, 15, 3 ; 80, 2 ; 88, 18 sq.
- 127, 15. horses. Pliny, *N. h.*, xviii, 63 ; *Athletarum* . . . quorum capacitas jumentis similis.
- 127, 18. belly. Cyprian, *Spectac.*, 8. According to Jerome, *Adv. Jov.*, ii, 6, ed. Vall., ii, 332 s., a solid meat diet is needed for 'milites, athletae, nautae, rhetores, metallorumque fessores'.

- 127, 23. stone. Plutarch, *De sanitate praec.*, c. 20, p. 133.
- 127, 24. pancratist. Epictetus., *Diss.*, ii, 18, 22 : χαίρε παράδοξε, οὐχὶ τοὺς σακροὺς τούτους παίκτας (πύκτας ?) καὶ παγκρατιαστὰς νικήσας οὐδὲ τοὺς ὁμοίους αὐτοῖς τοὺς μονομάχους.
- 127, 29. at all. Galen, *περὶ ιατρ. καὶ γυμναστ.*, c. 46, ed. K., ii, p. 894.
- 127, 31. measure. *Id.*, *προτρεπτ. λογ.*, c. 11, ed. Kuehn, i, p. 28 sq.
- 127, 33. mud. *Id.*, *περὶ ιατρ. καὶ γυμναστ.*, c. 37, ed. K., v, p. 878 sq.
- 127, 38. wealth. *Id.*, *προτρεπτ. λογ.*, cc. 9-14.
- 127, 41. athletes. *Id.*, *περὶ μικρᾶς σφαίρας*, c. 3, ed. K., v, p. 905.
- 128, 8. Olympiad. *Id.*, *προτρεπτ. λογ.*, c. 13 ; cf. Haupt, *Hermes*, iv, 27.
- 128, 12. popularity. *Id.*, *προτρεπτ. λογ.*, c. 9.
- 128, 20. Massilia. The treatise of Collignon, *Quid de collegiis ephororum apud Graecos excepta Attica ex titulis epigraphicis commentari liceat* (Paris, 1877) I only know from the review by C. Curtius in Bursian's *Jahresberichte*, xv, 72.
- 128, 23. Trajan. Trajan, in Pliny, *Epp.*, 40 K. : gymnasiis indulgent Graeculi. On this account presents of oil were popular. Lebas-Waddington, 1602 and note, cf. ii, p. 125.
- 128, 25. honour. Tac., *Dial. de orat.*, c. 10.
- 128, 27. times. Dio Chrys., *Or.*, xxix (Melancomas ii), p. 538, and p. 542 R.
- 128, 28. Games. Cf. vol. i, p. 320, and Philostrat., *Vit. Apoll. Tyan.*, viii, 18, p. 362.
- 128, 30. use. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, ii, 471.
- 128, 31. prize. Galen, *De Platon. et Hippocrat. dogmat.*, v, 5, ed. K., p. 463 says that Chrysippus, who had maintained that perverse lies and dislikes arise from perverse ideas, ought to be asked : διὰ τί τὴν μὲν νίκην τὴν [ἐν] Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀνάθεισιν ἐπαινούμεν τε καὶ μακαρίζόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ὡς ἀγαθὰ, περὶ δὲ τῆς ἥττης καὶ τῆς αἰτίας, ὡς κακὰ, ἐτοίμως πειθόμεθα ; Epictetus, it is true, speaks contemptuously of athletes in the passage quoted above (note on p. 127, 24), *Diss.*, ii, 18, 22, but he says, *Man.*, c. 29 (cf. *Diss.*, iii, 15) : θέλεις Ὀλύμπια νικῆσαι ; κἀγὼ, νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς· κομψὸν γὰρ ἐστὶ.
- 128, 32. life. Dio Chrys., *Or.*, xxxi, p. 316 and 344 M.
- 128, 33. athlete. Philostrat., *Vit. sophist.*, ii, 25, 6. Dio Chrys., *Or.*, xxviii, p. 291 M. ; xxix, p. 292 M. (the γένος λαμπρὸν of Melancomas, whose father was an Olympian victor).
- 128, 34. bribed. Philostrat., *De gymnast.*, c. 3, ed. Kayser, c. 45, ed. Daremberg.
- 128, 38. bout. Pausanias, v, 21, 6 and 7.
- 128, 40. Prusa. Dio Chrys., *Or.*, lxvi, p. 607 M.
- 128, 41. *paradoxonicae*. Plutarch, *Comp. Cimon. et Lucull.*, c. 2 : τῶν ἀθλητῶν τοὺς ἡμέρα μᾶ πάλῃ καὶ παγκρατικῶ στεφανουμένους ἐθεῖ τινὶ παραδοξονίκας καλοῦσιν. But the word (like παράδοξος) was soon used in a very much wider sense, e.g. of singers (Boeckh, on *CIG*, ii, 3427). Augustine, *Princip. rhetor.*, 9 : vulgo etiam Olympionicas et ceteros victores sacrorum certaminum paradoxos vocant.
- 129, 4. Hercules. Tac., *Dial. de orat.*, c. 10. Quintilian, ii, 8, 14

- (quem adolescentes senem vidimus). Pausan., v, 21, 5. Krause, *Olympia*, p. 335.
- 129, 5. Games. Cf. on him (especially as to the spelling of his name) Kayser on Philostrat., *De gymnast.*, 8, 22, p. 59; Cass. Dio, lxxix, 16; Philostrat., *Heroic.*, 679.
- 129, 7. Augustus. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 45. Cf. Meier, *Olym. Spiele*, in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyklopädie*, 3, Sect. 3, p. 318.
- 129, 13. bribery. *Cod. Just.*, x, 53.
- 129, 16. cost. Dio, i, 1: οὕτω (ιερούς) γὰρ τοὺς τὴν στήσιν ἔχοντας ἀγῶνας ὀνομάζουσιν. Pliny, *ad. Tr.*, 119 sq. (obsonia certaminum iselasticorum). Mommsen, *RG*, v, 265, 1.
- 129, 19. councillor. Cf. e.g. *CIG*, 5913; Lebas-Waddington, 1620 A, 1620 B, 1839 (Laodicea Syriae 214 and 221 A.D.); Tertullian, *Scorpiace*, c. 6; Philostrat., *Heroic.*, 678, ed. K., p. 292 (statues). On the bestowal of honorary citizenship cf. Kuhn, *Verfassung*, i, 28, 122.
- 129, 22. 178-9. Barnabei, *Di un' epigr. onorar. Notizia degli scavi*. Dicembre, 1887.
- 129, 23. field. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, ii, 372.
- 129, 35. part. Dio, lxxiv, 14.
- 129, 31. family. *CIG*, 5910. Cf. Kiesling, *BdI*, 1862, p. 157.
- 129, 34. Germanicus. Africanus' statement (Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, ii, 59 n.) that it was a team of Tiberius is refuted by the following inscription: Γερμανικὸν Καίσαρα αὐτοκράτορα Τιβέριον Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ υἱὸν νικήσαντα Ὀλύμπια τεθρίππῳ κ.τ.λ. Dittenberger, *Inscr. aus Olympia*, in *Denkm. u. Forsch.*, xxxv (1877), p. 36. The reason of Africanus' mistake was that Tiberius (before his adoption by Augustus, not later than Ol. 195 = 1 A.D.) had really won a victory there with a quadriga, as the following inscription shows: Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Τιβέριου υἱὸν Νέρωνα νικήσαντα Ὀλύμπια τεθρίππῳ τελείῳ κ.τ.λ. (Dittenberger, *op. cit.*, xxxviii [1878], p. 53).
- 129, 36. consul. *Ibid.*, xxxvi (1878), p. 119.
- 129, 38. Roman. Pausan., v, 20, 4; cf. Krause, *Gymnastik und Agonistik*, p. 803.
- 130, 3. Caracalla. Secchi, *Il mosaico Antoniniano rappresentante la scuola degli atleti*, Roma, 1843, p. 4: si trovò per l'appunto ne'due semicircoli oppositi fra quali era compresa la cella solare, che perciò dal Piranesi fu definita camera della palestra. Undoubtedly the mosaic is of the time of Caracalla (p. 7 s.). Of the considerable number of Roman representations of athletes it is only possible in very rare cases to determine the period with any certainty. F. Pinder's opinion that the athletic mosaic of Tusculum (*Mon. d. I.*, vi and vii, 1, 82) belongs to the time of Hadrian (*BdI*, 1862, p. 179 ss.), is rightly declared by H. Hirzel (*AdI*, 1863, p. 412) to be quite uncertain. To the closing age of the Antonines is conjecturally assigned an athletic mosaic of the former Villa Casalia on the Caelian (*Bull. com. d. R.*, 1886, pp. 49-51). On the spread of athletic shows in the western provinces cf. Appendix xlv.

II. ROMAN LUXURY.

- 131, 5. prevalent. Roscher, *Ansichten der Volkswirtschaft*, i, p. 450 (the most grandiose example of senseless and immoral luxury is offered by imperial Rome). Goethe (vol. 39, p. 53) compares Roman luxury with that of uneducated men, who, grown rich, make a ridiculous use of their fortune, and describes it as absurd and exaggerated. Gibbon on the other hand (*History of the Decline and Fall*, chap. ii, near the end) has a good opinion of the luxury in the time before Commodus.
- 130, 17. Zumpt. Zumpt, *Stand der Bevölkerung*, p. 70 f.
- 130, 19. Becker. Becker, *Gallus*, ii^a, 284 (omitted in Göll's edition).
- 132, 5. Austin. Alfred Austin, *Rich Men's Dwellings*, in *National Review*, December 1883, p. 466 f. This author also believes that Roman luxury was the greatest in history and hardly to be beaten.
- 132, 20. emperors. Meierotto makes the same remark about the manners and customs of the Romans, 3rd edition (1814), preface, p. xxx f.; he also has a just opinion of Meursius's book.
- 132, 27. limitless. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 37: nihil tam efficere concupiscebat, quam quod posse effici negaretur.
- 132, 28. insanity. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 3; *H.*, iv, 48; Seneca, *Cons. ad Polyb.*, c. 36; Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 50; Niebuhr, *Vorträge über römische Geschichte*, iii, p. 178. So also the physician Wiedemeister, *Der Cæsarenwahnsinn*, p. 87 ff., but on the other side Schiller, *Gesch. d. röm. Kaiserthums*, i, 306.
- 132, 31. provinces. Perhaps Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica. Marquardt, *StV*, ii^a, 298, 3.
- 132, 32. day. Sueton., *l. c.*; Seneca, *Cons. ad Helv.*, 10, 4.
- 132, 34. palaces. Tac., *A.*, xv, 42: Nero tamen, ut erat incredibilium cupitor effodere proxima Averno juga conisus est.
- 133, 3. opera. Devrient, *Geschichte der deutschen Schauspielkunst*, ii, 306 (the opera *Suleiman* at Dresden in 1753).
- 133, 4. Mühlberg. Keyssler, *Reisen durch Deutschland*, ed. 3, 1776, p. 1326.
- 133, 4. Charles. Vehse, *Gesch. der deutschen Höfe*, vol. 25, pp. 247-290. Not all the statements of Vehse are trustworthy, but they certainly deserve as much credit as most of the notices in Roman authors about luxury, and perhaps more. Cf. also Devrient, *op. cit.*, ii, 301 on the cost of the ballet and of the opera at the time of Karl Eugen. 15,000 florins' worth of gifts were distributed after the opera *Semiramis*.
- 133, 13. province. Cf. Appendix xlv.
- 133, 13. Saxony. K. Reichard, *Graf Brühl*, in *Im Neuen Reich*, 1887, no. 35, p. 327.
- 133, 14. Württemberg. Perthes, *Polit. Zustände und Personen in Deutschland unter französ. Herrschaft*, i, 506. A. v. Haller (Diaries of his travels in 1723 and 1727, edited by L. Hirzel, 1883, p. 8) estimates the revenues of the duchy under Eberhard Ludwig at about 12 million florins.
- 133, 27. Plutarch. Plutarch, *Lucull.*, 39, 2.

- 133, 29. Pliny. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvi, 113.
 133, 34. Asia. On the gold treasures of Cyrus see Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiii, 51. The treasures which Alexander the Great acquired at the captures of Susa and Persepolis, and deposited at Ecbatana, amounted to 180,000 talents, chiefly in ingots. Grote, *History of Greece*, xii, 245.
 133, 36. Atahualpa. P. Chaix, *Histoire de l'Amérique mérid. au xvi. siècle*, ii, 67 s.
 134, 4. price. Clive's fortune was estimated at £1,200,000 at his return in 1760, Vehse, vol. 19, p. 220. Sir John Malcolm estimates his yearly income at £40,000, which Macaulay considers too low.
 134, 7. Aristobulus. Josephus, *A. J.*, xiv, 3, 1 sq.
 134, 12. Mennaëus. *Ibid.*, 3, 2.
 134, 15. Ariobarzanes. Drumann, *RG*, iv, 22, 65.
 134, 16. Gabinius. Cass. Dio, xxxix, 55.
 134, 19. Auletes. Cic., *Pro Rabir.*, c. 8.
 134, 20. Caesar. Sueton., *Caesar*, c. 54.
 134, 21. Crassus. Josephus, *A. J.*, xiv, 7, 1.
 134, 23. proverbial. Manil., *Astron.*, iv, 693: Gallia per census, Hispania maxima belli; 793: Gallia dives. Josephus, *B. J.*, 16, 4: τί οὖν; ὑμεῖς πλουσιώτεροι Γαλατῶν κ.τ.λ. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 97, 1.
 134, 24. gold. Diodor., v, 27.
 134, 26. Posidonius. Strabo, iv, 188.
 134, 28. coins. Mommsen, *Röm. Münzwesen*, p. 678, cf. p. 683 (gold coins of the Britons). Theobert, King of the Franks, still coined the gold of the native mines. Procop., *B. Goth.*, iii, 33. Cf. King, *Natural History of Precious Stones and Precious Metals*, pp. 183-187. Gold and silver mines in Britain, *CIL*, vii, p. 220. Gold and silver booty of Decebalus, Dierauer, *Geschichte Trajans*, in Büdinger's *Untersuchungen*, i, 102 f. Gold washing in the Alpine streams, Planta, *Das alte Rätien*, p. 14.
 134, 31. depreciation. Hultsch, *Metrologie*³, p. 301, 3.
 134, 40. Scaurus. Ascon., *Argum. orat. pro Scauro*. Cf. for the debts of other prominent Romans, Marquardt, *StV*, ii³, 517.
 135, 3. Crassus. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiii, 134.
 135, 6. talents. Drumann, *RG*, iv, 110, 78.
 135, 7. Pliny. Pliny, *N. h.*, xiii, 92.
 135, 14. peoples. Vol. i, p. 304 f.
 135, 19. freedman. Vol. i, p. 44.
 135, 26. poor. Alfred Austin, *Rich Men's Dwellings*, in *National Review*, December 1883, p. 467.
 135, 30. 6 per cent. Marquardt, *StV*, ii³, 60-62. A bequest at Auzia (Mauretania) *CIL*, viii, 9052 (cf. Mommsen's note) brought in 6 per cent. per annum. The same rate (ἐν τῷ συνήθει τόκῳ τριοβολίῳ ἀργυρικῷ) in the case of temple money at Arsinoë in the third cent. and that only in return for mortgage and security (U. Wilcken, *Arsinoitische Tempelrechnungen*, in *Hermes*, xx (1885), p. 448). 'A rate of interest perhaps only usual for temple money', Hartel, *Papyrus Ersh. Rainer*,

- p. 33). If at the date of the inscription *CIL*, xi, 1, 1236 (Placentia :—litteratus Graecis et Latinis, librarius, partes dixit CCC) 4 per cent. ($\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. monthly) was a usual rate of interest (Hultsch, *Ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss des volksthümlichen Rechnens bei den Römern. Neue Jahrb.*, 1889, p. 342 f.), it can only have been in cases of great hypothecary security.
- 135, 34. a year. Marquardt, *Hdbch.*, ii, 2 n., 215; *StV*, ii², 56. For the reduction I follow, as elsewhere, Hultsch, *Metrol.*², 348. The Gothic king Theodahad desired to sell the dominion of Italy for an income of 1200 pounds of gold. Procop, *B. G.*, 1, 6.
- 135, 40. Hashimid. Kremer, *Culturgeschichte d. Orients*, ii, 190.
- 136, 1. Lorenzo. Burckhardt, *Cultur. d. Renaissance*, p. 64 f. According to his statement the coin value of the *ducato, zecchino, fiorino d'oro, scudo d'oro* is about the same, viz. 11–12 francs of modern money. Vast, *Le cardinal Bessarion*, p. 368, 3, says the same (à peu près 12 fcs.), but he thinks the purchasing power was four to five times as great.
- 136, 2. J. Coeur. P. Clément, *Jacques Coeur et Charles VII ou la France au xv. siècle* (1853), v, 1, p. 1 s.; ii, pp. 1–46. Cf. i, p. lxi ss. (notice sur la valeur relative des anciennes monnaies françaises).
- 136, 12. Chigi. Gregorovius, *Gesch. d. St. Rom.*, viii, 113 ff.
- 135, 16. Fuggers. Kleinschmidt, *Augsburg, Nürnberg und ihre Handelsfürsten im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (1881), p. 122. W. Jacob, *Production und Consumption der edeln Metalle* translated by Kleinschrod, ii, 19: 'Capito writes to Zwingli 29 Jan. 1526 that 16 gold gulden will maintain a man for a year. Apparently, therefore, the gold gulden was worth about 10 gulden (florins)'. Hagen, *Deutsch. liter. und relig. Verhältnisse im Reformat. Zeitalter* (1844), iii, 195, 6. The expenses of a young nobleman (*Junker*) and his tutor at Erfurt, for food, lodging, washing, university fees, etc. amounted to 26 gulden for the whole year 1451/52. A boarder of U. Zasius, professor at Freiberg, paid 16 gulden for lodging and board at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Janssen, *Gesch. d. deutschen Volkes seit dem Mittelalter*, i, 23. Consequently the value of the gold gulden was certainly much more than 10 florins of the South German standard. In the time from 1500 to 1560 money was depreciated to about 50 per cent.; Schmoller, *Tübinger Zeitschrift f. Staatswissenschaft*, xvi, p. 511.
- 136, 20. Mazarin. Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.*, ch. 6.
- 136, 22. Bernard. Lacroix, *XVIII. siècle*, p. 197.
- 136, 22. Bretonvilliers. Baudrillart, iv, 69. Baudrillart estimates the income of the Duke of Lerma, the favourite of Philip III of Spain (his son's income included) at 700,000 écus (?), 'sans compter la garde-robe et les richesses du luxe mobilier, qui montaient à plus de 6 mill. d'or'.
- 136, 24. Menshikóv. From Eugen Karnovich's book (in Russian), *Remarkable Private Fortunes in Russia* (only known to me through an extract by Konstantin Jürgens in the *Rigaer Zeitung*, 1885).

- 136, 30. Potemkin. Sybel, *Kleine hist. Schriften*, i^a, 170 f. His immovable estate was estimated by Karnovich at 50 million roubles.
- 136, 34. Kutaisov. *Ibid.*
- 136, 35. Brühl. Vehse, *Gesch. d. Höfe*, pt. 33, p. 332.
- 136, 36. Rohan. Carlyle, *Collected Works*, 1869, v, 30.
- 136, 38. grandeses. Baumgarten, *Gesch. Spaniens zur Zeit. d. franz. Revolution*, p. 185.
- 137, 7. Potocki. E. v. d. Brüggen, *Polens Auflösung*, p. 193.
- 137, 10. Czartoryskis. *Ibid.*, pp. 136 and 213.
- 137, 12. Radziwill. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
- 137, 19. owner. According to Karnovich. For 'owner 128,000' read 'owner of serfs (more than 160,000). Others are said to have owned 200,000 or 128,000'. For these cf. Vehse, pt. 21, pp. 31 and 380.
- 137, 21. Yusupov. Bernhardt, *Gesch. Russlands*, iii, 677.
- 137, 26. Yusupovs. Haxthausen, *Studien über die inneren Zustände Russlands* (1847), ii, 226; iii, 76.
- 137, 29. affected. Busch, *Graf Bismarck und seine Leute*, i, 217. For 'them' read 'from them'.
- 137, 35. £15,000 000. Vehse and Haxthausen, *opp. cit.*
- 137 39. Rémusat. *Mém. de Mme. de Rémusat*, iii, 346: Le prince de Neufchâtel, comblé des dons de l'empereur, jouissait d'un immense revenu (il a en jusqu'à un million de revenu).
- 137, 40. Johnson's. For 'no man . . . a year' read 'a man of high rank could live on £5000 a year'. Boswell, *Life of Johnson*. Lady John Manners, *A Sequel to Rich Men's Dwellings*, in *National Review*, March, 1884, p. 16. See the same article for the budget of the wife of Philip Francis.
- 138, 4. quadruple. A. Austin, *op. cit.* (note on 132, 5), p. 466.
- 138, 5. New York. C. M. de Varigny, *Les grandes fortunes aux Etats-unis*, in *Rev. des deux mondes*, 1 May 1888, p. 166 f.
- 138, 8. Astor. F. Kapp, *Geschichte der deutschen Einwanderung in Amerika*, p. 358.
- 138, 10. Stewart. *Nationalzeitung* for 23 Aug. 1866.
- 138, 12. Vanderbilt. De Varigny, *op. cit.*, p. 171.
- 138, 16-18. Gould, Mackay. *Ibid.*, p. 161 f.
- 138, 21. 700. *Id.*, *Les grandes femmes en Angleterre*, *Rev. des deux mondes*, 1 Sept. 1888, p. 74.
- 138, 23. 144. *Ibid.*, 76.
- 138, 23. list. *Id.*, *op. cit.*, 1 May, p. 162. I add a few statements (certainly not at all trustworthy) published by newspapers after the deaths of millionaires. Baron James Rothschild (d. November, 1868) 2000 million francs (!) Baron Sina (d. 1876) 80 million florins. Baron Alex. v. Stieglitz (d. November 1884) 100 million roubles. Prince Alexander Torlonia (d. Feb. 1886) 100, or according to others, 250 million *lire*. Baron Mayer Karl v. Rothschild (d. at Frankfort, 16 October, 1886) 500 million marks.
- 138, 38. Rodbertus. Rodbertus, *Zur Frage des Sachwerths des Geldes im Alterthum*, in Hildebrandt's *Zeitschr. f. Nationalökonomie*, xv (1870), p. 341 ff., xvi, 182 ff.; cf. esp. pp. 198 and 232 f.

My opinion expressed in the same periodical, 1869, pp. 306-308 (on the price of corn and the purchasing power of money in the time from Nero to Hadrian) is completely refuted by this inquiry.

- 139, 19. arbitrary. In this paragraph I have used some suggestions, for which I am obliged to Geheimrat W. Roscher of Leipzig, and also a letter by Rodbertus, mentioned in Appendix xlv.
- 139, 22. Apicius. Teuffel, *StRE*, i², 1241; Nipperdey, on Tac., A., iv, 1.
- 139, 27. pleasure. Seneca, *Ad Helv.*, 10, 9; Dio, lvii, 19. Seneca says that he squandered 100 millions, Martial (iii, 22) 60.
- 139, 29. Apio. Athen., vii, 294 F.
- 139, 31. Elagabalus. *Vit. Elagabal.*, c. 18.
- 139, 35. crabs. Athen., i, p. 7 C.; Suid. s. 'Αἰκίος.
- 139, 41. Rohan. Vehse, 47, 212; on Count Brühl, 33, 332.
- 140, 11. Beaucaire. Diez, *Leben und Werke der Troubadours*, p. 297, after Bouquet, vol. xii, 444.
- 140, 18. Belkow. Buchholtz, *Versuch einer Geschichte der Kurmark Brandenburg*, iii, 349.
- 140, 23. Russia. Tolstoi, *Anna Karenina*.
- 140, 25. sailors. R. Werner, *Seebilder* (1876), p. 252.
- 140, 26. Creole. *Id.*, *Erinnerungen und Bilder a. d. Seeleben*² (1881) p. 374 ff.
- 140, 32. Rome. Valer. Max., 1, 2; Pliny, *N. h.*, ix, 122; x, 141; Horace, *Satt.*, ii, 3, 239-246.
- 141, 7. pearl. E.g. by Baudrillart, i, 131.
- 141, 8. solecisms. Lucian, *Nigrin.*, 31.
- 141, 10. Eros. Plutarch, *Apophthegm. Rom. Caesar August.*, 4.
- 141, 13. Mentor. Martial, xi, 11, 5/9. For 'of Mentor . . . Cellini' read 'by Mentor, a Cellini of that day'.
- 141, 15. Trimalchio's. Petron., *Sat.*, c. 31.
- 141, 18. wool. *Ib.*, c. 54.
- 141, 20. Conti. La pincée de poudre coûtait 4 ou 5000 livres; Taine, *Origines de la France contemp.*, p. 170.
- 141, 21. Tepper. E. v. d. Brüggén, *Pödens Auflösung*, p. 306. Troels Lund, *Das häusliche Leben in Skandinavien im 16. Jahrhundert*, p. 143 s. To burn fragrant wood in the grate was considered as healthy and as a sign of wealth. 'The old story does not sound so incredible that Ole Bager had the room heated by burning cinnamon, when Frederick II was his guest at Odense in 1580, just as Anton Fugger had done at Augsburg forty years earlier to honour the emperor Charles V'. This was certainly deliberate extravagance in the eighteenth century.
- 141, 30. indispensable. Roscher, *Ansichten* (on luxury), p. 408.
- 141, 35. unnatural. Seneca, *Epp.*, 122, 5: omnia vitia contra naturam pugnant . . . hoc est luxuriae propositum, gaudere perversis, nec tantum discedere a recto, sed quam longissime abire, deinde etiam e contrario stare. Similarly *Epp.*, 90, 19. Pliny, *N. h.*, xix, 55: nihil utique homini sic quomodo rerum naturae placet.
- 142, 2. contemporaries. Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 5, 10 (of his uncle): cibum . . . interdiu levem et facilem veterum more sumebat.

- 142, 11. death. Seneca, *Epp.*, 108, 13-17; Tac., *A.*, xv, 63; *ib.*, xv, 45.
- 142, 14. Nature. Cf. Roscher, *op. cit.*, p. 402 (Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiii 3).
- 142, 14. Pliny. Pliny, *N. h.*, xix, 5 sq.
- 142, 17. Varro. Gell., vi (vii), 16.
- 142, 19. asparagus. Pliny, *N. h.*, xix, 54; *heu prodigia ventris!* (cf. xix, 150).
- 142, 21. luxury. *Id. ibid.*, xix, 55; Seneca, *N. Q.*, iv, 13; *Epp.*, 78, 23 and elsewhere.
- 142, 22. Addison. Addison, *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy* (1700-1703), London, 5th edition (1736), p. 145. According to Gallio, *Annali di Messina*, iii, 3 (in Hartwig, *Aus Sicilien* [1867], i, 12), the eating of ices was not reintroduced into Sicily till after the middle of the sixteenth century. In Spain ice was eaten as early as the time of the Moors.
- 142, 26. Galen. Galen, *Περὶ συνθέσεως φαρμάκων τ. κατὰ τόπους* ed. K., vii, 508: *καὶ γὰρ εὐπορία ψυχρῶν πηγῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολλὴ καὶ χύσις* (he is speaking of the composition of a cooling medicine).
- 142, 27. Sicily. Roscher, *Grundlagen der Nationalökonomie* (4th ed.), p. 184, § 102, 2.
- 142, 30. French. Dairemberg, *Oeuvres d' Oribase*, i, 625 ss. remarks that only snow was used, and not ice: *on ne parait pas avoir connu nos véritables glaces, qui font aujourd'hui les délices des gourmets du monde entier*. Cf. Backmann, *Beitr. z. Gesch. der Erfindungen*, iv, 201. Apparently Abraham a Sancta Clara (d. 1709) knew ices. He speaks in '*Das Wunderwürdige ganz neu ausgeheckte Narrennest*' of 'cooled *Frescade* or frozen juice, which they use at the carnival after their excessive exertions'. At Frankfort on the Main ices were still something extraordinary in 1759. Goethe's mother threw away the ices sent to her children from the table of Count Thorane. 'She thought it was not possible that the stomach could bear real ice, however sweetened'. *Goethes Werke*, 20, 101.
- 142, 35. ice. Neumann-Spallart, *Rückblicke auf die Pariser Weltausstellung*, in *Deutsche Rundschau*, January 1879, p. 88 f.
- 142, 41. feather-cushions. Pliny, *N. h.*, x, 53 s.
- 142, 41. Cicero. Cic., *Tusc.*, iv, 19, 46: *culcita plumea*.
- 143, 2. climate. Hehn, *Culturpflanzen und Hausihiere*, p. 303.
- 143, 5. pillows. The passages concerning feather cushions in Herzberg on Propert., iii, 57; Juv., i, 159; vi, 88; Martial, ix, 92, 4; xx, 13, 6; xii, 17, 8; xiv, 146, 159, 161.
- 143, 10. Frankfort. Beckmann, *Vorbereitung zur Warenkunde* (1794), i, 277, 1, who supposes that the trade in eider-down began in the middle of the seventeenth century.
- 143, 17. Goethe. Goethe, *Geschichte der Farbenlehre* (39, 54) 1: 'One has only to consider these things [the stupid and exaggerated luxury of the Romans], and one will understand how Seneca, who led so distinguished a life, could be angry because people enjoyed a good dinner, cooled their drinks with snow, made use of a favourable wind in a naval battle, and what not'.
- 143, 19. Seneca. Seneca, *De benef.*, i, 10.

- 143, 33. unknown. Ulrich von Hutten takes essentially the same standpoint as Pliny in condemning the luxury of his age (especially the importation of foreign goods): *De Guajaci medicina*, c. xix, ed. Boecking, v, 459 sq.; also Luther: *Von Kaufhandlung, Werke*, Aug. Jena, 1572, Theil ii, p. 465 ff. (465^b) (M. Allihn in *Grenzboten*, 1873, 18 April, p. 111 and Schmoller, *Zur Geschichte d. nationalökonom. Ansichten in Deutschl. während der Reformationsperiode*, in *Tübinger Zeitschrift für Staatswiss.*, xvi, p. 663 ff.) and Abraham a Sancta Clara: Loesch-Wien, p. 40 f. (Karajan, *Abraham a Sancta Clara*, p. 192). On street-paving and lighting see Klemm, *Allgem. Culturgesch.*, 9, 157 (the former in Paris under Philip Augustus, Baudrillart, iii, 163, in German towns not before the fourteenth cent., the latter very much later; Dresden was paved in 1559, and lighted in 1705, while Nuremberg was not even lighted in 1781. *Neues Gemälde von Dresden*, 1817, p. 7 f. Nicolai, *Beschreib. einer Reise durch Deutschland*, i, 227). In Bremen street lighting began in 1698, and proceeded very slowly. Kohl, *Alte und neue Zeit*, p. 22 ff. In Scandinavia paving was introduced about 1500 from Holland. Glass windows, not generally used in Europe till the fifteenth century (Falke, *Die Kunst im Hause*, p. 65 ff.; Wachsmuth, *Culturgesch.*, 2, 302, 7), were introduced into Scandinavia only in the sixteenth century (in which period also the habit of washing in the morning was introduced there. Troels Lund, *op. cit.*, p. 45; 116 f.; 174-176. On the use of forks see Beckmann, *Beilvåge zur Geschichte der Erfindungen*, 5, 294; Marquardt, *Prl.*, i^a, 308 f.; Baudrillart, iii, 232.
- 144, 4. wooden ones. Baudrillart, i, 36 s. Roscher, *Ansichten*, p. 408 f. Straw beds (even for the Kings of France) in the fourteenth century. Baudrillart, iii, p. 149 s.
- 144, 9. William. Th. Wright, *Homes of Other Days*, p. 358.
- 144, 13. Germany. Kohl, *Alte und neue Zeit*, p. 193.
- 144, 19. Nikon. Brückner, *Beiträge zur Culturgesch. Russlands im 17. Jahrh.* (1887), pp. 80-84.
- 144, 36. interest. Cf. the excellent description in Baudrillart, iv, 208-241.
- 144, 37. de Brosse. Reumont, *Die Gräfin v. Albany*, i, 158 f.
- 145, 4. Venetian. Molmenti, *Vie privée à Venise*, p. 539 s.
- 145, 15. latter. One of the classes of Roman luxury on which we are insufficiently informed to compare them with the corresponding modern luxuries, is that of sport, especially racing and hunting (cf. Lady J. Manners, in *Nat. Rev.*, 1884, p. 13 f.).
- 145, 17. Lucullus. Cf. Cic., *De off.*, i, 39; Nicol. Damasc., in Athenaeus, vi, 274; xii, 543; Vellei., ii, 33, 4 and Drumann, *RG*, 4, 168 ff.
- 145, 24. Tacitus. Tac., *A.*, iii, 55, it is true, only speaks of the 'luxus mensae', but it is obvious from the preceding chapters that he is thinking of luxury in general.
- 146, 3. drinkers. Galen, ed. K., xv, 699: οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ὑγαιονόντων πίνουσιν οἶνον ὑδατωμένον.
- 146, 6. Epicurus. Diog. Laert., *Epicur.*, 11; Seneca, *Epp.*, 18, 25, 4; Stob., *Serm.*, 17, 30 and 34.

- 146, 19. cooks. Livy, xxxix, 6.
 146, 23. baked. Pliny, *N. h.*, xviii, 107.
 146, 27. cocks. Pliny, *N. h.*, x, 139: Gallinas saginare Deliaci coepere, unde pestis exorta opimas avis et suo pte corpore unctas devorandi etc.
 146, 29. ordinance. *Id. ib.*, viii, 223; cf. Becker-Göll, iii, 55 f. Gibbon, *History*, ch. xxxi, 45: 'it is reported that they (*glivres*) are still esteemed in modern Rome and are frequently sent as a present by the Colonna princes'.
 146, 30. wine. Varro in Pliny, *N. h.*, xiv, 96.
 146, 33. Posidonius. Athen., vi, 275 A.
 147, 10. Varro. Gell., vi (vii), 16. But cf. Varro, *R. r.*, ii, 6.
 147, 12. Germany. Schmoller, *Tübinger Zeitschr. für Staatswiss.*, xvi, p. 635 and 681.
 147, 14. Thuc. Thucyd., ii, 38.
 147, 19. lists. Cf. Appendix xlviii.
 147, 20. Brillat. Brillat-Savarin, *Physiologie du goût (Classiques de la table*, Nouv. éd., Didot, 1855, i, p. 252).
 147, 27. luxury. Roscher, *Ansichten*, p. 428, 54.
 147, 27. Gulliver. Swift, *Gulliver's Travels*, iv, 6.
 147, 39. commerce. Apparently Varro himself had no objection to Italian victuals (delicacies excepted). Macrobius, *Sat.*, iii, 16, 12: M. Varro pisci Tiberino palmam tribuit his verbis in libro rerum humanarum xi: ad victum optima fert ager Campanus frumentum, Falernus vinum, Cassinas oleum, Tusculanus ficum, mel Tarentinus, piscem Tiberis.
 148, 10. demand. Springer, *Paris im 13. Jahrh.*, pp. 32 and 34. Lacroix, *Moeurs usages et costumes au moyen âge*, p. 111 ss. *Nourriture et cuisine* (on foreign cheeses, p. 147; on foreign wines, p. 165) cf. the *carte gastronomique de la France*, in Lacroix, *Directoire Consulat et Empire*, p. 151.
 148, 12. Nicolai. Nicolai, *Leben des Seb. Nothanker*, v, 54.
 148, 18. sandar. Read 'sander.'
 148, 26. writers. Varro in Gell., l. c. Sallust, *Catilina*, c. 13: Vescendi causa terra marique omnia exquirere. Seneca, *Ad Helv.*, 10, 3: epulas quas toto orbe requirunt; *Epp.*, 89, 22: vos . . . quorum profunda et insatiabilis gula hinc maria scrutatur, hinc terras. Juv., 11, 14: gustus elementa per omnia quaerunt; cf. Mayor's note. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxvi, 43: hujus (ventris) gratia praecipue avaritia expetit, huic luxuria condit, huic navigatur ad Phasim, huic profundi vada exquiruntur. Drepan., *Paneg. in Theodos.*, c. 14: cibis . . . quos . . . famosa naufragiis maria misissent, quos invitae quodammodo reluctantique naturae hominum pericla rapuissent.
 148, 31. Vitellius. Sueton., *Vitell.*, c. 13.
 148, 34, 41. milk. Read 'milt'.
 148, 36. Elagabalus. *Vit. Elagabali*, c. 18: cum ipse privatus diceret se Apicium, imperator vero Othonem et Vitellium imitari.
 149, 1. *écus*. Lacroix, *XVIII. siècle*, p. 390. A dish of fish tongues at an entertainment of the Khalif Rashid for 1000 *dirhems* (francs); Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients*, 290 f.

149, 3. countries. Vol. i, p. 12 ff.

149, 4. sale. Cassiodor., *Variar.*, xii, 4, enumerates the fishes ordered for the table of Theodoric : Destinet carpam Danubius, a Rheno veniat anchorago, exormiston (cf. xii, 1) Sicula (?) quibuslibet laboribus offeratur, Brutiorum mare dulces mittat avernias (?). Sic decet regem pascere ut a legatis gentium credatur paene omnia possidere. *Ibidem*, xii, 12 : Cum apud rerum Dominum solemniter more pranderemus et diversae provinciae de suis deliciis laudarentur, ad vina Brutiorum et Silani—casei suavitatem—perventum est.

149, 6. birds. Varro, *R. r.*, iii, 9, 18 : Gallinae Africanae—quas μελαγριδας appellant Graeci. Hae novissimae in triclinium ganearium introierunt e culina propter fastidium hominum. Veneunt propter penuriam magno. He does not mention the pheasant or the flamingo. *Meleagris* is the guinea-fowl. Horace, *Epod.*, 2, 53 : non Afra avis descendat in ventrem meum, non attagen Ionicus (together with Lucrine oysters, *rhombus* and *scari*). Manil., v, 370 (guinea-fowls and pheasants). Columella, viii, 8, 10 : illos qui Ponticum Phasin et Scythica stagna Maeotidis eluunt. Jam nunc Gangeticas et Aegyptias aves temulenter eructant. Petron., c. 93 (guinea-fowls, pheasants, *scari*). *Id.*, c. 119, 33 (*scari*, oysters, pheasants). Pliny, *N. h.*, xix, 52 : avis ultra Phasidem amnem peti . . . alias in Numidiam atque Aethiopiae sepulcra. Martial, iii, 67, 4 : Nec Libye mittit, nec tibi Phasis aves. *Id.*, xiii, 71 (*phoenicopteri*)—apparently introduced by Apicius, Pliny, *N. h.*, x, 133 : ph. linguam praecipui esse saporis A. docuit 72 (*phasiani*) 73 (*Numidicae*). *Id. ib.*, 45 : Si Libycae nobis volucres et Phasidis essent, Acciperes, Tu nunc accipe chortis aves. In Stat., *Silv.*, 1, 6, 77 a verse is missing, as is shown by Wachsmuth, *Rhein. Mus.*, 1888, pp. 26–28 :—

17 quas Nilus sacer horridusque Phasis,
[quas Ganges lavat (alit), quas palus Scytharum],
18 quas udo Numidae legunt sub austro.

Juv., 11, 139 : Et Scythicae volucres et phoenicopterus ingens. Lucian, *Navig.*, 23 : ὄρνις ἐκ Φάσιδος καὶ ταῦς ἐξ Ἰνδίας καὶ ἀλεκτρῶν ὁ Νομαδικός. Clemens Alex., *Paedog.*, ii, 1, 3 : ὄρνεις . . . ἀπὸ Φάσιδος, ἀτραγὰς Ἀλυππύλου, Μήδων ταῦνα.

149, 8. Italy. Martial, iii, 58, 12 :—

Vagatur omnis turba sordidae chortis,
argutus anser gemmeique pavones,
nomenque debet quae rubentibus pinnis,
et picta perdix Numidicaeque guttatae
et impiorum phasiana Colchorum ;
Rhodias superbi feminas premunt galli.

149, 9. Diocletian. Mommsen, *Ber. d. Sächs. Gesellsch.*, 1851, p. 12 : fasianus pastus *den.* 250 fasianus agrestis *den.* 225 fasiana pasta *den.* 200 fasiana non pasta *den.* 100 anser pastus *den.* 200 anser non pastus *den.* 100 pullorum par *den.* 60 lepus *den.* 150 (100 *den.* about 2s. 5½d., Hultsch, *Metrol.*, 348).

- 149, 12-15. Severus, Tacitus. *Alexander Sever.*, c. 37. *Tacit.*, c. 11.
 149, 22. inauguration. Marquardt, *StV*, iii^a, 243, 4.
 149, 34. lost. Macrobian, *Sat.*, iii, 13: cenam quae scripta est in Indice iv. Metelli illius pontificis maximi in haec verba. Cf. Böttiger, *Kl. Schr.*, iii, 217 ff.
 149, 38. priesthoods. Marquardt, *StV*, iii^a, 231, 7.
 150, 2. luxury. Cf. pp. 154-164.
 150, 7. satire. In particular *Sat.*, ii, 4.
 150, 10. Epicurus. Hor., *S.*, ii, 6, 114: Inde domum me Ad porri et cicoris refero laganique catinum. Cf. *S.*, ii, 6, 13; *C.*, i, 31, 16.
 150, 17. at hand. Cf. vol. i, p. 12 ff.
 150, 19. table. Table luxury spread from Italy, according to the treatise *De vita contemplativa*, which, as Lucius, *Die Therapeuten und ihre Stellung in der Geschichte der Askese* (1880), has proved, cannot be the work of Philo, but should be assigned to the third century. *D. v. c.*, 896 c. (*op. cit.*, p. 117): ἴσως δὲ ἂν τις ἀποδέξαιτο τὴν ἐπιπολάζουσαν νυνὶ πανταχοῦ τῶν συμποσίων διάθεσιν, κατὰ πᾶθον τῆς Ἰταλικῆς πολυτελείας καὶ τρυφῆς, ἣν ἐξήλωσαν Ἕλληνες τε καὶ βάρβαροι.
 150, 26. swallow. Pliny, *N. h.*, xv, 105. The practice of laying a menu before the host, ἐφ' ᾧ εἰδέναι ὅτι μέλλοι ὄψων φέρειν ὁ μάγειρος (Athen., ii, 33, p. 49d) seems to be a Greek one, and not, as Marquardt, *Pl.*, i^a, 326, 9, believes, Roman.
 150, 39. banquets. According to a communication by Roscher, from a treatise by Mangold, to which I had no access.
 151, 3. Metellus. Valer. Max., ix, 1, 5; Macrobian, *Sat.*, iii, 13.
 151, 5. Nero's. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 27.
 151, 8. flowers. Cf. *e.g. Ael. Ver.*, c. 5.
 151, 9. Condé. Baudrillart, iv, 152.
 151, 17. upwards. Lady J. Manners, *A Sequel to 'Rich Men's Dwellings'*, in *National Review*, March, 1884, pp. 10, 13, 15, 17.
 151, 20. raffles. *Vit. Elagab.*, c. 22.
 151, 23. Martial's. My edition of Martial, ii, p. 295 ff.
 151, 32. Verus. *H. A.*, *L. Ver.*, c. 5.
 151, 37. Lucullus. Plutarch, *Lucull.*, c. 41; cf. c. 40: τὰ δεῖπνα τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν οὐ μόνον στρωμαῖς ἀλουργέσι καὶ διαλίθοις ἐκπώμασι καὶ χοροῖς καὶ ἀκρομάσιν ἐπεισοδίοις κ.τ.λ.
 151, 38. Arvaes. Marini, *Atti*, tab. xli^b and xlii. Henzen, *Acta fr. Arv.*, p. 45.
 151, 39. how much. Tertullian, *Apol.*, c. 6: Vides enim et centenarias cenas, a centenis jam sestertiis dicendas. In Seneca, *Épp.*, 95, 41: et totiens tamen *sestertio aditiales cenae frugalissimis viris constituerunt—the number has dropped out, it was probably C.
 151, 41. decorations. Lucret., iv, 1131: eximia veste et victu convivium, lychni, pocula crebra, unguenta, coronae, sarta parantur etc.
 152, 6. Mazarin. Baudrillart, iv, 70 and 76. Lacroix, *XVIII. siècle. Lettres et sciences*, p. 534.
 152, 15. Seneca. Seneca, *Épp.*, 122, 14.
 152, 23. Tucca. Martial, xii, 41.

- 152, 25. *nulli*. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii^a, 434, 9.
- 152, 27. Octavius. Either the Prefect of Egypt under Augustus or his son, the Proconsul of Crete and Cyrenaica. Dittenberger, *De titulis Atticis*, in *Ep. em. epigr.*, i, p. 112 sq.
- 152, 30. Apicius. Seneca, *Epp.*, 95, 42.
- 152, 32. purchaser. Roscher, *Grundlagen* (4th edit.), p. 131, 1.
- 152, 32. Juvenal. *Juv.*, 11, 14.
- 152, 39. *garum*. 2 *congii* (6,566 litres) of *garum sociorum* cost 'singulis milibus nummum', Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxi, 94, i.e. 1000 s. (£10 12s. 5d.), not 1000 *denarii*, as Marquardt says, *Prl.*, ii^a, 440, 9.
- 153, 3. *écus*. Baudrillart, iv, 14 and 71.
- 153, 5. Potemkin. According to Karnovich (see note on p. 136, 24).
- 153, 9. pounds. Brückner, *Potemkins Glück und Ende*, in *Baltische Monatsschrift*, N. F., i, p. 518. Haxthausen (*Studien über die innern Zustände Russlands*, iii, 160) gives the price of a sturgeon as 400 roubles banco, even on the Ural.
- 153, 10. Geneva. *Grenzboten*, 1852, p. 151.
- 153, 11. Pliny. Pliny, *N. h.*, ix, 67.
- 153, 14. Carême. Vaerst, *Gastrosophie*, ii, 111. Carême himself relates that King George IV of England offered him in vain a salary of £500 and a fortnight's holiday a month. Carême, *L'art de la cuisine franç. au 19. siècle*, 1893, p. ix.
- 153, 1. letters. *Briefe eines Verstorbenen*, iii, 401.
- 153, 19. Seneca. Seneca, *Epp.*, 95, 26 sqq.
- 153, 27. boars. Pliny, *N. h.*, viii, 210.
- 153, 23. Regency. Vol. ii, p. 160.
- 153, 31. swine. Pliny, *N. h.*, viii, 209. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii^a, 429 f. The price of pork was certainly not high enough to explain the statement that 'in later Roman times it was the most fashionable dish' (Roscher, *op. cit.*, p. 133, 8); but it was by no means the cheapest meat, as Preller, *Reg.*, 139, believes. Cf. Rodbertus, *Zur Frage des Sachwerths des Geldes*, ii, in Hildebrand's *Zeitschr. f. Nationalökonomie*, 1870, p. 226.
- 153, 33. dish. *Tetrapharmacum seu potius pentapharmacum*: *Ael. Ver.*, c. 5; *Hadrian*, c. 21.
- 153, 34. gourmet. Hadrianus . . . *prandiorum opimorum esor optimus*. Fronto, *Fer. Als.*, 3, p. 226 Naber.
- 153, 34. Severus. *Alexander Sev.*, c. 30.
- 153, 3. Caesar. Sueton., *Caesar*, c. 53; Plutarch, *Caesar*, c. 17; Drumann, *RG*, iii, 739.
- 153, 40. Cicero. Cic., *Ad Attic.*, xiii, 52. Suetonius says even of the very temperate Augustus, c. 77: *quotiens largissime se invitaret, senos sextantes* (0.54 of a litre) *non excessit, aut si excessisset, reiciebat*. Becker-Göll, iii, p. 552 f.
- 154, 2. dietetic. In the annotations to Oribasius, vol. ii, p. 829 ss., Daremberg speaks only about the dietetic use of emetics by the ancients, from which instructive work I extract the following passages. I think it appears from them that it was not merely, as Marquardt thinks, *Prl.*, i^a, 330, 5, 'as an antidote to the effects of gluttony' that the use of emetics was considered

necessary by physicians. Baudrillart, ii, 396, has completely misunderstood me. He says: Comment ne pas sourire, en voyant M. Fr. dépassant trop cette fois les bornes; aller à justifier presque au nom de l'hygiène l'usage ignominieux des vomissements pendant le repas! What I have said in the text shows, I hope, clearly enough, that, far from excusing the mis-use of emetics, I only maintain that their use by the ancients does not necessarily presuppose intemperance.

154, 8. emetics. Herodot., ii, 77; Diodor., i, 82.

154, 9. Hippocrates. Daremberg, *op. cit.*, p. 380: Du temps d'Hippocrate les vomissements après le repas paraissent avoir été plus usités que les vomissements à jeun.

154, 13. Celsus. Celsus, i, 3, p. 27 sq. On Asclepiades cf. also Pliny, *N. h.*, xxvi, 17.

154, 16. Archigenes. Oribas., *Coll. med.*, viii, 23 (ed. D., iii, p. 202): Περὶ ἐμέτου ἀπὸ σιτίων ἐκ τῶν Ἀρχιγένους. Ἐμέτω δὲ τῷ ἀπὸ σιτίων ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης μὲν μὴ διεθλοῖ· ὧνσις δὲ θαυμαστὴ δις ἢ τρίς ὡς ἂν παρήκη κατὰ μήνα παραλαμβάνει· καὶ γὰρ τῷ δι' ἀνάγκην ἐπιμετρὸς τις ἀκολουθεῖ ραστώνῃ, ἀπὸ ἧς προήχθησαν ἤδη τυφὸς καὶ εἰς ἔθως ἐνδελεχοῦς ἀποφορισμοῦ τῶν σιτίων, οἱ μὲν ἀκριβοῦς οἱ δὲ ὀλοσχεροῦς καταστῆναι.

154, 18. Galen. Daremberg, *op. cit.*, p. 381 s.

154, 18. Pliny. *N. h.*, xxviii, 54 vomitione rara sibi mederi utile homini. The dietetic use he considers injurious: xi, 282; xxix, 27.

154, 19. Plutarch. Plutarch, *De sanit. frasc.*, c. 22, p. 134: Ἐμέτους δὲ καὶ κοίλας καθάρσεις ὑπὸ φαρμάκων, μαρὰ παραμύθια πλησμονῆς, ἀνευ μεγάλης ἀνάγκης οὐ κινητέον ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ κενώσεως ἐνεκα, πληροῦντες τὸ σῶμα καὶ πάλιν πληρώσεως κενούντες παρὰ φύσιν ταῖς πλησμοναῖς οὐχ ἦττον ἢ ταῖς ἐνδείαις ἀνιώμενοι μάλλον δὲ ὅλως τὴν μὲν πλήρωσιν ὡς κώλυσιν ἀπολαύσεως βαρυνόμενοι, τὴν δὲ ἐνδειαν ὡς χώραν αἰ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς παρασκευάζοντες.

154, 21. seven. Juv., i, 94.

154, 22. dishes. *Id.*, 14, 6 s.

154, 23. oyster. *Id.*, 4, 136 sq.

154, 26. Seneca. Seneca, *Ad Helv.*, 10, 3.

154, 30. circles. This is Marquardt's opinion, *op. cit.*, p. 330, where the Romans whom Pliny and Galen describe are pictured as 'a race with pale faces, hanging cheeks, swollen eyes, trembling hands, fat paunches, with feeble intelligence and no memory, etc.'. The consequences of excesses, described by Pliny, *N. h.*, xiv, 142; Seneca, *Epist.*, 95, 15 sqq. and Martial, xii, 48, 10 (sulphureusque color carnificesque pedes) were very likely too frequent in his time—but I do not believe it possible that they were general in wider circles. (Galen, *De meth. med.*, vol. x, p. 3 sq., ed. K., speaks only of excesses, not of their consequences).

154, 34. emetics. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 33; *Vitell.*, c. 13. Julian, *Misopog.*, p. 340 c, says about himself: οὐδὲ ἐπιτρέπω πολλῶν ἐμπιπλάσθαι σιτίων αὐτῇ. ὀλιγάκις οὖν ἐμοὶ τῶν πάντων (?) ἐμέσαι συνέβη, καὶ μέμνημαι αὐτὸ παθὼν ἐξ ἔθου Καίσαρ ἐγενόμενῃ ἀπαξ ἀπὸ συμπτώματος, οὐ πλησμονῆς. Martial associates the use of emetics with the most infamous vices: ix, 92, 11: Quod nec mane

- vomis nec cunnum, Condyle, lingis etc. ; ii, 89, 5. : Quod vomis, Antoni, of a *fellator*, with reference to Cic., *In Anton. or. Philipp.*, 2, 25, 63.
- 155, 15. juice. Kremer, *Culturgesch. d. Orients*, ii, 180.
- 155, 20. honour. *Ibid.*, ii, 84 f.
- 155, 20. Spain. *Ibid.*, ii, 318 ff.
- 155, 30. Peter. Weinhold, *Die Deutschen Frauen im Mittelalter*, p. 321 ff. Volz, *Beitr. z. Culturgeschichte*, p. 205 ff., 412 ff., 471 ff.
- 155, 33. table. Alwin Schultz, *Höf. Leben z. Zeit. der Minnesinger*, p. 332 f. Baudrillart, iii, 453 ss.
- 155, 35. guests. *Id.*, p. 459.
- 155, 37. century. Also the fattening of fowls in darkened cages was very usual, as well as the fattening of snails. Baudrillart, pp. 459 and 461.
- 156, 1. peacocks. Lacroix, *Moeurs usages et costumes au moyen âge*, pp. 110-190. Alw. Schultz, *op. cit.*, 284 f.
- 156, 5. Geizkofler. Adam Wolf Lucas Geizkofler, *Eine Selbstbiographie*, p. 149. For other weddings in the same family see p. 150. At festivities of this kind luxury only consisted in superfluity (cf. Janssen, *Gesch. d. deutsch. Volkes*, i, 373 f.).
- 156, 7. Spain. Fernan Caballero, *Ausgew. Werke* (Paderborn, 1865), vii, 68 f. ; viii, 67.
- 156, 15. Neville. Th. Wright, *Homes of Other Days*, pp. 360 and 267.
- 156, 20. Salutati. Reumont, *Lorenzo de' Medici*, ii, 423-426.
- 157, 36. banquets. Molmenti, *La vie privée de Venise*, pp. 287-298.
- 158, 12. Scuppi. Hübner, *Sixtus V*, ii, 138 ff.
- 158, 26. Tunis. Montaigne, *Essais*, i, 56. In the seventeenth century Spanish cookery was unpalatable for foreigners, because of the excess of sharp seasoning and of saffron. Cf. the description of a great banquet of 700 covers in Baudrillart, iv, 218.
- 158, 33. Montaigne. Montaigne, *Essais*, i, 51.
- 159, 8. cooking. Cf. the notices in the *Mémoire pour faire un écritéau pour un banquet* : Baudrillart, iii, 500 s.
- 159, 13. Louvois. Lacroix, *XVIII. siècle (Institutions etc.)*, pp. 383 ss.
- 159, 19. Foucquet. Vol. ii, p. 152.
- 159, 21. Vatel. Baudrillart, iv, 76.
- 159, 28. Condé. Vol. ii, p. 150 f.
- 159, 29. fireworks. Fireworks, introduced into France under Henri II, and greatly perfected by the Italians, were an essential element in great festivities from the beginning of the seventeenth century. Baudrillart, iii, 523.
- 159, 31. Vatel. *Lettres de Mme. de Sévigné*, Paris, Hachette, 1862, ii, 186. Baudrillart, iv, 152 s.
- 159, 40. 1773. Read '1783.'
- 160, 30. day. *Ibid.*, 266 s.
- 161, 4. cover. (G. Freytag ?) *Die Entwicklung der französischen Kochkunst*, in *Grenzboten*, 1852, i, pp. 141-155.

- 161, 6. Montague. *Letters of Lady M. Wortley Montague*, letter 7.
- 161, 12. writer. v. Rohr, *Einleitung zur Ceremonialwissenschaft der Privatpersonen*, p. 435, in Biedermann, *Deutschland im 18^{ten} Jahrh.*, ii², 530***). In the house of the Minister Brühl the usual number of courses was 30, exceptionally 50, or even 80.
- Waldmüller, *Minister Brühl in Schlafrock und Pantoffeln*, in *Grenzboten*, 17 June, 1886. On public banquets in Bremen cf. Kohl, *Alle und neue Zeit*, 354 ff.
- 161, 16. Vienna. Scheube, *Aus den Tagen unsrer Grossväter* (after [Risbeck,] *Briefe eines reisenden Franzosen in Deutschland*), p. 387.
- 161, 20. Deyling. Taken from the archives of the council of the Enge at Leipsic by Bitter, *J. S. Bach*, i, 163 f.
- 161, 31. lady superintendent. Read 'Superintendent's wife'.
- 162, 4. writer. Risbeck in Scheube, *op. cit.*, p. 394 f.
- 162, 4. Voss. J. H. Voss, *Sämmtliche Gedichte* (1825), ii, 109-125.
- 162, 11. azia. Preserved Indian herbs and roots, in particular young shoots of bamboo in cocoanut and palm vinegar. J. H. Voss.
- 162, 20. Hamburg. Risbeck in Scheube, *op. cit.*
- 162, 30. Radziwill. E. v. d. Brüggen, *Polens Auflösung*, p. 303.
- 163, 1. Catharine. A. Brückner, *Polemkins Glück und Ende*, in *Baltische Monatschrift*, N. F., i, 518-522.
- 163, 16. Philadelphia. Fr. Kapp, *Aus und über Amerika* (1876), i, 16 f.
- 163, 20. Grimod. *Almanac des Gourmands ou Calendrier nutritif . . . par un vieux amateur*. Paris, An. xi, 1803, 18^{mo} (2 and 3 ed. 1803 and 1804, the 7 following annual sets till 1812). Cf. Rumohr, *Geist der Kochkunst* (1822), p. 14.
- 163, 28. Carême. A. Carême, *L'art de la cuisine française au 19. siècle* (1833), xii ss. Cf. vol. ii, p. 153.
- 163, 34. Cussy. *Grenzboten*, *loc. cit.*
- 163, 39. Morgan. Lady Morgan [Sydney Owenson], *France in 1829-30*, 1830, ii, 411 ff.
- 164, 7. Macaulay. Trevelyan, *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, 1908, p. 243 f.
- 164, 13. Roman. Columella, xii, 4, 2: M. Ambivius et Menas Licinius, tum etiam C. Matius, quibus studium fuit pistoris et coci nec minus cellarii diligentiam sui praeceptis instituere. *Id.*, xii, 44, 1: (C. Matius) illi enim propositum fuit urbanas mensas et lauta convivia instruere, libros tres edidit, quos inscripsit nominibus Coci et Cellarii et Salmagarii. That Apicius was an author does not follow from what Teuffel mentions, *RLG*⁴, 283, 4; Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 42: Asellio Sabino sestertia ducenta donavit pro dialogo, in quo b.leti et ficedulae et ostreae et turdi certamen induxerat.
- 164, 18. Berlin. *Nationalzeitung*, 7 February, 1877.
- 164, 29. Hong Kong. Lady Brassey, *Voyage in the Sunbeam*⁴, 1878, p. 493.
- 165, 5. civilization. I had already dealt with this subject in a lengthy essay, chiefly with the aid of the valuable book of K. W. Volz (*Beiträge zur Culturgeschichte. Der Einfluss des Menschen auf die Verbreitung der Hausthiere und der Culturpflanzen*, 1852),

when an admirable work throwing quite new light on the subject appeared, Victor Hehn's *Culturpflanzen und Hausthiere in ihrem Uebergang aus Asien nach Griechenland und Italien sowie das übrige Europa* (1870). As all the questions were here treated with unparalleled knowledge of the facts and sources, thoroughness and acumen, my only course was to throw aside my essay, and reproduce, in the order that suited my purpose, the results of this new investigation, chiefly in Hehn's own words. I have abstained from referring to Volz and the old authors, as Hehn gives full references, only here and there I have made some unimportant additions. The quotations are made from the 4th edition of Hehn's work (1883).

- 165, 12. Pliny's. Pliny, *N. h.*, ix, 62 sq.
- 165, 17. Varro. Dureau de la Malle, *Economie polit. des Romains*, ii, 175 ss. Varro, *R. r.*, iii, 10, 18; 12, 5 sqq.; 14, 4.
- 165, 22. Orata. Pliny, *N. h.*, ix, 108. Otherwise Valer. Max., ix, 1, 2.
- 165, 24. Aristotile. Aristot., *De gener. animal.*, iii, 11 (Weinland, *Der zoolog. Garten*, iv, 178).
- 165, 28. Bordeaux. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii³, 443, 7 and 8.
- 165, 34. Coste. Molin, *Die rationelle Zucht der Süßwasserfische* (Vienna, 1864), p. 229 ff.
- 166, 5. peacocks. Hehn, *Culturpflanzen und Hausthiere*, p. 292.
- 166, 8. yards. Hehn, p. 297. Cf. vol. ii, p. 149 and notes.
- 166, 15. flamingoes. Cf. vol. ii, p. 149, 7, note.
- 166, 20. Romance. Hehn, p. 300.
- 166, 33. Russia. *Id.*, p. 304.
- 166, 40. Italy. There is no doubt that the vine existed in the lake-dwellings of Emilia. Helbig, *Die Italiiker in der Poebene*, p. 109 f.
- 167, 2. Sophocles. Hehn, p. 66.
- 167, 5. Tarquins. *Ibid.*, p. 92.
- 167, 6. Varro's. Varro, *R. r.*, i, 41.
- 167, 8. Tiberius. Hehn, p. 81.
- 167, 13, 14. chestnuts, walnuts. *Ibid.*, p. 321 f.
- 167, 14. *amygdalum*. Ovid, *A. a.*, iii, 183; *Priap.*, 51, 13.
- 167, 16. Pliny. Hehn, p. 310.
- 167, 19. pomegranates. *Ibid.*, p. 197.
- 167, 20. quinces. *Ibid.*, p. 199.
- 167, 27. Po. Helbig, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
- 167, 31. produced. Hehn, p. 326 ff.
- 167, 33. as well. *Ibid.*, p. 204 ff.
- 167, 39. found. *Ibid.*, p. 214.
- 167, 41. century. *Ibid.*, p. 331.
- 168, 15. stock. *Ibid.*, p. 349.
- 168, 17. Columella. *Ibid.*, p. 394.
- 169, 20. lotus. Pliny, *N. h.*, xiii, 103: Eadem Africa . . . arborum loton gignit, quam vocant celtim et ipsam Italiae familiarum, sed terra mutatam. Cf. Appendix i.
- 168, 20. shalots. Pliny, *N. h.*, xix, 107. Volz, *Beitr. z. Culturgesch.*, p. 110.
- 168, 22. Papirius. *Ibid.*, xv, 47: Aequae peregrina sicut zizipha

- et tubures. The translation after Volz, *op. cit.*, p. 98. S. Papirius . . . primus utraque attulit . . . aggeribus præcipue decora, quoniam et in tecta jam silvæ scandunt.
- 168, 23. Egypt. Pliny, *N. h.*, xix, 107; cf. Volz, p. 110.
- 168, 23. radishes. *Ibid.*, xxi, 87.
- 168, 24. Pliny. *Ibid.*, xix, 81, also Marquardt, *Prl.*, i^a, 328.
- 168, 28. plums. Hehn, p. 346.
- 168, 30. Vitellius. *Ibid.*, p. 339.
- 168, 35. melones. *Ibid.*, p. 256.
- 168, 35. carob. *Ibid.*, p. 369 f.
- 169, 6. investigator. *Ibid.*, p. 362.
- 169, 13. China. *Ibid.*, p. 360 ff.
- 169, 15. Pliny. Pliny, *N. h.*, xv, 57.
- 169, 19. India. *Ibid.*, xix, 59: pars eorum (pot-herbs) ad condimenta pertinens fatetur domi versuram fieri solitam, atque non Indicum piper quæsitum, quæque trans maria petimus. Cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, i^a, 28, 12; ii, 783, 1. Pepper, it is true, grew also in Italy, but the berries were not sharp enough (xii, 29; xvi, 136).
- 169, 20. diet. Pliny, *N. h.*, xix, 52: ex horto plebei macellum, quanto innocentiore victu!
- 169, 40. Restoration. *Almanac des gourmands*, iv. année (1806), pp. 78-89.
- 170, 5. animals. Pliny, *N. h.*, xvi, 1.
- 170, 7. grafting. *Ibid.*, xvii, 8.
- 170, 18. gluttony. *Ibid.*, xix, 52-54.
- 170, 25. day. *Ibid.*, xix, 152 sq.
- 170, 27. London. *Briefe eines Verstorbenen*, iv, 390.
- 170, 30. Rothschild. *Ibid.*, iv, 37.
- 170, 32. unknown. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii^a, 325, 14.
- 170, 34. diamond. J. E. Planchon, *La truffe et les truffières artificielles*, in *Revue des deux mondes*, 1 Avril 1875, p. 633 ss. On the effect of truffes on the cultivation of woods see p. 653.
- 170, 36. Carpentras. *Ausland*, 1870, no. 24, p. 576.
- 170, 40. army. Bähr, *Eine deutsche Stadt vor 60 Jahren*, p. 58, from *Statistik d. deutschen Reiches*, xlii, 102 f.; cf. p. 24. The amount spent on beer amounted in Germany to 922 million marks per annum.
- 170, 40. cigars. Lady John Manners, in *Nat. Rev.*, 1884, March, p. 17.
- 171, 9. treatises. Galen, ed. K., vii, 227.
- 171, 15. time. Pliny, *N. h.*, xv, 102.
- 171, 16. Flaccus. *Ibid.*, xv, 191.
- 171, 18. Provence. Hehn, p. 347.
- 171, 18. casia. Pliny, *N. h.*, xii, 98.
- 171, 23. maple. Hehn, p. 240.
- 171, 25. France. *Ibid.*, p. 352 f.
- 171, 28. wine. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
- 171, 31. olive. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
- 171, 38. civilization. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
- 172, 7. profitable. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
- 172, 9. Cato. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

- 172, 10. Africa. *Ibid.*, p. 74.
 172, 13. east. Varro, *R. r.*, i, 8, 13; Pliny, *N. h.*, xiv, 71 etc.
 172, 14. inhabitants. Hehn, p. 119.
 172, 16. port. Strabo, iii, 416, p. 164 C.
 172, 19. Falernian. *CIL*, ii, 2029 = Wilmanns, 1279 (cf. 1280):
 proc. Aug. per Baetic. ad. Fal(ernas) veget(andas).
 172, 23. oil. Hehn, p. 70.
 172, 25. beer. Diodor., v. 26.
 172, 25. Strabo. Strabo, iv, 1, p. 178.
 172, 32. Moselle. The Neumagen monuments, of about the begin-
 ning of the third century, indicate that the cultivation of the
 vine and the wine trade were very flourishing on the Moselle.
 F. Hettner, *Zur Kultur von Germania und Gallia Belgica*, in
Westdeutsche Ztschr., ii, 22 f.
 172, 34. St. Prex. Mommsen, *Die Schweiz in röm. Zeit*, p. 23 n.
 (inscription of *Liber pater Coeliensis* the 'Father of Cully').
 J. J. Müller, *Nyon zur Römerzeit*, in *Zürcher Antiq. Mittheil.*,
 xviii, 214.
 172, 36. Probus. Hehn, p. 73.
 172, 40. vintage. Volz, p. 142.
 172, 41. Claudian. Claudian, *De laud. Stilich.*, ii, ed. Gessner,
 xxii, 199.
 173, 4. wine. Hehn, p. 77.
 173, 20. handkerchiefs. *Ibid.*, p. 146.
 173, 21. century. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 485-487. In Juv., 3, 150:
 vel si consuto volnere crassum atque recens linum ostendit non
 una cicatrix, apparently the mended tunic is meant. As a
 rule the *tunica* was woollen. Cf. Petron., c. 56; Martial, xiv,
 143, 211.
 173, 24. muslin. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 488.
 173, 31. Elagabalus. *Ibid.*, p. 493 ff.
 173, 34. Saracen. Kremer, *Culturgesch. d. Orients*, ii, 339. Ac-
 cording to Alwin Schultz, *D. höfische Leben z. Z. der Minne-
 sänge.*, p. 259, samite (*ἐξάμυρος*) does not mean velvet, but 'a
 very strong close silk tissue, generally figured with gold and
 silver threads, thus corresponding to what was later called
 brocade', in different colours, usually green and red. Cf.
 Heyd, *Gesch. des Levantehandels im Mittelalter*, ii, 689. (Hüll-
 mann, *Gesch. des byz. Handels*, p. 69: *purpura quae vulgariter
 dicitur samyt.*)
 173, 35. extravagance. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 535.
 173, 38. clothes. *Ibid.*, p. 542 ff.
 173, 40. Agrippina. Vol. i, p. 245. Cf. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p.
 536, 2. A robe of silver cloth worn by Herod Agrippa, Joseph.,
A. J., xviii, 6, 7. *H. A.*, *Vit. Elagab.*, 24: *usus est aurea omni
 tunica, usus et purpurea, usus et de gemmis Persica. An auri
 netrix CIL*, vi, 9213; *Ib.*, 9214: *Sellia Epyre de sacra via auri
 vestrix (?)*.
 174, 1. Charles. Falke, *Deutsche Trachten und Modenwelt* (1858),
 i, 262; cf. for cloth of gold and silver in the beginning of the
 sixteenth century, ii, 76 ff. A dress of Mme. de Montespan
 'd'or sur or, rebrodée d'or et par dessus un or frisé, rebrochée

- d'un or mêlé avec un certain or, qui fait la plus divine étoffe qui ait été jamais imaginée' (Madame de Sévigné in Baudrillart, iv, 130).
- 174, 4. Italy. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, 587.
- 174, 6. South. Paulinus of Périgueux (born between 367 and 371) says (*Eucharisticon*, 147 sq.) that in his youth he strove to get new and beautiful clothes, quaeque Arabi muris leni fragraret odore. Cf. Jerome, *Epist.*, 127, 3: Illae enim solent purpurissa et cerussa ora depingere etc. . . . fragrare mure. *Adv. Jovin.*, ii, 8, examples of odoris suavis: peregrina muris pellicula. The opinion of my colleague, Prof. Zaddach (d. 1881) was that an animal was meant of the genus *Myogale*, the musk-smelling desmans, and more probably the desman (*M. moschata*) of southern Russia which is 9 in. long, than the smaller *M. pyren-aica*. Even to-day the skins of the desman serve to garnish caps and other clothes.
- 174, 15. prices. Lacroix, *Moeurs usages et costumes au moyen âge*, p. 575 s. Cf. also on the same luxury Abraham a Sancta Clara in Karajan, p. 193.
- 174, 20. costly. Falke, *op. cit.*, ii, 47 (on trunk-hose).
- 174, 22. £150. *Id.*, ii, 253 f.
- 174, 24. centuries. Cf. Falke, i, 192 f., on the remarkably rapid change of fashions about the middle of the fourteenth century; ii, 115, on the fickleness of German fashions in the sixteenth century.
- 174, 29. ducats. Polack, *Persien*, i, 151. A hat of King Amadeus VI of Savoy cost 1000 ducats (20,666 francs). Baudrillart, iii, 214.
- 174, 30. Panama. Lady Brassey, *Voyage in the Sunbeam*⁴, 1878, p. 184.
- 174, 34. Juvenal. *Juv.*, i, 28 sq.
- 174, 38. Persia. Polack, *op. cit.*
- 175, 1. wool. Martial, ii, 46.
- 175, 6. wardrobe. *Id.*, v, 79.
- 175, 11. Meinhard. Falke, ii, 149.
- 175, 14. Clive. Macaulay, *Essay on Clive*, ad fin.
- 175, 16. Brühl. Vehse, *Gesch. d. H.*, 33, 331.
- 175, 19. wigs. Falke, ii, 312 f.
- 175, 20. dandy. *Briefe eines Verstorbenen* (1826-28), iv, 39.
- 175, 26. Persius. *Pers.*, i, 32.
- 175, 27. moralist. Martial, i, 96. Read 'To M. any one who . . . effeminate, was a hypocrite'.
- 175, 33. Atedius. *Stat., Silv.*, ii, 1, 128 sqq.
- 175, 34. scarlet. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvii, 204, mentions *coccum* among precious natural products.
- 175, 36. wool. Cornel. Nepos in Pliny, *N. h.*, ix, 137. For the best quality 100 sest. must be deducted for the wool; the best quality from the Padus is the same price, *N. h.*, viii, 190. Lower qualities were hardly dyed with Tyrian purple.
- 175, 39. cloak. Martial, viii, 10; iv, 61, 4.
- 176, 3. shawls. Polack, *Persien*, i, 153. (A single shawl costs there sometimes 200 ducats.)

- 176, 5. cloaks. W. A. Schmidt, *Forschungen auf dem Gebiete des Alterthums*, p. 157 f.
- 176, 7. Caesar. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 43.
- 176, 8. Augustus. Dio, xlix, 16. Mommsen, *StR*, i³, 409 ff.
- 176, 10. Tiberius. Dio, lvii, 13.
- 176, 11. Nero. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 32.
- 176, 12. Domitian. As appears from Martial, *loc. cit.*
- 176, 15. auction. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 175. *M. Anton.*, 17; *Per-tinax*, c. 8.
- 176, 17. dress. On luxury in dress in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries cf. Alwin Schultz, *Das höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesinger*, p. 202 ff., in particular p. 235 f. Girdles for ladies cost 1000 marks (£2,000); the coronation robes of King Wenceslaus II of Bohemia are said to have cost 4000 marks (£8000), p. 236.
- 176, 25. placed. Gregorovius, *Lucrezia Borgia*, p. 236 f.
- 176, 29. Giuliano. Reumont, *Lorenzo de' Medici*, i, 267 f.
- 176, 34. Pollajuolo. *Ibid.*, ii, 423.
- 176, 41. ducats. Gregorovius, *op. cit.*, p. 189.
- 177, 7. Lucrezia. *Ibid.*, p. 237.
- 177, 9. Geiler. Janssen, *Gesch. d. deutschen Volkes*, i, 366 ff. On the value of the *gulden* (florin) cf. note on vol. ii, p. 136, 1.
- 177, 12. England. Falke, *op. cit.*, ii, 109.
- 177, 20. Bassompierre. *Ibid.*, 149 and 152.
- 177, 23. Christina. Grauert, *Christine Königin von Schweden und ihr Hof*, ii, 87, 19. At the time of Louis XIV a certain Madame de Puysieux wore Genoese lace worth 50,000 *écus*. Baudrillart, iv, 153. On the extravagance in lace of Gabrielle d'Estrées, and of the court of Louis XIII, see Lacroix, *XVII. siècle. Lettres et sciences*, p. 514.
- 177, 31. so forth. Lacroix, *XVIII. siècle*, p. 486.
- 177, 35. year. Baudrillart, iv, 291.
- 177, 38. cuffs. Lacroix, *XVIII. s.*, *Lettres etc.*, p. 544 ss.
- 177, 39. alb. Vehse, *G. d. H.*, 46, 59.
- 178, 2. Rzewuski. E. v. d. Brüggen, *Polens Auflösung*, p. 316 f.
- 178, 5. sable. Beckmann, *Waarenkunde*, ii, 263.
- 178, 7. Potemkin's. According to Karnovich (see n. on p. 136, 24).
- 178, 10. occasions. The robes of a peer, at the coronation of George IV of England, in 1820, cost £450 (Eberty, *W. Scott*, i, 350); the gala uniform of a Prussian Minister (1879) cost about £100. The value of the national Hungarian costume worn by Prince Nicholas Esterhazy at the coronation of King George IV was estimated at several million florins. Liszt, *Fr. Chopin*, German transl. by La Mara, p. 26 1.
- 178, 12. shawl. *Ausland*, 1865, No. 44, p. 970 (the dearest imitation French long shawls cost 1500 francs).
- 178, 12. veil. The veil worn by Miss Hannah Rothschild at her wedding with the Earl of Rosebery cost 700 guineas.
- 178, 21. paltry. Mme. de Rémusat, *Mém.*, ii, 347, 349, 379. Lady J. Manners in *Nat. Rev.*, March, 1884, p. 2, says that many ladies who are not very rich spend £600 a year on their toilet,

- those who go much into society often £1000; 60 guineas for a court dress is no uncommon price.
- 178, 28. Indian. Pliny, *N. h.*, vi, 101: digna res (?) nullo anno minus HS [DL] imperi nostri (?) exhauriente India et mercis remittente, quae apud nos centuplicato veneant. xii, 84: minumaque computatione miliens centena milia sestertium annis omnibus India et Seres paeninsulae illa (Arabia) imperio nostro adimunt. Tanti nobis deliciae et feminae constant, quota enim portio ad deos quaeso jam vel ad inferos pertinent? I quote these passages *verbatim*, to show Höck's mistake (*Röm. Gesch.*, i, 2, 288) when he speaks of imports into Rome, instead of the whole empire.
- 178, 31. amours. Read 'our hobbies'.
- 178, 33. luxuries. To which belong also, according to Aelius Marci-
 cianus, *Digg.*, xxxix, 4, 16 § 7, spices, gum, laser (*asa dulcis*),
 opium, eunuchs and wild animals. The last sentence of the
 passage quoted from Pliny, shows that he was not thinking
 only of the expenditure on dress and jewels.
- 178, 37. countries. Tac., *A.*, iii, 53: atque illa feminarum propria,
 quis lapidum causa pecuniae nostrae ad externas aut hostilis
 gentis transferuntur?
- 178, 41. Asia. Cf. the trade reports for the year 1869 (*Ausland*,
 1870, No. 13, p. 200) according to which in the 9 years 1861-
 69 £122,250,000 sterling were paid to Asia, a yearly average
 of 13½ millions; by far the greatest part to British India, only
 about £20,000,000 (in 9 years) to China. Humboldt's esti-
 mate of the yearly export of specie from Europe to Asia was
 £5,318,750; Jacob's for the period 1788-1810 only 1 million;
 Jacob, *Product. u. Consumt.*, ii, 130-132.
- 179, 2. Horneck. *Bedenken über die Manufacturen in Deutschland*,
 p. 113 ff. *Oesterreich über alles* (1708), p. 95.
- 179, 8. alone. Raudel, *Annalen der Staatskräfte von Europa* (1792),
 p. 13.
- 179, 8. 1853. Klöden, *Handbuch d. Erdkunde*, ii, 454 and 457. At
 the time of Colbert England spent more than 11 million francs
 per annum on French fancy goods. Baudrillart, iv, 437.
- 179, 19. gold. *H. A.*, *Vit. Aureliani*, c. 45.
- 179, 20. Chinese. See n. on p. 180, 11, below.
- 179, 21. betel. Pliny, *N. h.*, xii, 129: cf. Marquardt, *Pvl.*, ii²,
 784, 9-12.
- 179, 21. cinnamon. Read 'cinnamon juice'. Pliny, *ib.*, 99:
 pretia (juris cinnami) quondam fuere in libras denarium milia,
 auctum id parte dimidia est incensis, ut ferunt, silvis ira bar-
 barorum. St. Mark says that in Jerusalem a *litra* of oil of nard
 cost 300 denarii: *Mark*, xiv, 5; *John*, xii, 5; cf. Herzfeld,
Handelsgesch. der Juden, p. 100, cf. 191.
- 179, 22. pearls. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 50.
- 179, 30. Galen. Galen, ed. K., x, 492 (ἐχουσι γὰρ αἱ πλουσῖαι γυναῖκες
 αὐτὰ πολλαχόθεν τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν μεγάλας
 πλεουσιν, ἐν αἷς εἰσι πολλὰι τῶν τοιούτων γυναικῶν).
- 179, 33. women. *Id.*, ed. K., vi, 440 (*De sanit. tuenda*, vi, 13):
 τῶν μύρων τὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ σκευαζόμενα ταῖς πλουσῖαις γυναιξίν, ἃ φουλιάρδ

- τε καὶ σπίκата προσαγορεύουσιν. *Id.*, xii, 429: τὸ τῶν πλουσίων γυναικῶν μύρον, ὃ καλοῦσιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ φουλάτον. *Ib.*, 604: τὸ τε κάλλιστον νάρδιον μύρον—καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ Κομμαγήρνον καὶ τὸ Σουσιῶν καὶ τὰ πολυτελῆ μύρα τῶν πλουσίων γυναικῶν ἃ καλοῦσιν αὐτὰ σπίκата καὶ φουλάτα. Cf. Marquardt, *Priv.*, ii², 783 f. This does not exclude the probability that perfume merchants (*seplasiarii*) were in all the prosperous places. *Ib. id.*, 782, 16.
- 179, 35. classes. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, ii², 498.
- 180, 11. drugs. All the above is from Fr. Hirth, *Zur Geschichte des antiken Orienthandels*, in *Verhandl. der Berliner Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde*, xvi, pp. 46–64. Cf. note on vol. i, p. 308, 11.
- 180, 17. Mithridates. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvii, 12.
- 180, 17. diamonds. *Id. ib.*, xxxvii, 55. Cf. King, *Precious stones and precious metals*, p. 47 sq.
- 180, 20. Trajan. *H. A., Vit. Hadriani*, c. 3.
- 180, 23. Agrippa. *Juv.*, 6, 156 sq. Hübner, *Hermes*, i, 347 = *CIL*, ii, 3386: on a silver statue of Isis in digito minimo anuli duo gemmis adamant. Martial, v, 11:—
Sardonychas zmaragdus adamantas iaspidas uno
versat in articulo Stella, Severe, meus.
- 180, 25. Altai. King, pp. 282–284.
- 180, 29. hierarchy. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvii, 85.
- 180, 36. emerald. King, p. 48 s.
- 180, 41. market. *Ibid.*, p. 304 s.
- 181, 8. Egypt. *Ibid.*, p. 297 s.
- 181, 10. sesterces. Hübner, *Hermes*, i, 357.
- 181, 12. filbert. Hehn, *Culturpfl.* etc., p. 321.
- 181, 14. sesterces. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvii, 81 sq. The reading *viginti milibus* gives an impossibly low price; presumably [xx] was altered by mistake into xx.
- 181, 19. industries. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvii, 197, *ib.*, 83 (imitation opal), 98 (carbuncle), 117 (jasper), 128 (*leucochrysus*). Seneca, *Epp.*, 90, 33. Marquardt, *Priv.*, ii², 151. Beckmann, *Gesch. d. Entdeckungen*, i, 373 ff. Sardonyches veri, Martial, ix, 59; v, 87.
- 181, 21. way. Julian, *Orat.*, 2, p. 91 β: τοῖς τοῖς λιθογνώμοσι γὰρ οὐ μὴ ὁδὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξέτασιν ἀπόχρη, ἀλλὰ συνιέντες οἶμαι τῶν πανουργιῶν ἐθελόντων ποικίλην καὶ πολύτροπον τὴν μοχθηρίαν καὶ τὰ ἐπιτεχνήματα εἰς δόξαμιν ἅπασιν ἀντιτάξαντο, καὶ ἀντέστησαν ἐλέγχους τοὺς ἐκ τῆς τέχνης.
- 181, 25. jewellers. King, p. 291.
- 181, 28. pearls. Pliny, *N. h.*, xiii, 91: mensarum insania, quas feminae viris contra margaritas regerunt. Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 16 mentions 'vestes margaritas gemmas' as things to be bought by the bride's father.
- 181, 29. jewels. King, p. 266.
- 181, 29. pearls. Pliny, *N. h.*, ix, 123. Romae in promiscuum ac frequentem usum venisse Alexandria in dicionem redacta, primum autem coepisse circa Sullana tempora minutas et vilis Fenestella tradit, manifesto errore, cum Aelius Stilo Jugurthino bello nomen unionum imponi cum maxime grandibus margaritis prodat. Fenestella was only mistaken in the second part of his statement, and only this was refuted by Pliny.

- 181, 36. exploited. Hübner, *Sixtus V.*, p. 94.
- 181, 37. *Pompe*. Yriarte, *Vie d'un patricien de Venise au xvi. siècle*, p. 50. Molmenti, *Vie privée à Venise*, p. 255 (the jewels of 25 young ladies who called (in the fifteenth century) on an aristocratic lady in childbed, were estimated at 100,000 ducats).
- 182, 4. necklaces. Haxthausen, *Studien über die inneren Zustände Russlands*, i, 87 and 309.
- 182, 4. Nero. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvii, 17.
- 182, 10. slippers. *Id. ib.*, ix, 114. Caligula wore similar shoes, xxxvii, 17. Margaritarum, sacculi, xxxiii, 14. For *Indyitchip-ship* (pearl-embroidered slippers, worn by women only in the house) £10–20 are often paid, but there are some at 200 piastres, and gold and silver embroidered ones at £30 and £40; C. White, *Three Years in Constantinople*, 1845, ii, 95.
- 182, 13. ears. Seneca, *Remed. fort.*, 16, 7; *De benef.*, vii, 9, 4.
- 182, 16. Servilia. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 50.
- 182, 27. Gaius. Pliny, *N. h.*, ix, 117: margaritisque opertam, alterno texto fulgentibus toto capite crinibus (spira) auribus collo [monilibus] digitisque. The words enclosed in brackets are glosses; cf. my *programm*, *Acad. Alb.*, 1867, iv. Cf. *CIL*, ii, 3386.
- 182, 37. Algiers. King, *Precious Stones*, p. 299 s. For luxury of Spanish women in trinkets and jewels in the seventeenth century see Baudrillart, iv, 222 s.
- 182, 37. Nadir. Cf. e.g. Barthold, *Die geschichtl. Persönlichkeiten in Casanovas Mem.*, ii, 48.
- 183, 1. Madras. Macaulay, *Sir John Malcolm's Life of Lord Clive* ('He invested great sums in jewels, then a very common mode of remittance from India').
- 183, 2. wife. Vehse, *G. d. H.*, 19, 220.
- 183, 5. thalers. Schubert, *Jubelfeier der Stadt Königsberg 1855*, p. 76, 1.
- 183, 6. necklace. King, p. 116. Augustus the Strong wore on his person more than 2 million thalers' worth of jewels (Vehse, *G. der Höfe*, 32, 38); Louis XIV at the festivities in honour of the Persian ambassador 12½ million livres' worth (Baudrillart, iv, 86).
- 183, 12. ducats. Polack, *Persien*, i, 146, 157, 162. The diamonds of Mme. de Durac, who owned more than any other lady at the court of Napoleon I, were valued at more than 500,000 francs. *Mém. de Mme. de Remusat*, iii, 18.
- 183, 14. Shah. Baudrillart, i, 331 (after Gobineau, *Hist. des Perses*).
- 183, 17. clothes. Baudrillart, iii, 289.
- 183, 21. ornaments. Falke, *op. cit.*, i, 262 f. Cf. the description of his hat, p. 269, and King, pp. 63–66.
- 183, 25. worn. Lacroix, *XVII. siècle. Lettres et sciences*, p. 531.
- 183, 28. florins. Falke, *op. cit.*, i, 153.
- 183, 30. export. King, p. 267 s.
- 183, 34. back. Every Tuscan *zitella* aspires to a necklace of many strings of pearls (even if irregular in shape and of bad colour); this generally forms her dowry. King, p. 268. The jacket of a rich peasant woman in the Government of Vologda,

- made of good white silk and embroidered with gold, costs 500 silver roubles. Haxthausen, i, 229, cf. 236. The dresses of the Moorish women in Algeria are often worth more than £150. Klöden, *Handbuch der Erdkunde*, i, 461. The Arabian merchants always carry a good part of their fortunes in valuables on their persons. Maltzan, *Drei Jahre im N.-W. v. Africa*, iii, 55. Diamonds (rough or very simply cut) are the ambition of even the poorest women in Tunisia. *Id.*, *Sittenbilder aus Tunis und Algerien*, 1869, p. 21 f.
- 183, 35. barmaids. Juv., 6, 583, where Madvig (*Opusc.*, ii, 198) erroneously interprets of a rich woman.
- 183, 37. Italy. Gregorovius, *Figuren*, p. 330.
- 183, 38. Pliny. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvii, 44.
- 183, 41. East. It came through Oriental influence to the Greeks of Homer. Helbig, *Das homer. Epos*, p. 257 f.
- 184, 2. perfumes. Kremer, *Culturgesch. d. Orients*, ii, 208.
- 184, 8. womb. *Esther*, ii, 12.
- 184, 9. Talmud. Herzfeld, *Handelsgesch. d. Juden*, p. 100 f.
- 184, 11. Graecia. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 785.
- 184, 12. cities. Cf. note above on p. 179, 35.
- 184, 16. Arabian. (Emilie Rüte) *Memoiren einer arabischen Prinzessin*, ii, 18: 'Anybody may follow our track, because our abundant perfume persistently pervades the streets we pass along.'
- 184, 16. Pliny. Pliny, *N. h.*, xiii, 20.
- 184, 19. balsam. Martial, xiv, 59:
 Balsama me capiunt: haec sunt unguenta virorum.
 Delicias Cosmi vos redolet nurus.
- Cf. Juv., 2, 41.
- 184, 19. cinnamon. *Id.*, 3, 63, 4: Balsama qui semper, cinnama semper olet.
- 184, 19. Crispinus. Juv., 4, 108.
- 184, 21. Alfonso. Reumont, *Vittoria Colonna*, p. 40 f. (from Brantôme).
- 184, 25. Martial. Martial, xii, 95; cf. xi, 27, 9: At mea me libram foliati poscat amica.
- 184, 29. Lormes. Falke, ii, 204 f.
- 185, 2. civet. Kremer, *op. cit.*, ii, 208 f.
- 185, 5. Spain. *Id.*, ii, 316 ff.
- 185, 6. Arabian. *Memoiren einer arabischen Prinzessin*, ii, 37.
- 185, 20. floors. Jordan, *Calonis quae exstant*, fr. 55.
- 185, 22. Sulla. Plutarch, *Sulla*, c. 1. On Vellei., ii, 10 cf. Mommsen, *RG*, ii², 408*.
- 185, 26. Travertine. O. Richter, *Topogr. v. Rom*, Iwan Müller's *Hdbch.*, iii, 745; 769. The first building entirely made of travertine was the theatre of Marcellus.
- 185, 28. unknown. Semper, *Der Stil*, i, 493.
- 185, 30. building. Pliny, *N. h.*, xvii, 6: tam recens est opulentia. Here Pliny forgot at least the temple built by Metellus Macedonicus (vol. i, p. 1).
- 185, 36. Venus. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvi, 7. In this passage Pliny mentions six columns, in the other four. Valer. Max., ix, 1, 4 mentions ten, which cost together 100,000 S.

- 186, 2. Rome. Pliny, *ib.*, xvii, 1, 2.
 186, 3. Lepidus. *Ibid.*, xxxvi, 100.
 186, 7. Pliny. *Ibid.*, 110.
 186, 11. world. Vol. i, p. 1 ff.
 186, 11. Macaulay. Macaulay, *History of England*, chap. iii. (on Bath and London).
 186, 21. Demetrius. Plutarch, *Pompei.*, c. 2.
 186, 27. Palatine. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvi, 5, 6.
 186, 28. Lucullus. *Ibid.*, xxxvi, 49.
 186, 36. incrustation. *Ibid.*, xxxvi, 48. Semper, *Der Stil*, i, 493.
 186, 37. towns. Sallust, *Bell. Catilin.*, c. 12.
 186, 39. Caesar. Drumann, *RG*, iii, 318 and 617. Pöhlmann, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
 186, 41. much. Sueton., *Cass.*, c. 38. Drumann, *RG*, iii, 616, 52 (remission of rents in the year 46); Dio, xlviii, 9 (remission in 41). Vol. i, p. 18. Cic., *Ad Attic.*, i, 6: Domum Rabirianam Neapoli quam tu jam dimensam et exaedificatam animo habebas, M'. Fonteius emit H. S. CCCIOOXXX.
 187, 3. Clodius. Cic., *Pro Caelio*, 7, 17.
 187, 4. Crassus. Drumann, *RG*, ii, 309.
 187, 8. sum. Cic., *Ad Attic.*, iv, 2, 5: Nobis superficiem aedium consules de consilii sententia aestimarunt HS. viciens; caetera valde illiberaliter. Pöhlmann, *op. cit.*, p. 82, 2. In Pliny's statement, *N. h.*, xxxvi, 103, that Clodius bought of Scaurus a house on the Palatine for 14,800,000 S., Drumann assumes a mistake, *RG*, ii, 367, 31; Marquardt, *StV*, ii^a, 54, 6, believes the amount is right. Northumberland House was sold for £500,000, to be demolished to make the Avenue. Rodenberg, *Ferien in England*, in *Deutsche Rundschau*, Feb. 1876, p. 231.
 187, 9. Actium. Vol. i, p. 2.
 187, 15. Vitruvius. Vitruv., ii, 7. But the temple of Apollo on the Palatine (dedicated 28 B.C.) was already built of squared stones of Carrara marble. Cf. Bruzza, *Inscr. dei marmi grezzi*, *AdI*, 1870, p. 166 ss. Jordan, *Topographie*, i, 16 ff. O. Richter, *Topogr.*, p. 827. Fasti qui videntur collegi lapicidarum (16-22 A.D.) found in the quarries of Carrara in 1810, *CIL*, i, 1356.
 187, 18. Rome. Strabo, v, 222.
 187, 19. Horace. Horace published the first three books of the *Odes* between 29 and 24 B.C., the *Epistles* a little later.
 187, 31. Taenarum. Horace, *Carm.*, iii, 1, 41-46; Tibullus, ii, 3, 43; Propert., vi, 1, 49.
 187, 31. soffits. Horace, *Carm.*, ii, 18, 1-5, 17-19; cf. Lucret., ii, 28 with Munro's note. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii^a, 721 f. Gilded ceilings and floors in Scandinavia in the sixteenth century. Troels Lund, pp. 209, 217 f.
 187, 32. Carthage. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiii, 57. Manil., *Astron.*, ii, 287. Cf. also Varro, *R. r.*, iii, 1 sq.
 187, 34. trees. Horace, *Epp.*, i, 10, 22: nempe inter varias nutritur silva columnas. *Carm.*, iii, 10, 5: nemus inter pulchra satum tecta. Tibull., iii, 3, 15; Propert., iv, 1, 51. Statues

- in the *silva* in the house of Verres, Cic., *In Verrem*, ii, 1, 19, 51 ; *silva* in the *domus Tamphiliana*, Nepos, *Atticus*, 13, 2.
- 187, 34. fountains. I only know one mention of a fountain in the courtyard, at that time. Sueton. *Aug.*, c. 82: *aestate—saepe in peristylō saliente aqua—cubabat*. But on the analogy of the Pompeian houses, one may readily admit the existence of fountains in Roman houses, considering that it was easy to construct them there.
- 187, 36. moss. Ovid, *Metam.*, x, 595 sq ; Pliny, *N. h.*, xix, 25.
- 187, 37. Sulla. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 627, 4.
- 187, 38. tent. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 46.
- 187, 41. Tibullus. Vitruv., iv, 8, 2, ed. Rose and Mueller-Struebing.
- 188, 6. Livia. Vol. i, p. 11.
- 188, 9. small. Nissen, *Pompejan. Studien*, p. 605.
- 188, 11. vied. Tac., *A.*, iii, 56.
- 188, 16. small. Valer. Max., iv, 4.
- 188, 19. senator. Vellei. Patern., ii, 10, 1.
- 188, 23. nobles. Molmenti, *Vie privée à Venise*, p. 247. Cf. note on vol. ii, p. 136, 1.
- 188, 26. greater. Yriarte, *Vie d'un patricien de Venise au XVI siècle*, p. 106 s. Money certainly had a higher purchasing power than to-day, if in this household 2 francs each were assigned for the daily rations of valet, majordomo and secretary. Mme. de Maintenon estimated the household expenses of her brother the Comte d'Aubigné, at 12,000 livres, and 1000 of them were rent for the house near the Louvre. Baudrillart, iv, 162.
- 188, 26. Vienna. Poschinger, *Preussen im Bundestag 1851-1859*, iv, 76.
- 188, 31. Paris. For '1863' read '1883'. De Varigny, *Les grandes fortunes en Angleterre*, in *Rev. des deux mondes*, 1 Sept. 1888, p. 76.
- 188, 35. towns. Seneca, *Epp.*, 90, 43.
- 188, 35. estates. *Ibid.*, 114, 9.
- 189, 2. scant. Martial, xii, 50 ; cf. Olympiodorus in Phot., *Bibliothek.*, ed. Bekker, p. 63 A.
- 189, 5. hill. Vol. i, p. 114.
- 189, 8. winter. Stat., *Silv.*, i, 2, 152 sqq.
- 189, 10. Martial. Martial, xii, 66.
- 189, 12. double. *Id.*, iii, 52.
- 189, 13. more. Juv., 7, 178 sq. For 'covered drive' read 'colonnade'.
- 189, 14. Fronto. Gell., xix, 10, 1.
- 189, 21. Augustus. Semper, *Der Stil.*, i, 495 f.
- 189, 24. Numidian. Seneca, *Epp.*, 86, 6.
- 189, 29. Nero. Helbig, *Beitr. z. Erklärung d. campan. Wandbilder*, in *N. Rhein. Mus.*, xxv (1870), p. 397. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxv, 2 sq.
- 189, 36. Balbus. Pliny, *ib.*, xxxvi, 60.
- 190, 1. alabaster. Stephan, *Aegypten*, p. 43 f.
- 190, 2. Claudius. Letronne, *Recueil*, i, 136 ss. (on porphyry).

- Bruzza, *AdI*, 1870, p. 169 (on the *granito bigio* in the *mons Claudianus*).
- 190, 4. Aurelius. *Novae lapidinae Aurelianae*, Marquardt, *StV*, ii², 262, 8.
- 190, 5. forty. Bruzza, *op. cit.*
- 190, 8. alabaster. If. Martial says in the description of the same baths, vi, 42, 14, 15:—
 Siccos pinguis onyx anhelat aestus
 et flamma tenui calent ophitae;
 Stat., *Silv.*, i, 5, 36 certainly intentionally corrects this mistake of his rival with the words: *moeret onyx longe, queriturque exclusus ophites*.
- 190, 17. beneath. Vol. i, p. 45.
- 190, 21. sea. Stat., *Silv.*, i, 2, 147 sqq.
- 190, 23. marble. Martial, ix, 75, 6.
- 190, 35. Carrara. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 83 ff.
- 190, 36. 200 A.D. The dates on marble blocks begin with a very few exceptions in the year 64 and continue till 206. The numbers, which show how many blocks were hewn in a particular part of a quarry, or in the whole year, range to 1095 at Porta Santa. Bruzza, *op. cit.*
- 190, 37. periods. Bruzza, *op. cit.* Lists of the principal species in Marquardt, *Pvl.*, ii², 620 ff. Reumont, *G. d. St. Rom.*, i, 272. Layers of ivory, of sea-sand and pumice-stone for grinding and polishing the marble have been found there: *Not. d. scavi*, 1885, p. 224; 251. Richter, *Topogr.*, 853, 2.
- 190, 38. palaces. Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 87, 4.
- 191, 3. well. Keller, *Römische Ansiedlungen in der Ostschweiz*, ii, in *Zürcher antiquar. Mittheilungen*, xv, 50. Cf. the will of Langres (Wilmanns, *El*, 315) in the section on luxury in funerals (ii, 216).
- 191, 6. Narbo. Stark, *Städteleben im südl. Frankreich*, p. 144 ff., 155 f.
- 191, 6. Vienne. *Ibid.*, pp. 576–579.
- 191, 10. glass. Seneca, *Epp.*, 86, 6.
- 191, 16. glass. Quoted from Semper, *op. cit.*, i, 504; for the first discovery no authority is mentioned, for the second Bartoldi, *Memoria*, 101, 102, 118. The emperor Charles IV, wishing to imitate the splendour of the castle of the Holy Grail, lined the walls of two chapels in the castle on the Karlstein (1348–57) with immense slabs of jasper, amethyst, onyx and cornelian, and had the joints between the stones heavily gilt; he similarly adorned the chapel of Wenceslaus in the cathedral of St. Vitus at Prague. Schnaase, *G. d. K. d. M.-A.*, vi², 281; Alwin Schultz, *Höf. Leben u. Zeit. d. Minnesinger*, ii, 424.
- 191, 17. ceilings. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvi, 189.
- 191, 18. gold. *Ibid.*, xxxv, 2.
- 191, 24. set. Semper, *op. cit.*
- 191, 27. course. Seneca, *Epp.*, 90, 5.
- 191, 29. simple. Becker-Göll, i, 115.
- 191, 32. city. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvi, 111.
- 191, 33. known. Richter, *Topogr.*, 831.

- 191, 33. House. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 31; cf. Becker, *Topogr.*, 431 ff.; Richter, 832.
- 192, 2. built. Martial, *Sp.*, 25 sq.
- 192, 6. pearls. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvii, 17; cf. vol. ii, p. 182.
- 192, 7. decorate. *Ibid.*, xxxiv, 84.
- 192, 8. Fabullus. *Ibid.*, xxxv, 120. According to Mau, *Gesch. d. dekorativen Wandmalerei in Pompeji* (1882), p. 454, the rooms of the Golden House still preserved below the Baths of Titus (Richter, 909) are painted in the latest Pompeian style.
- 192, 16. shut. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvi, 163.
- 192, 19. axis. Cf. Varro, *R. v.*, iii, 5.
- 192, 22. Otho. Sueton., *Otho*, c. 7. Louis XIV's expenditure on Versailles (1664-1690) is estimated at 107 millions in the currency of that time, corresponding to more than 400 millions at the present day. Saint-Simon reproached the King, *de s'être plu à tyranniser la nature*. Everything had to be created here, even earth had to be brought to take the place of swamp and drifting sand. From 1684 to 1685 22,000 soldiers and 6000 horses laboured there, and multitudes perished because of the unhealthy exhalations from the soil. Baudrillart, iv, 96-105.
- 192, 24. Vitellius. Cass. Dio, lxx, 4.
- 192, 28. Esquiline. Martial, *Spect.*, 2.
- 192, 29. extant. Becker, *Topogr.*, 220, n. 341.
- 192, 30. Domitian. *Ibid.*, 433 f. Cf. on his buildings (palace, gardens [*Adonaea*] and stadium) Richter, 832.
- 192, 35. Midas. Plutarch, *Poplic.*, c. 15.
- 193, 2. soffits. Stat., *Silv.*, iv, 2, 18-31. On *impetus* (23, *effusaeque impetus aulae Liberior campo*) in the sense of 'span of an arch', cf. Nohl, *Anal. Vitruv.*, p. 14.
- 193, 10. limitation. Tac., *A.*, iii, 32: *villarum infinita spatia*.
- 193, 13. residences. Vol. i, pp. 113, 329.
- 193, 17. improvements. Plutarch, *Marius*, c. 34. Cic., *Ad Att.*, iv, 2, 5 *consules . . . aestimarunt . . . (valde illiberaliter): Tusculanam villam quingentis milibus: Formianum HS. ducentis quinquaginta milibus*.
- 193, 25. wind. Horace, *Carm.*, ii, 15.
- 193, 27. land. Vol. i, p. 113.
- 193, 35. them. *Ibid.*
- 193, 38. Laurentum. *Ibid.*
- 193, 39. sesterces. Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 20.
- 193, 41. Tibur. Martial, vii, 31, 9 and i, 12, 82.
- 194, 3. plateaus. Sallust, *Catilina*, 20, 11.
- 194, 9. Nereids. Stat., *Silv.*, ii, 2, 52 sqq. and 98 sqq.
- 194, 18. Baiae. Seneca, *Epp.*, 55, 6.
- 194, 21. waves. Ovid, *Am.*, iii, 126.
- 194, 22. Horace. Horace, *Carm.*, iii, 24, 3; the interpolation C., iii, 1, 33. *Epp.*, i, 1, 83. Manil., *Astr.*, iv, 262.
- 194, 23. Seneca. Seneca, *Epp.*, 89, 21.
- 194, 31. trees. Philostrat., *Vit. soph.*, ii, 23, 3.
- 194, 33. Pliny. Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 17; v, 6.
- 195, 3. fountain. The fact that fountains were universal in gar-

dens is shown by Quintilian, viii, 3, 8 : An ego fundum cultiorem putem, in quo mihi quis ostenderit lilia et violas et anemonas, [et] fontes surgentes, quam ubi plena messis aut graves fructu vites erunt? Sterilem platanum tonsasque myrtos quam maritam ulmum et uberes oleas praeoptaverim? Habebant illa divites.

- 195, 14. Sorrento. Beloch, *Campanien*, p. 269 ff.; Atlas, Pl. x; vol. i of this work, p. 334 and n.
- 195, 23. generals. Stat., *Silv.*, ii, 2.
- 195, 26. Puolo. Beloch, *op. cit.*, p. 274.
- 195, 27. Tibur. Stat., *Silv.*, i, 3.
- 195, 36. veins. Stat., *Silv.*, i, 3, 34 : Picturata lucentia marmora vena; obviously the painting described in vol. ii, p. 189 is meant, and Bentley's conjecture *Luna* instead of *vena* is wrong.
- 196, 2. villa. *Ibid.*, 13.
- 196, 4. Italy. Niebuhr, *Vortr. über R. G.*, iii, 209. Delete 'and . . . Italy'.
- 196, 10. villa. Brick marks in the walls of that place range from 123 to 137. Nibby, *Contorni di Roma*, iii, 651 in Gregorovius, *Kaiser Hadrian*², 486, 4.
- 196, 14. Hades. *H. A.*, *V. Hadr.*, c. 26.
- 196, 18. Labyrinth. Vol. i, p. 354.
- 196, 18. Galen. *De simpl. medic. temperam. et facult.*, iv, 20, ed. K., xi, 692.
- 196, 25. scale. *H. A.*, *Gordian. tert.*, c. 32.
- 196, 38. ducats. Molmenti, *Vie privée à Venise*, pp. 247, 254, 261 s.
- 197, 1. francs. Clément, *J. Coeur*, ii, 5 ss. and 261 ss.
- 197, 7. Rouen. Burckhardt in Kugler, *Gesch. der Baukunst*, iv, 2 (Lübke, *Die Renaissance in Frankreich*), p. 44. The price is given at 153,600 livres. According to Baudrillart, iii, 422 n. the *livre tournois* had the value of 12 francs in 1550 (*Ibid.*, p. 175, note 1, for the middle of the thirteenth century the *valeur intrinsèque* is stated to have been 19 francs 97 centimes, and the *puissance de l'argent* is estimated at five times as great as at present).
- 197, 7. Richelieu. Baudrillart, iv, 54.
- 197, 16. Vaux. Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV*, ch. 24.
- 197, 17. million. Baudrillart, iv, 75.
- 197, 25. Friendship. Lacroix, *XVIII siècle (institutions)*, p. 463.
- 197, 29. fairyland. H. Fechner, *Friedrich d. Gr. in Landeck*, in *Grenzboten*, 1878, no. 25, p. 451 f.
- 197, 29. Pulavy. v. d. Brüggén, *Polens Auflösung*, p. 211.
- 197, 31. Tulczyn. *Ibid.*, p. 189.
- 197, 35. nothing. *Ibid.*, p. 198 f.
- 19, 37. Woburn. *Briefe eines Verstorbenen*, iii, 213, 216 ff.; v. Ompteda, *Woburn Abbey, Bilder aus dem Leben Englands* (1881), p. 78 ff.
- 198, 13. year. *Briefe eines Verstorbenen*, iii, 208 ff.
- 198, 14. Warwick. *Ibid.*, iii, 223 ff.
- 198, 24. ready. De Varigny, *Les grandes fortunes en Angleterre*, i, in *Rev. des deux mondes*, 15 Juin, 1888, p. 876.
- 198, 41. Alupka. Haxthausen, *op. cit.*, ii, 443.

- 199, 9. wilderness. E. M. de Vogué, *En Crimée*, in *Rev. des deux mondes*, 1 Décembre, 1886, p. 503.
- 199, 23. Caesar. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 46.
- 199, 25. Marius. Dio, lviii, 22.
- 199, 30. Horace. Horace, *Epp.*, i, 83-87.
- 199, 33. Strabo. Vol. i, p. 155.
- 199, 37. Plutarch. Plutarch, *Cupid. divitiar.*, c. 2. Cf. also Martial, iii, 48.
- 199, 38. Cetrionius. Juv., 14, 86-95.
- 200, 4. Horace. Horace, *Sat.*, ii, 3, 307 sqq.
- 200, 4. Martial. Martial, x, 79.
- 200, 16. Macaulay. Trevelyan, *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, 1908, p. 360. A notice by H. Gurlitt on the rediscovery of the ancient quarries in Laconia by H. Siegel (d. 1883 in Athens) in *Berliner philol. Wochenschrift*, 1886, p. 1555. [The marble of Pentelicus is now extensively quarried by an English company. TRL.]
- 200, 39. domain. De Varigny, *Les grandes fortunes en Angleterre*, i, in *Rev. des deux mondes*, 15 Juin, 1888, pp. 872 and 875.
- 201, 6. roses. Also in the Middle Ages roses and lilies were the most popular flowers (Alwin Schultz, *Höfisches Leben z. Z. d. Minnesinger*, i, 43); they were strewn at festivities (like mint and columbine) (*ibid.*, i, 65).
- 201, 6. violets. Cf. Appendix xxiii.
- 201, 8. Nero's. Vol. ii, p. 151.
- 201, 9. Verus. *Aelius Verus*, c. 5. Hehn⁴, p. 206.
- 201, 10. Varro's. Varro, *R. r.*, i, 16, 3. Cf. Jordan, *Topogr.*, ii, 219 f.
- 201, 12. city. Rodbertus, *Z. Gesch. d. agrar. Entwicklung Roms*, in Hildebrand's *Jahrb. d. Nationalökonomie*, 1864, p. 216.
- 201, 15. glass. Hehn, *loc. cit.*
- 201, 18. imported. Martial, vi, 80.
- 201, 32. addition. Hehn, pp. 419-424.
- 201, 37. England. Volz, *Beiträge zur Culturgesch.*, p. 505.
- 201, 39. Pegli. Peschel, *Abhandl. z. Erd- und Völkerkunde*, N. F., (ii), 478. Read 'specimen'.
- 202, 3. species. L. v. Ompteda, *Bilder aus dem Leben Englands*, p. 72.
- 202, 14. ideas. Cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 723.
- 202, 25. candelabra. If, as we may well assume, the pay of a tribune amounted already at that time to such a sum (vol. i, p. 138). Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiv, 11: *nec pudet tribunorum militarium salariis emere.*
- 202, 29. agate. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 767 from King, *Hist. of Precious Stones*, p. 239. The boiling or heating of *murrea pocula* mentioned by Propert., v, 5, 26, was perhaps done to bring out or enhance the colours of the agate, a process still in use. Gergens in Fabricius, *Periplus d. Erythräischen Meeres*, p. 121.
- 202, 30. Nero. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvii, 18 sq.
- 202, 33. Brühl. Vehse, p. 33, 326.
- 202, 34. Saxon. Lacroix, *XVIII siècle (Lettres etc.)*, p. 485.

- 202, 35. £750. Buss, *In Sachen unseres Kunstgewerbes*, in *Im neuen Reich*, 1870, no. 41, p. 532.
- 202, 36. Pliny. Pliny, *ib.*, 29 (alius et in his furor).
- 202, 39. goblets. *Ibid.*, xxvi, 195. A goblet for 200,000 S. (without mention of the material), Dio, lxxi, 5.
- 203, 2. material. Pliny, *ib.*, xxxiii, 147 (nec copia argenti tantum furit vita, sed valdius paene manipretiis). In English silver plate the artistic value is often ten times the bullion value: *Briefe eines Verstorbenen*, iv, 322.
- 203, 3. sum. Martial, iii, 62, 4: libra quod argenti milia quinque rapit.
- 203, 4. more. Pliny, *l. c.* In Martial's time just this sort of luxury was in favour. This was still the case in the fourth century. Paullin. Petrocord., *Eucharistic.*, 209, mentions as part of his house furniture: Argentumque magis pretio quam pondere praestans.
- 203, 7. Nero. Pliny, *N. h.*, viii, 196. Cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 537. A piece of tapestry worked with the needle after Carlo Dolce fetched 3000 guineas: *Briefe eines Verstorbenen*, iv, 125.
- 203, 18. Seneca. Pliny, *N. h.*, xiii, 91; Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 723.
- 203, 23. Martial's. Martial, iii, 62.
- 203, 29. palace. The house of the wife of Marshal Ney (une des plus somptueusement meublées) cost d'achat et d'amoublement 1,100,000 francs. *Mém. de Mme. de Rémusat*, ii, 383.
- 203, 35. value. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvii, 19.
- 203, 38. bronzes. Seneca, *Brev. vit.*, 12, 2.
- 203, 39. heller. Roscher, *Grundlagen*, § 100, 7.
- 203, 40. *Decameron*. Vehse, *G. d. H.*, 21, 148.
- 204, 2. talent. Lucian, *Adv. indoctum*, 13 sq.
- 204, 16. ivory. Falke, *Die Kunst im Hause*, p. 120. Cf. also the description of the furniture of houses of well-to-do bourgeois in Paris in the fourteenth century: Baudrillart, iii, p. 226 ss.
- 204, 23. zecchini. Molmenti, *Vie privée à Venise*, p. 260.
- 204, 25. week. Baumgarten, *Gesch. Karls V.*, i (1885), p. 180.
- 204, 31. porcelain. Lacroix, *XVII siècle (Lettres etc.)*, p. 556. *XVIII siècle (Lettres etc.)*, p. 450.
- 205, 1. Paris. *Ibid.*, p. 459 s. The description (pp. 454-460) of all the rooms of a rich house (given in a novel *La petite maison*) is a true picture of the luxurious furnishing at the time of Louis XV.
- 205, 5. Barry. *Ibid.*, p. 471 ss.
- 205, 8. inside. *Ibid.*, p. 474.
- 205, 11. Bonaparte. Lacroix, *Directoire Consulat et Empire*, p. 516.
- 205, 15. Paris. Keyssler, *Reise*, i, 60.
- 205, 16. Pillnitz. Vehse, 32, 152. Cf. on the furnishing of the Esterhazy palace 42, 165; on the treasures of Clement Augustus, Elector of Cologne 45, 319. On the furnishing of elegant middle-class houses in Germany, Biedermann, *Deutschland im 18. Jahrh.*, ii², 533 f.
- 205, 19. bookcases. Baudrillart, iv, 604.
- 205, 32. masters. *Briefe eines Verstorbenen*, iii, 229 f.
- 205, 40. law. Vol. i, p. 97.

- 205, 41. plate. Manilius, v, 293 (perhaps before the prohibition): jam vescimur auro. Seneca, *Epp.*, 87, 7: aurea supellex etiam in via sequitur. Cf. also Appendix xlix.
- 206, 1. times. Golden service of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, murdered 1476: J. Burckhardt in Kugler, *Gesch. d. Baukunst*, iv, 314; of the Duke of Newcastle, Vehse, 22, 280.
- 206, 2. plate. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii^a, 696 ff.; Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiii, 139 sqq.
- 206, 3. workmanship. Marquardt, *ibid.*, 680 f.
- 206, 11. obtained. Strabo, iii, 2, pp. 147-149. Cf. Marquardt, *ibid.*, 671, 4.
- 206, 13. abundance. Marquardt, *Hdb. d. r. A.*, iii¹, 2, 160 f.
- 206, 15. 1700. For '1700' read '1600', and for '1800' read '1700'. Cf. Wm. Jacob, *Inquiry into the Production and Consumption of Metals*, 1831, ii, 131.
- 206, 21. used. Reumont, *L. de' Medici*, ii, 421 f.
- 206, 29. jewels. J. Burckhardt in Kugler, *Gesch. d. Baukunst*, iv, p. 315.
- 206, 31. gold. Baudrillart, iii, 395 ss.
- 206, 37. them. Janssen, *Gesch. d. deutschen Volks*, i, 347 f.
- 206, 40. spoons. W. Jacob, *op. cit.*, ii, 66.
- 206, 41. ducats. Baumgarten, *Gesch. Karls V.*, i, 180.
- 207, 3. enormous. Vol. ii, p. 144.
- 207, 9. Peru. Baudrillart (from the memoirs of the Comtesse d'Aulnoy), iv, 215-217.
- 207, 12. plate. *Ibid.*, ii, 84.
- 207, 14. hidden. Read 'dented'.
- 207, 15. black. Lacroix, *XVIII siècle (Lettres et sciences)*, p. 532 s.
- 207, 21. millions. Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.*, ii, ch. 28.
- 207, 25. hands. Lacroix, *XVIII siècle (Lettres etc.)*, p. 500 s.
- 207, 28. silver. Baudrillart, iv, 266 s.
- 207, 28. cellars. W. Jacob, *op. cit.*, ii, 202 ff.
- 207, 35. gold. *Ibid.*
- 207, 37. gates. Sybel, *Gesch. d. franz. Revolution*, ii, 55.
- 207, 37. Sell. Justi, *Winckelmann*, i, 82.
- 207, 40. Wartenberg. Droysen, *Gesch. d. preuss. Politik*, iv, 1, 363 f.
- 208, 4. Golitzin. Brückner, *Beitr. zur Kulturgesch. Russlands im 17. Jahrh.*, p. 306 f.
- 208, 10. gold. From Karnovich (see n. on p. 136, 24).
- 208, 13. gold. E. v. d. Brüggén, *Polens Auflösung*, p. 141.
- 208, 17. articles. W. Jacob, *op. cit.*, ii, 206.
- 208, 22. stationary. Baudrillart, iv, 655.
- 208, 28. Rotundus. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii^a, 696, 9. Of the 15 great silver dishes of Mummolus one was 470 lb. in weight. Gregor. Tur., *Hist. Franc.*, viii, 3.
- 208, 36. East. Springer, *Paris*, p. 28 f. Also Alwin Schultz, *Das höf. Leben z. Z. der Minnesinger*, p. 315, believes that the gold and silver vessels of the noblemen in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were partly kept as reserve-funds.
- 208, 40. Sweden. Sam. Kiachels *Reisen* (1585-1589), in *Bibl. d. litter. Vereins in Stuttgart*. It is therefore very striking that

- at the wedding of Gustavus Adolphus tin vessels had to be borrowed. Grauert, *Christine, Königin von Schweden*, i, 531.
- 209, 5. harness. Passarge, *Das Weichseldelta*, p. 28 f. In 1806 wealthy farms there had gilt weather-cocks.
- 209, 7. articles. Baudrillart, iii, 265.
- 209, 14. exile. Moltke, *Briefe a. d. Türkei*, p. 49.
- 209, 16. pearl. *Gospel of St. Matthew*, xiii, 45. Cf. also vol. ii, p. 183.
- 209, 18. Galba. Sueton., *Galba*, c. 8.
- 209, 26. rate. Hultsch, *Metrol.*³, p. 312.
- 209, 27. exacted. Martial, xi, 23, 3, with my note.
- 209, 28. weight. *Intpp. ad Petron.*, cc. 31, 33, 59, 67. Wieseler, *Hildesheimer Silberfund*, p. 10 f.; cf. R. Schöne in *Philol.*, xxviii, 369 ff. and *Hermes*, iii, 469 ff. *CIL*, iii, 1, 1769; *ib.*, v, 2, 8242. Mommsen, *Hermes*, iv, 377. Hübner, *Archäol. Zeitg.*, xxxi (1874), p. 115, table 11.
- 209, 31. feasts. Cf. Appendix xlix.
- 209, 37. medler. Martial, viii, 71. For 'as big as a medler' read 'weighing respectively less than a sixth of a pound and as much as a needle'.
- 209, 39. mother. Juv., ii, 17-20.
- 209, 39. Ambrose. Ambrose, *De Tobia*, 3, 10.
- 210, 7. Paullinus. Pliny, xxxiii, 143; cf. Nipperdey on Tac., A., xiii, 53.
- 210, 14. Severus. *Alex. Sever.*, c. 34.
- 210, 23. anklets. Petron., c. 67. Trimalchio's wife, Fortunata, wears *compedes* 6½ lb. in weight, probably of silver.
- 210, 23. mirrors. Pliny, N. h., xxxiv, 160.
- 210, 23. Pompeii. Becker-Göll, ii, 375.
- 210, 30. Bernay. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 698, 3.
- 211, 2. dentistry. Also the Talmud speaks of false teeth fastened by gold and silver wire. Delitzsch, *Handwerkerleben z. Z. Jesu* (1868), p. 55.
- 211, 3. funeral. Wherever no references are mentioned cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, i², 340-385.
- 211, 19. Tertulla. Tac., A., iii, 76.
- 211, 28. Claudii. *Ibid.*, iv, 9.
- 211, 33. friends. Plutarch, *Cato m.*, c. 11. Henzen, 7177.
- 211, 34. heaps. Pliny, N. h., xii, 83.
- 211, 38. pounds. Henzen, 7004, 7178 = *CIL*, xiv, 413. Three pounds at the burial of a boy of fourteen at Parentium (Istria), H., 7177. In the case of the expenditure of a mother at Parma for the burial of her daughter; statua, odoramenta ex HSM M M M, *CIL*, xi, 1, 1088, the 4000 S. apparently includes the price of both. At the burial of Jesus Christ 100 *litras* (32·8 kg.) of a mixture of myrrh and aloes were used, Joh., xix, 39. Herzfeld, *Handelsgesch. d. Juden*, p. 101 n.
- 211, 38. Pliny. Pliny, N. h., xii, 65.
- 211, 40. fragrances. See note on vol. ii, p. 179, 33.
- 211, 41. Rome. Ten pounds *folei* (apparently *foliati*, N. h., xiii, 15) at the *funus publicum* of a distinguished lady at Puteoli in 187 A.D., IRN, 2517 = *CIL*, x, 1784.

- 212, 2. Crispinus. Juv., 4, 109. Cf. also Martial, xi, 54.
 212, 8. carriages. Plutarch, *Sulla*, c. 38.
 212, 11. incense. Pliny, *N. h.*, xii, 83.
 212, 17. perfumes. Stat., *Silv.*, v, 1, 210-214. Cf. ii, 1, 157-162 (Funeral of Glaucias, page of Ate dius Melior), ii, 6, 85; (of Philetus, slave of Flavius Ursus), iii, 3, 33-37.
 212, 22. flames. Herodian, iv, 2.
 212, 23. pyres. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxv, 49.
 212, 29. Philetus. Stat., *Silv.*, 6, 62.
 212, 36. ornaments. Wilmanns, *Ex. Inscr.*, 461.
 212, 39. glass-work. Overbeck, *Pompeji*⁴, pp. 406 and 626.
 213, 2. marble. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 50.
 213, 8. Lucian. Lucian., *Philops.*, 27.
 213, 14. pyre. Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 2.
 213, 20. fragrances. Plutarch, *Cato m.*, c. 11.
 213, 24. pyramid. Wilmanns, *E. I.*, 216.
 213, 26. aediles. Mommsen, *StR.*, ii³, 1, 510, 1.
 213, 28. Day. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 50.
 213, 29. purple. Stat., *Silv.*, v, 1, 225.
 213, 33. obsequies. *CIL*, x, 1019 = *IRN*, 2337.
 213, 33. *duumvir*. *CIL*, x, 1024 = *IRN*, 2339.
 213, 36. 500. *CIL*, viii, 3079.
 213, 39. sesterces. *IRN*, 2123 = *CIL*, x, 688.
 214, 3. sesterces. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiii, 35. Without doubt Jan is right in reading $\overline{\text{xi}}$; $\overline{\text{x}}$ (as Sillig reads) would be too small an amount to be mentioned as remarkable.
 214, 4. Nero's. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 50.
 214, 9. Tiber. *Id.*, *Vespasian*, c. 19.
 214, 11. effect. On funereal luxury in the Middle Ages see Baudrillart, iii, 613 s.
 214, 15. times. My dissertation on the games in Marquardt's *StV*, iii³, 554, 5 and 6.
 214, 20. Arrius. Horace, *S.*, ii, 3, 243 sqq.
 214, 25. family. Wilmanns, 2037 = *CIL*, i, 1199.
 214, 32. Africa. Pliny, *Epp.*, vi, 34.
 214, 35. games. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 37.
 215, 1. classes. Wilmanns, 307 = Orelli, 1368.
 215, 3. extant. Wilmanns, *Ind.*, ii, p. 695.
 215, 8. ineffective. Cic., *Ad Attic.*, xii, 35 s.
 215, 15. storeys. Wilmanns, 293 (aedes—hypogaeum). Brunn, *Monum. degli Aterii*, *AdI*, 1849, p. 388. Petersen, *Sepolcro s. via Latina*, *ib.*, 1860, p. 350.
 215, 24. Sassina. Wilmanns, 316, 17 = *CIL*, i, 1418: singuleis in fronto p. x in agrum p. x.
 215, 28. Rome. Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 100.
 215, 28. square. Wilmanns, 1375.
 215, 30. Pompeii. *Id.*, 1936. Also 708 g (Hadria: tomb 13 x 24 ft. with garden). *Id.*, 557.
 215, 31. Eutyches. *Memoriolam per ped. viginti in quadrato*. Barnabei, *Mith. d. archäolog. Instit.*, *Röm. Abtheil.*, ii (1887), p. 206. Cf. vol. i of this work, p. 188.
 215, 32. 25 by 25. Wilmanns, 242 (Rome).

- 215, 33. Ostia. *Id.*, 282, 293. Information on the dimensions of the tombs at Aquileia from 6 x 6 to 160 x 300 ft., Pichler, *Virunum*, p. 119.
- 215, 34. acre. Fabretti, p. 223, n. 595 (300 x 196 ft.).
- 215, 34. more. Gruter, 399, 1: huic monumento cedenti agri puri jugera x. *CIL*, xi, 1, 3895 (Capena); tomb with *rosaria* and *viniolae*; at the end: et collige jug., i.e. one *jugum* in all. *Ib.*, 3932 = Orelli, 3688 (—jugera agri Cutuleniani p. m. iiii ita uti depalatum est). *CIL*, xiv, 3342 (Praeneste): [ager ad] aedifici defen[sionem relic]tus—p. m. jug. xi p. dc terrae cultae, praeterea et silvae p. m. jug. v.
- 215, 36. lodge. Petron., c. 71.
- 215, 38. ground. *CIL*, vi, 3, 23, 851. Cf. Appendix I.
- 216, 7. dust. Martial, vii, 3, 5; x, 2, 9.
- 216, 10. foundation. Overbeck-Mau, *Pompeji*⁴, p. 402 f.
- 216, 11. Gabii. Wilmanns, 307.
- 216, 16. Langres. Kiessling, *Anecd. Basil.*, 1863. Huebner, *Inscr. lat.*, *AdI*, 1854, p. 203 ss. Wilmanns, 315.
- 216, 21. ashes. *CIL*, vi, 2, 13, 830: Caeciliae Sex. f. Justae—ossa—tuto tecta Tiburtino Lunense Lesbio lapillo.
- 216, 31. 1877–8. F. Hettner, *Rhein. Mus.*, xxxvi, 1881, p. 335 ff.; cf. *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxxiv, 1887, pp. 257–261, and *Verhandl. der Philologenvers. in Trier*, 1879, p. 24 ff. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 105.
- 216, 34. Pilate. Stark, *Städteleben im südl. Frankreich*, p. 20 f.
- 217, 2. parents. Senz, *Grabmal der Julier zu St. Remy*, and Hübner, *Bildwerke*, in *Jahrb. d. archäol. Instit.*, iii, 1888, pp. 1–36; also *Antike Denkmäler*, plates 13–15. The inscription *Sex. L. M. Juliei c. f. parentibus suis*, *CIL*, xii, 1012.
- 217, 4. Augustus. Hübner, *Tarraco*, in *Hermes*, i, 127.
- 217, 6. cots. Lebas-Waddington, *Voy. archéol.*, on 2145 (p. 504); cf. 2381, 2412 K., 2474.
- 217, 15. officer. *Rev. archéol.*, vii, 1850, p. 386, p. 140; cf. vi, 797.
- 217, 21. Berbers. H. Barth, *Reisen und Entdeckungen in Nord- und Centralafrika*, i, 39; cf. 73–75, 121.
- 217, 29. pyramid. *Ibid.*, pp. 125–133.
- 217, 33. deserts. *Ibid.*, pp. 164–166.
- 217, 36. inscriptions. Cf. Appendix I.
- 218, 7. Praetorian. *BdI*, 1885, p. 72 (ex den. l. milibus). Cf. Appendix I.
- 218, 14. borrowed. Gregorovius, *Kaiser Hadrian*², p. 502 ff. Hirschfeld, *Kaiserliche Grabstätten in Rom*, in *Sitzungsb. d. Berl. Akad.*, 1886, p. 1160, 62. O. Richter, *Topogr. von Rom*, in Iwan Müller's *Hdb. d. Kl. Alterthums*, i, 1888, iii, 880.
- 218, 17. Procopius. Procop., *Bell. Goth.*, i, 22.
- 218, 25. buried. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 1161.
- 218, 36. preservation. De Rossi, *Bull. com. d. R.*, 1886, p. 355 s.
- 219, 1. slaves. Strabo, xiv, p. 668: πλούσιοι γασόμενοι Ῥωμαῖαι μετὰ τὴν Καρχηδόνος καὶ Κορίνθου κατασκευὴν αἰστέλειαν ἐχρῶντο πολλαῖς.
- 219, 16. squandered. Roscher, *op. cit.*, p. 414.
- 219, 20. Moscow. Haxthausen, *Studien über Russland*, i, 59. On the enormous number of servants kept by the Spanish grandees

(the duchess of Ossuña had 500 women and girls in her service) see Baudrillart, iv, 225 s.

- 219, 28. huntsmen. *Land und Leute in Rumänien*, in *Pr. Jahrb.*, 1866, July, p. 65. Ce luxe s'est beaucoup réduit toutefois, depuis l'émancipation des Tsigaines surtout, et il est rare de trouver, aujourd'hui, plus d'une vingtaine de domestiques des deux sexes dans les maisons où ils se comptaient, jadis, par centaines. French translation of this work by Ch. Vogel: *Mœurs Romaines* etc., iii, 139 (note du traducteur). Wallon, *Hist. de l'esclavage*, ii, 150: Nos colonies, toute proportion gardée, nous donnent une image de cette multitude d'esclaves dans le service intérieur.
- 219, 32. garments. Henzen-Orelli, iii, Index, p. 180 s.
- 219, 35. hours. Juvenal, 10, 216.
- 219, 39. twenty. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 3.
- 219, 39. Secundus. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 43.
- 220, 2. Democritus. Stob., *Florileg.*, lxii, 45.
- 220, 6. one. Mommsen, *RG*, iii⁸, 474.
- 220, 9. emperors. Vol. i, p. 53.
- 220, 16. Seneca. Quintilian, xi, 128.
- 220, 27. down. Seneca, *Brev. vit.*, 12, 6.
- 220, 32. attendant. Lucian, *Nigrin.*, 34.
- 220, 34. Sabinus. Borghesi, *Œuvres*, v, 156 s. takes him to be C. Calvisius C. f. Sabinus, cos. 4 B.C.
- 221, 3. slaves. Seneca, *Epp.*, 27, 5-8.
- 221, 10. cupbearers. Marquardt, *Prl. d. R.*, i², 147.
- 221, 11. hair. Petron., 27.
- 221, 14. guests. Seneca, *Ad Seren.*, 11, 3; Stat., *Silv.*, v, 5, 66.
- 221, 15. chatter. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 153, 1. The children whom some people used to lay at night on their abdomens to assist digestion (Galen, xi, 727) were doubtless also slaves.
- 221, 16. Courts. For 'previous centuries' read 'recent periods'. Roscher, *op. cit.*, p. 455. Cf. e.g. Vehse, *G.d.H.*, 33, 141, on the dwarfs and giants of Augustus the Strong. Lady M. W. Montague writes in 1717 (letter 21): All the (German) princes keep favourite dwarfs.
- 221, 23. crippings. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 152, 4. Cf. Appendix ii.
- 222, 17. latter. Cf. Appendix v.
- 222, 24. Höck. Höck, *Röm. Gesch.*, i, 2, 288.
- 222, 31. Roscher's. Roscher, *Ansichten*, p. 450 ff.
- 223, 3. all. *Ibid.*, pp. 431-449.
- 223, 18. Severus. *H. A.*, *Alex. Sever.*, c. 17.
- 223, 20. century. Paulinus Petrocord., *Eucharistic.*, 212, numbers coaches among the accessories of his splendidly furnished house at Burdigala (tunc et carpentis evectio tuta decoris).
- 223, 22. cities. Cf. Appendix vi.
- 223, 25. Romans. Nissen, *Pompej. Studien*, p. 534. Cf. *CIL*, i 1166 (Aletrium: semitas—omnis); i, 1231 (Aeclanum—crepidinem). Orelli, 3844 = Henzen, 6614 = *CIL*, v, 1, 2116 (Tarvisii: viam cum crepidinibus). *CIL*, ix, 442 (Venusia) N. N. aed. viam et crepidin. ob honorem str. xiv, 4012 (Ficulæ):—clivum stravi—cum marginibus. Petron., c. 9: vidi

- Gitona in crepidine semitae stantem. *CIL*, viii, 7046 (Cirta) : viam com(meanti)bus incomm[odam] partim adstruct[is crepi]dinibus. In *Sicca Veneria* is 'a part of an old street with pavements like those in Pompeii'. Barth, *Wanderungen durch die Küstenländer des Mittelmeers*, i, 224. *CIG*, 2570 (Lyttus in Crete) : the emperor Claudius empowered the proconsul C. Paconius Agrippinus to construct τὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀνδροβάμους.
- 223, 27. Nature. Roscher, *op. cit.*, p. 431.
- 223, 29. Southerner. Vol. i, p. 425 f.
- 223, 32. splendour. Vol. i, p. 18.
- 223, 35. veneer. Marquardt, *Prl.*, 722 f. The imitation jewels have been discussed above. The art of gilding (Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiii, 61) was still very backward (W. Jacob, *Production and Consumption of Metals*, 1831, ii, 143).
- 224, 14. builders. Lanciani, *Acque*, cap. 16, § 14. On the aqueduct of Alatri, *CIL*, x, p. 980. Bassel, *AdI*, 1881, p. 204 sqq.
- 224, 16. Canosa. Rein, *Aquaeductus*, *StRE*, i^a, 1376.
- 224, 17. purse. Mommsen, *Edict Augusti über die Wasserleitungen von Venafro*, in *Zeitschr. f. gesch. Rechtsw.*, xv, 305 f.
- 224, 22. poor. *Ibid.*, 316 f.
- 224, 32. drinking. Liban., i, 354 K. in Mommsen, *RG*, v, 458.
- 224, 34. Smyrna. Vol. i, p. 348. Pöhlmann, *Übevölkerung d. antiken Grossstädte*, p. 150, 2.
- 225, 4. water. *Ibid.*, *Bell. Alexandrin.*, c. 5.
- 225, 7. say. Cf. my essay *Das römische Afrika*, in *Deutsche Rundschau*, ix, 4, p. 55 f.
- 225, 7. Verecunda. *CIL*, viii, 4205.
- 225, 8. Lambaesis. *Ib.*, 2660, 2572.
- 225, 10. legion. *Ib.*, 2658.
- 225, 13. skill. *Ib.*, 2728.
- 225, 15. conditions. *Ib.*, 51.
- 225, 21. left. Barth, *Wanderungen*, i, 312 f.
- 225, 24. aqueduct. Maltzan, *Drei Jahre im N.-W. von Africa*, iv, 134.
- 225, 26. elsewhere. Boissière, *Esquisse d'une histoire de la conquête . . . Romaine dans le nord de l'Afrique*, 1878, p. 72.
- 225, 31. course. Vol. i, p. 381.
- 226, 1. people. Auson., *Cl. urb.*, 14.
- 226, 2. Bordeaux. Stark, *Städteleben im südl. Frankreich*, p. 221.
- 226, 5. Nîmes. *Ibid.*, p. 97 ff. and 106.
- 226, 6. savant. Boissieu, *Inscr. de Lyon*, p. 446 (Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii^a, 716).
- 226, 19. long. Bauer, *Die Wasserwerke Roms im Anf. d. Kaiserzeit*, in *Vierteljahrsschr. f. Volks- und Kulturgesch.*, lii, 1876, p. 87 ff.
- 226, 26. long. *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxxii, 1886, pp. 212-214; v. Veith, *Die röm. Wasserleitung von der Eifel zum Rhein*, *ibid.*, lxxx, 1885, pp. 2 and 21.
- 226, 29. admired. Reuleaux, *Remagen im Mittelalter u. d. Römerzeit*, *ibid.*, lxxx, p. 176 ff.
- 226, 30. Rome. Felix Fabri, *Evagatorium* (1483), iii, 61: Nonnulli volunt dicere quod non fuerit aquae ductus cum urbs

alias abundet aquis Tiberis, sed per illum ductum de Neapoli intromittebatur olim vinum in urbem et oleum per longum viae spatium.

- 226, 30. Cologne. C. A. Eick, *Die röm. Wasserleitung aus der Eifel nach Cöln* (Bonn, 1867). Cf. Bursian in *Litt. Centralblatt*, 1869, p. 150 and his *Aventicum Helvetiorum*, Heft i, p. 12, n. 1.
- 226, 37. Italy. Gell., x, 3 : public baths at Cales, Teanum Sidicinum and Ferentum in a speech of Gracchus.
- 226, 39. fee. Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 17, 26 of a vicus near *Laurentum* : in hoc balnea meritoria tria.
- 227, 3. slaves. Orelli-Henzen, 2287, 6985.
- 227, 12. fat. Huebner and Mommsen, *Lex metalli Vipascensis*, in *Ephem. epigr.*, iii, 165-189.
- 227, 12. Galen. Galen, xiii, 597, prescribes in a certain case to abstain four days from bathing : ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπόλωνεν ἐν τῷ νῦν βίῳ ἢ καρτερία πάντων (τῶν παλαιῶν?) ἀνθρώπων, ἤδη μέχρι καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς καθ' ἡμέραν εἰσθότων λούεσθαι, τοὺς μὲν μὴ πάνυ τρυφῶντας, εἰεν δ' ἂν οἱ πένητες οὗτοι, πειθομένους ἔχομεν ὡς τὸ πολὺ, τοὺς πλουσίους δὲ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν ὅσοι πολὺ δύναται ἢ δυσπειθοῦντας ἢ τελείως ἀπειθοῦντας.
- 227, 18. week. Seneca, *Epp.*, 86, 12.
- 227, 21. Doberan. Roscher, *op. cit.*, pp. 436-439.
- 227, 23. Romans. Cf. vol. i, p. 384 ff.
- 227, 26. country. Roscher, *op. cit.*, p. 439.
- 227, 28. year. Vol. i, p. 329 f.
- 227, 30. value. *Ibid.*, p. 386 f.
- 227, 34. literally. Becker-Göll, ii, 286.
- 227, 35. windows. Vol. i, p. 10 f.
- 227, 37. public. *Ibid.*
- 227, 38. gardens. *CIL*, x, 5971 : iiiivir. j. d. cryptam et locum ubi crypta est et arcam ubi viridia sunt municipio Signino de sua pecq. deder. Also around temples parks and garden-parterres were frequent, if not usual : *CIL*, viii, 10,627 (Te-bessa) : coronatus cistifer lucum a solo cum signis et ornamentis suis.
- 228, 3. laboriously. Roscher, *op. cit.*, p. 441.
- 228, 25. duty. Martial, ix, 22.
- 228, 28. frequent. E.g. Gruter, 434, 1 ; Orelli, 2172, 5323, 6759 ; *CIL*, ii, 1573, 2782, 4468 ; *CIA*, iii, 687. Hirschfeld, *Philologus*, xxix (1869), p. 84. Cf. Orelli, 114.
- 228, 31. Augustus. Marquardt, *StV*, ii², 142 and 144, Hirschfeld, *VG*, 122, 3 ; *CIL*, xiv, 350 (Ostia).
- 228, 32. aged. Paul. D., xxx, 122 pr. Hoc amplius, quod in alimenta infirmæ ætatis, puta senioribus, vel pueris puellisque relictum fuerit.
- 228, 32. burial-places. Orelli, 4404, *CIL*, v, 2, 5228.
- 228, 38. Pliny. Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 13.
- 228, 40. enlargement. *Ibid.*, i, 8, 2 ; *CIL*, xi, 1, 2704 (Volsinii) : . . . is bybliothecam a solo . . . mque libris et statuis . . . (t)estamento dedit.
- 229, 9. instead. Pliny, *Ad Tr.*, 116 K. ; Cic., *Cluent.*, 60, 160 ; Apulej., *Apol.*, 539.

- 229, 11. legacy. *D.*, xxxiii, 1, 23; Orelli, 80, 81. *IRN*, 4869 = *CIL*, ix, 2226.
 229, 14. expressions. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 37.
 229, 19. 400,000. Petron., c. 45.
 229, 32. *denarii*. Lebas-Waddington, 674, 648.
 229, 41. all. Roscher, *op. cit.*, p. 449.
 230, 21. Mommsen. Mommsen, *Die röm. Schweiz*, p. 24. *Id.*, *RG*, v, 5: 'If an angel of the Lord were to weigh them in the balances, and determine whether the district ruled by Severus Antoninus was governed with more intelligence and humanity then or now, it is very doubtful whether the decision would be in favour of the present time'.

III. THE ARTS.

- 231, 20. Rimini. *CIL*, xi, 1, 367.
 231, 22. countries. On the Roman bridge spanning the giant gorge of the Rummel, which formed the only entrance to Constantine until it fell in 1857, see Maltzan, *Drei Jahre im N.-W. von Africa*, iii, 28 f.
 231, 23. principle. Goethe, *Werke*, 23, 140.
 232, 7. existed. Rodbertus in Hildebrand's *Jahrb. f. Nationalökonomie*, v, 268.
 232, 9. provinces. Cf. Appendix lii.
 232, 21. spring up. Marquardt, *StV*, i^a, 19-21; cf. 373 f. (Cappadocia, Armenia Minor) and Mommsen, *RG*, v, 65 f.
 232, 29. Gallienus. Mommsen, *CIL*, viii, p. 284 (erection of the Capitol) and 423; Hirschfeld, *Oesterreich. Mitth.*, v, 1881, p. 214.
 232, 41. Algeria. Jung, *op. cit.*, p. 137 f.
 233, 3. villages. Wilmanns, *Die röm. Lagerstädte, Comment. Mommsen*, pp. 190-212. Mommsen, *Die röm. Lagerstädte, Hermes*, vii, 299 ff.
 233, 4. town. Bergk, *Westdeutsche Ztschr.*, i, 498-515.
 233, 7. rights. Domazewski, *Oesterreich. Mitth.*, x, 1886, p. 14 ff.
 233, 11. camp. Tac., *H.*, iv, 22: *opera haud procul castris in modum municipii exstructus*, cf. i, 67: *longa pace in modum municipii exstructus locus* (Baden near Zürich).
 233, 14. town. J. Becker, *Urgeschichte von Castel Mainz u. Hedernheim*, in *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxvii, 1879, p. 1 ff.
 233, 16. way. Marquardt, *StV*, ii^a, 21.
 233, 19. East. Aristid., *Or.*, xiv, pp. 223-225 (dated 145 by Waddington, *Vie du rhéteur Aristide, Mémoires de l'Inst.*, 1867, p. 255).
 234, 1. Aelian. Aelian, *V. hist.*, ix, 16.
 234, 4. Marcus. Höck, *Gesch. Roms*, i, 2, 151.
 234, 9. Rome. Vol. i, p. 2.
 234, 10. Empire. Auson., *Cl. urb.*, 6.
 234, 11. Vibo. Appian, *B. C.*, iv, 3.
 234, 15. Procopius. Procop., *BG*, ii, 7.
 234, 18. Naples. Stat., *Silv.*, iii, 5, 81 sqq. Vol. i, p. 333.
 234, 20. Sicily. Pliny, *N. h.*, iii, 88; Marquardt, *StV*, i^a, 244.

- 234, 21. Centuripae. Cic., *Verr.*, iv, 23, 50.
 234, 22. Ausonius. Auson., *Cl. urb.*, 11.
 234, 23. Corsica. Pliny, *ib.*, iii, 80.
 234, 24. Gaul. Strabo, v, 1, 12, p. 218 C.
 234, 27. Cremona. Dio, lxxv, 15; Tac., *Hist.*, iii, 33 sq.
 234, 29. boats. *CIL*, xi, 1, p. 6.
 234, 31. Procopius. Procop., *B. Goth.*, ii, 7 sq., 21.
 234, 33. Witichis. Pöhlmann, *Übervölkerung d. antiken Grossstädte*, p. 19, 4.
 235, 11. Gaul. Josephus, *B. J.*, ii, 16. Cf. Appendix v, p. 22. Cf. my essay, *Gallien und seine Cultur unter den Römern*, in *Deutsche Rundschau*, iv, 3 and Hirschfeld, *Beitr. zur Gesch. der Narbonens. Provinz*, in *Westdeutsche Ztschr.*, 1889, p. 10 ff.
 235, 14. Mela. Pompon. Mela, ii, 6, 75-77.
 235, 16. traces. *CIL*, xii, pp. 160 and 511.
 235, 17. arch. *ib.*, p. 130 sq.
 235, 18. Arausio. *ib.*, p. 152.
 235, 22. Apollinaris. Apollinar. Sidon., *C.*, 23, 1.
 235, 23. seen. *CIL*, xii, p. 521^b.
 235, 26. Antonines. *Ibid.*, p. 383.
 235, 30. century. *ib.*, p. 83 sq.; Auson., *Cl. urb.*, 8. Vol. i of this work, p. 314. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
 235, 31. 25,000. See Appendix xxxvi.
 235, 35. walls. Auson., *Cl. urb.*, 12; Ammian., xv, 11, 4; *CIL*, xii, p. 626^a.
 235, 39. porticus. *CIL*, xii, p. 218^b; Kiepert, *Lehrb. d. alten Geogr.*, p. 439.
 235, 40. Gaul. Euseb., *H. eccl.*, v, 1.
 235, 5. itself. O. Hirschfeld, *Lyon in der Römerzeit* (1878).
 236, 7. recovered. Herodian, iii, 7, 5. Neither Ausonius nor Ammianus names it among the important towns of Gaul.
 236, 8. Lutetia. Vales., *Gallia christ.*, p. 438 sq.; Julian, *Misopog.*, p. 340.
 236, 11. Panthéon. Cf. Append. xxxvi, p. 224.
 236, 13. gateways. Kiepert, *op. cit.*, p. 445, 5.
 236, 16. 131. Edm. Thomas (d. 1660), *Hist. de l'antique cité d'Aulun*, pp. 32, 61, 63, 215.
 236, 18. Auch. P. Mela, iii, 20.
 236, 20. Atlantic. Kiepert, *op. cit.*, p. 571.
 236, 23. regular. Auson., *Cl. urb.*, 14.
 236, 24. Divona. Cf. vol. ii, p. 225.
 236, 27. governor. Strabo, iv, 4, 5; Jerome, *Epp.*, 91; Ammian., xv, 11, 1.
 236, 34. town. Kiepert, p. 526.
 236, 38. earlier. Hettner, *D. röm. Trier. Verhandlg. der Philologenversammlung.*, 1879, pp. 15-28. Hübner, *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxx, 1885, pp. 117-121, ascribes the *porta Nigra* to the first fortification under Claudius.
 236, 41. Cologne. Asbach, *Die Anfänge der Ubierstadt*, in *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxxvi, 1888, p. 121 ff.
 237, 1. bank. Tac., *Hist.*, iv, 63.
 237, 10. city. Cf. note on vol. ii, p. 233, 11.

- 237, 15. spectators. Bursian, *Aventicum Helvetiorum*, in *Mitth. d. antiq. Ges. in Zürich*, vol. xvi, i, 1 (1867).
 237, 18. Antonines. Cf. vol. ii, p. 232.
 237, 20. prosperity. Hübner, *Tarraco u. s. Denkmäler*, in *Hermes*, i, 77 ff.
 237, 22. Augustus. Marquardt, *StV*, i², 257, 2.
 237, 24. sesterces. Strabo, iii, p. 168; p. 173 sq.
 237, 32. ruins. Kiepert, p. 488.
 237, 34. century. Cf. my essay, *Das römische Afrika*, in *Deutsche Rundschau*, ix, 4 and 5.
 237, 35. hamlets. Jung, *Roman. Landschaften*, p. 121.
 237, 41. Africa. Marquardt, *StV*, i², 477 ff.; Pliny, *N. h.*, v, 29.
 238, 2. cities. Marquardt, 478, 31.
 238, 7. rights. *Ibid.*, 479, 1 and 2.
 238, 8. explained. Cf. vol. ii, p. 232.
 238, 11. century. Marquardt, 479 f.
 238, 12. statuary. *Explorat. scientif. de l'Algérie. Archéol.*, pl. 18 ss. *Beaux arts*, pl. 46 ss.
 238, 15. prosperity. *CIL*, viii, p. 173 s.
 238, 21. Rome. *Ib.*, p. 133; Herodian, vii, 6, 1; iv, 3, 7. On Utica (ἡ δευτέρα μετὰ Καρχηδόνα, Strabo) *CIL*, viii, p. 149.
 238, 24. standing. Barth, *Wanderungen*, i, 114 f.; Guérin, *Foy. archéol. dans la régence de Tunis*, ii, 282-284 (Uthina). *Ibid.*, ii, 354 ff. (Seressita). *CIL*, viii, p. 489 (Thubursicum).
 238, 24. Sufetula. Guérin, i, 324; 369 ss.
 238, 30. *duwars*. Hesse-Wartegg, *Tunis, Land und Leute*, p. 158 f.
 238, 35. columns. Barth, *Wanderungen*, pp. 310-312.
 238, 35. Thamugadi. *CIL*, viii, p. 259.
 238, 36. Thagaste. *Ibid.*, p. 508.
 238, 37. Madauri. *Ibid.*, p. 472^b.
 239, 2. preserved. Maltzan, *Drei Jahre im Nordwesten v. Africa*, ii, 306-314.
 239, 5. Zershel. Barth, *Wanderungen*, i, 56.
 239, 7. hill. Duruy, *Hist. Rom.*, v, 200, 1.
 239, 10. population. Herodian, vii, 4.
 239, 10. Vandals. Procop., *Anecd.*, 18.
 239, 13. 8,500,000. Cf. Appendix xlv, p. 271.
 239, 17. 1,000,000. Vol. i, p. 355.
 239, 18. Arsinoe. Wessely, *Kl. Mitth. a. d. Sammlung d. Papyrus Erz. Rainer*, ii, iii, 1887, p. 261.
 239, 20. episcopates. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, i², 439, 12.
 239, 23. whole. Cf. vol. i, p. 309.
 239, 25. long. O. Mueller, *Diss. Antiochenae*.
 239, 26. Libanius. Mommsen, *RG*, ii, 458 f. Cf. vol. ii of this work, p. 224.
 239, 32. houses. Mommsen, *Obs. epigr.*, in *Eph. epigr.*, iv, 1881, p. 538.
 240, 5. well. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 469 f.
 240, 8. East. Julian, *Epp.*, 24, p. 392 C.
 240, 10. Zeus. Liban., ed. R., i, 594, 14.
 240, 21. ruins. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 423, 428 f., 441 f.
 240, 23. houses. Vol. i, p. 5.

- 240, 24. Berytus. Josephus, *B. J.*, ii, 18, 9.
 240, 26. houses. Strabo, xvi, 753, 758.
 240, 27. 70 A.D. Marquardt, *StV*, ii^a, 121, 2.
 240, 27. Caesarea. Hausrath, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, i, 255, 283, 5.
 Schürer, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, p. 206 ff.
 240, 31. century. *Expos. tot. mundi*, 25.
 240, 38. belong. Lebas-Waddington, p. 491.
 241, 29. repair. All the above is from Mommsen, *RG*, v, 482–485, for the most part literally.
 241, 36. necropolis. R. Dörgens, *Das Bab el Amman in Gerasa*, Erbkam's *Ztschr. f. Bauwesen*, xvi (1866), p. 350.
 242, 1. buildings. Lebas-Wadd., *op. cit.*
 242, 5. centuries. Kiepert, *Lehrb. d. a. Geogr.*, p. 165.
 242, 10. dead. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 485.
 242, 13. mention. Marquardt, *StV*, i^a, 340, 3. On Josephus, *B. J.*, ii, 16, 4 see Appendix v.
 242, 17. Apamea. Kiepert, pp. 104, 107 f.
 242, 26. king. Tac., *A.*, iv, 55 (xiv, 27: ex inlustribus Asiae urbibus Laodicea). Strabo, xii, p. 578 C. Gibbon, *History*, ch. ii, 81.
 242, 28. Pergamus. Galen, v, 49.
 242, 30. Asia. Pliny, *N. h.*, ii, 120, 125.
 242, 33. beautiful. Add 'in the province'. Vol. i, p. 348.
 242, 37. Stratonicea. G. Hirschfeld, *Bericht über eine Reise im südwestlichen Klein-Asien*, in *Zeitschr. f. Erdkunde*, xiv (1879), pp. 311–314.
 242, 40. Vespasian. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, i^a, 348 f.
 243, 2. world. Vol. i, p. 345.
 243, 6. Asia. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 327.
 243, 9. Diocletian. *De mortib. persecut.*, c. 7.
 243, 10. Rome. Ammian., xxii, 9, 3.
 243, 13. beauty. Liban., iii, p. 339, ed. Reiske.
 243, 14. Trapezus. Kiepert, pp. 92, 93.
 243, 17. century. Zonaras, xii, 23, ed. Dindorf, iii, 141.
 243, 22. Justinian. Procop., *De aedific.*, iii, 4 (ed. Dindorf, iii, p. 254).
 243, 24. world. The following is taken, for the most part literally, from G. Hirschfeld, *Bericht über eine Reise in Kleinasien*, in *Zeitschr. f. Erdkunde*, vol. xiv, pp. 279–320.
 245, 27. city. For the most part literally from Mommsen, *RG*, v, 327 f. Benndorf and Niemann, *Reise in Lykien und Karien*, i, 58 ff.
 245, 34. ruins. Herodian., iii, 1, 6 sq., iii, 6, 9. Dio, lxxiv, 10 ss. Frick, *StRE*, i^a, 2618 (Byzantium) considers it impossible that the walls extended 40 *stadia*, but by measuring the very numerous salient and re-entrant angles (mentioned by Dio) this figure might well be obtained.
 245, 37. Goths. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 282.
 245, 38. Hadrian. Kiepert, *op. cit.*, p. 329; Marquardt, *StV*, i^a, 315.
 245, 39. Lucian. Lucian, *Scythia*, c. 9; cf. *Asin.*, c. 46.
 246, 12. baptistery. Kiepert, p. 359. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

- 246, 19. besides. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands unter den Römern*, ii, 438.
- 246, 20. Plutarch. Plutarch, *Sulla*, c. 15, 5.
- 246, 23. Corinth. Vol. i, p. 342.
- 246, 28. populous. Mommsen, p. 271 f.
- 246, 39. slain. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 31-33. Cf. Huebner, *CIL*, vii, pp. 21 and 23 sq.
- 246, 41. Wroxeter. Kiepert, p. 531.
- 247, 3. temples. Huebner, *CIL*, vii, p. 24.
- 247, 4. inscriptions. *Id.*, p. 332.
- 247, 8. followed. Tac., *Agric.*, c. 20.
- 247, 11. huts. Dio, lx, 33.
- 247, 15. 250 A.D. Herzog, *Die römischen Niederlassungen auf württemberg. Boden*, in *Jahrb. d. Alterthumsfr. im Rheinl.*, lix (1876), p. 48.
- 247, 16. settlements. Stälin, *Gesch. Württembergs*, i, 104-109.
- 247, 21. Belgica. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 145.
- 247, 21. Wiesbaden. Kiepert, p. 522.
- 247, 24. Augusta. Tac., *Germ.*, c. 41.
- 247, 26. Perlach. Cf. Appendix xxxvi, p. 194.
- 247, 37. elements. Kiepert, p. 365; Mommsen, p. 180 f.; Fritz Pichler, *Virunum*, 1888.
- 248, 1. former. Vol. ii, p. 233.
- 248, 10. Hadrian. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 186-188. On the newest excavations in Carnuntum cf. *Bericht des Vereins Carnuntum f. d. Jahre 1887 und 88* (Wien, 1889). On Savaria see Benndorf and Hirschfeld, *Oesterr. Mitt.*, i, 147.
- 248, 18. Servia. Kiepert, p. 331.
- 248, 21. Troesmis. Mommsen, 194 f. and 207.
- 248, 31. Transylvania. Neugebauer, *Dacien*, p. 5.
- 248, 40. cities. Jung, *Römer und Romanen*, pp. 92-97.
- 249, 2. architects. Pliny, *Ad Trajan. Ep.*, 40, ed. K. (cf. 18 and 62).
- 249, 4. armies. Mommsen, *StR*, i^a, 368; Marquardt, *StV*, ii^a, 553, 6.
- 249, 5. numerous. *CIL*, vi, 9151-9154. Becker, *Röm. Inschr. am Mittelrhein*, in *Bonner Jahrb.*, liii, liv (1873), p. 146 f. A *praefectus architectus* (Concordia), *CIL*, v, 1, 1886. Architectus, cui maxima erat cura publicarum fabricarum, Augustine, *Conf.*, vi, 9, 15. Promis, *Gli architetti e l'architettura presso i Romani*, in *Mem. dell' acad. di Torino*, S. ii, xxvii (1873), pp. 1-187 mentions from inscriptions, p. 86 ss., 29 civil architects (13 Roman citizens, 13 freedmen, 3 slaves) and 13 military architects (adetti agli arsenali ed agli eserciti, tutti soldati e cittadini Romani).
- 249, 14. Hellenic. Herodian, iii, 2, 8.
- 249, 16. capital. Gell., xvi, 13.
- 249, 20. Tuscus. Bormann, *Var. obs. de antiq. Rom. (Ind. Marburg. aestiv. 1883*, p. 5) and *CIL*, xi, 1, p. 76 sq.
- 249, 21. Salerii. *CIL*, xi, 1, 3126.
- 249, 22. Ostia. *Id.*, xiv, 324 (Campus Martis).
- 249, 24. Vatican. De Rossi, *Nuove osservazioni intorno la topogr.*

- Puteolana*, in *Bull. Nap.*, N. S., ii, p. 156. Henzen-Orelli, vol. iii, index, p. 169 sq.
- 249, 28. colonies. Castan, *Le Capitole de Vesontio et les Capitoles provinciaux du monde Romain*, in *Mém. lus à la Sorbonne*, 1869, pp. 47-77 (where 24 Capitols are enumerated), and in his *Les Capitoles provinciaux du monde Romain*, 1886 (only known to me from De Rossi and Gatti, *Miscellanea*, in *Bull. comun. di R.*, xv, 1887, pp. 66-68), proves the statement in the text against Kuhfeldt, *De capitolis imperii Romani* (Regim. 1882), by citing 40 cases of Capitols, to which De Rossi, *loc. cit.*, adds those of Arsinoe, Nicopolis in Lower Moesia and Caralis (church of S. Nicolao in Cap.). Jordan had already written to the same effect, *Die Marsyasstatue auf dem Forum zu Rom* (1882), p. 18 f.: 'Little Rome, the *colonia civium Romanorum* received as a symbol, in the eastern half of the empire Marsyas, in the west and south, as in Italy, the Capitol'. Marsyas in Africa, *Eph. epigr.*, v, pp. 549 and 551 (1264 and 1269). The *signum lupae cum insignibus suis* as a symbol of Roman citizenship, at the end of the second or beginning of the third century, in the village of Aurelia Vina, which was raised to the rank of a *municipium*, *CIL*, viii, 958.
- 249, 29. Trèves. Jordan, *Topogr.*, i, 2, 36.
- 249, 32. *operum*. Henzen-Orelli, *Ind.*, p. 161. Cf. *AdI*, p. xxiii, p. 15.
- 249, 33. completion. Mommsen, *Stadtrecht v. Salpensa u. Malaca*, in *Abhandl. d. Sächs. Ges. Ph. hist. Classe*, iii, 445 f.
- 249, 35. Plutarch. Plutarch, *An vitiositas etc.*, c. 3.
- 249, 41. erections. Rein, *StRE*, v, 229.
- 250, 4. beautiful. Pliny, *Ad Tr. Epp.*, 23 sq., 70 sq.
- 250, 9. Pliny. *Ibid.*, 37 sq.
- 250, 12. forum. *Ibid.*, 49.
- 250, 22. baths. *Ibid.*, 39.
- 250, 25. amenity. *Ibid.*, 90 sqq.
- 250, 28. city. *Ibid.*, 94 sq.
- 250, 33. Lusitania. Huebner, *CIL*, ii, pp. 89-96.
- 250, 34. money. Marquardt, *StV*, i², 180-183. Cf. *Digg.*, i, 12, 6, § 2.
- 250, 40. Pompeii. *IRN*, 2378 = *CIL*, x, 1074.
- 251, 3. sevirate. Marquardt, *StV*, i², 180-183 and 206.
- 251, 4. Calama. Henzen-Orelli, 6001.
- 251, 8. Justinus. *Ib.*, 7080.
- 251, 13. market. *Ib.*, 7057; cf. 6984.
- 251, 16. *thermae*. Henzen, *BdI*, 1862, p. 185 s.
- 251, 22. law. *Digg.*, i, 10.
- 251, 27. sacrifices. Vol. ii, p. 228.
- 251, 36. amphitheatre. *Digg.*, i, 10, 3.
- 252, 2. measures. Portico for those qu[i] nundinandi gratia cons[is]terent? *CIL*, xi, 1, 3208 (Nepet).
- 252, 3. Nerva's. Rein, *StRE*, v, 228. Cf. e.g. Henzen-Orelli, 6943 = *CIL*, xii, 1357 (Vasio Voc.; cf. p. 161).
- 254, 5. *stadium*. Gai., l. iii. de legatis ad Ed. Praet., D., xxxv, 2, 80, § 1. Cf. e.g. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 31: Iterum censente, ut

- Trebianis legatum in opus novi theatri pecuniam ad munitionem viae conferre concederetur etc. *CIL*, v, 1, 969, 4059.
- 252, 8. Cremona. Tac., *Hist.*, iii, 34.
- 252, 13. gates. Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 11.
- 252, 16. games. *CIL*, ii, 3221.
- 252, 18. sesterces. *CIL*, viii, 5146, 5147.
- 252, 21. Naples. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxix, 8 sq.
- 252, 24. expense. Lebas-Waddington, 2735.
- 252, 27. *drachmae*. Dio Chr., *Or.*, xlvi, pp. 519-521 M.
- 252, 29. Asia. Lebas-Waddington, p. 713 s.
- 252, 33. everything. Aristid., *Or.*, x, p. 70 J., ed. Dindorf, i, 116 s. On the buildings of a certain Rufinus (perhaps the father of the sophist Claudius Rufinus, probably at Smyrna) Waddington, *Vie du rhéteur Aristide*, in *Mém. de l'institut.*, 1867, p. 257 s. (Aristid., ed. Dindorf, i, 510, 514, 526).
- 253, 1. Cotyaeum. Lehrs, *Qu. Epp.*, p. 9, 7.
- 253, 7. money. Philostrate., *Vitt. sophist.*, ii, 23.
- 253, 8. Herodes. Keil, *Herodes Atticus*, *StRE*, i², 2096 ff.
- 253, 37. in cedar. Read 'roofed with cedar'.
- 254, 4. tribunal. Philostrate., *Vitt. soph.*, ii, 1, 8.
- 254, 10. Comum. Vol. i, p. 116.
- 254, 14. banquet. Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 1.
- 254, 16. region. Lanciani, *Acque e acquedotti*, p. 303.
- 254, 18. temple. Pliny, *Epp.*, vii, 24; Orelli, 781; Haakh, *StRE*, v, 743.
- 254, 23. experts. Rudorff, *Testament des D.*, in *Ztschr. f. gesch. Rechtsw.*, xii, 335 ff. t
- 254, 27. building. Henzen, 6622.
- 254, 33. cities. Dio, lxxii, 12. Vol. i of this work, p. 46.
- 255, 1. rain. Josephus, *B. J.*, i, 21; Schürer, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, p. 206 ff.
- 255, 3. Tiberias. *Ibid.*, p. 234 f.
- 255, 6. speech. Pliny, *Ad Tr. Epp.*, 8. The context shows that *munificentia* here (as also e.g. in Tac., *Hist.*, iii, 30) refers to buildings.
- 255, 8. buildings. In the imperial house there was a special *officium operum publicorum*: *CIL*, vi, 8478 ss. A *redemptor operum Caesar.*, *ib.*, 9034. Imperial *architecti*, 8724-8726.
- 255, 18. need. Pliny, *Ad Tr. Epp.*, 33 sq.
- 255, 20. mats. Henzen-Orelli, *Ind.*, p. 171 sq.; Marquardt, *Priv.*, ii², 585, 9.
- 255, 21. sails. Kohl, *Alte u. neue Zeit*, pp. 37 and 40 f.
- 255, 25. Lyons. Seneca, *Epp.*, 91. Perhaps Lyons also had *vigiles*: Boissieu, *Inscr. de L.*, p. 4. The reasons for the date given in the text, and against that of Jonas (64/65 A.D.) will be found in Hirschfeld, *Lyon in der Römerzeit*, 1878, p. 26 f.
- 255, 32. Rome. Tac., *A.*, xvi, 13. Burning of Lyons in 197: Herodian, iii, 7, 5.
- 255, 33. Bologna. Tac., *A.*, xii, 58. Cf. also Marquardt, *StV*, ii², 101, 5.
- 255, 39. Tralles. Mommsen, *RGDA*², p. 159 sq.
- 255, 39. Vespasian. Sueton., *Vespasian.*, c. 13.

- 256, 2. State. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 27.
 256, 6. rebuilding. Nipperdey on Tac., *A.*, ii, 27. Jahn, *Ber. d. Sächs. Ges.*, 1851, p. 119.
 256, 12. Caria. Waddington, *Vie du rhéteur Aristide*, in *Mém. de l'Inst.*, 1867, p. 242 ss.
 256, 13. Pius. *Vit. Anton. P.*, c. 9; Pausan., viii, 43, 3.
 256, 14. Stratonicea. *CIG*, 2721.
 256, 14. Lesbos. Cichorius, *Rom und Mitylene*, p. 50.
 256, 17. shaken. Waddington, *op. cit.*
 256, 21. Smyrna. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, ii, 371.
 256, 24. curse. Seneca, *Qu. n.*, vi, 1; Tac., *A.*, xv, 22. Cf. *IRN*, 1356 sq. = *CIL*, ix, 1466 (earthquake in the district of the Ligures Baebiani); 5331 = *CIL*, ix, 3046 (at Interpromium); *Alex. Sev.*, c. 44.
 256, 26. extent. Jonas, *De ord. libr. Senecae phil.*, p. 53 sq., decides for 62, he believes the names of the Consuls in Seneca, *Qu. nat.*, vi, 1, 2 to be interpolated.
 256, 29. Tiberius. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 47; but cf. Teuffel, *StRE*, vi, 1940.
 256, 31. labourers. House servants, freedmen and perhaps knights were employed to superintend the building operations. Mommsen, *StR*, ii², 950, 2 and 3.
 256, 35. lighthouse. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 20.
 256, 36. Ravenna. Haakh, *StRE*, v, 582.
 256, 36. Vespasian. Teuffel, *StRE*, vi, 2484.
 256, 40. Titus'. Buildings of Titus at Naples: *CIG*, iii, 5809.
 256, 41. Domitian. Imhof, *Domitian*, p. 82 ff.
 257, 5. undertakings. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 51.
 257, 6. artisans. Pliny, *Ad Tr.*, *Epp.*, 18.
 257, 8. waterworks. Great conduit in the Forum Clodii (Bracciano) *impensa fisci*: *CIL*, xi, 1, 3309.
 257, 9. provinces. Eutrop., viii, 4: *orbem terrarum aedificans*.
 257, 11. bridge. Dierauer, *Gesch. Trajans*, in Büdinger, *Untersuchungen zur röm. Kaisergesch.*, i, 96 ff., 127 ff.
 257, 14. man. Dio, lxviii, 13.
 257, 15. taxes. *CIL*, vi, 967 = Orelli, 805.
 257, 18. man. Gregorovius, *Hadrian*², p. 468 ff.
 257, 24. artisans. *Vit. Hadrian.*, c. 19; Aurel. Vict., *Epit.*, 14, 7.
 257, 34. Nemausus. Haakh, *StRE*, iii, 1036.
 257, 39. Palmyra. Marquardt, *StV*, i², 414.
 258, 16. marble. Hertzberg, *op. cit.*, ii, 305-330; Bursian, *StRE*, i², 1980.
 258, 19. Epidaurus. Hertzberg, ii, 358-360.
 258, 25. anew. *Vit. Anton. P.*, c. 8.
 258, 26. Carthage. Pausan., viii, 43, 3; cf. vol. ii, p. 255 f., and Sievers, *Studien z. röm. Kaisergesch.*, 198.
 258, 27. Severus. *Sept. Sever.*, c. 23.
 258, 37. plan. *De mortib. persecutor.*, c. 7.
 259, 12. decay. Aristid., *Or.*, xli, ed. Jebb, p. 515 (i, 766, Dindorf).
 259, 13. cities. *Vit. M. Antonini*, c. 23.
 259, 26. Orontes. Vol. ii, p. 239 f.
 260, 7. mosaics. Stark, *Städteleben in Frankreich*, pp. 224 f. and 609.

- 260, 8. Moselle. Auson., *Mosella*, 18 sqq.; *Epp.*, 24, 90, sqq.
- 260, 15. view. F. Hettner, *D. röm. Trier*, in *Verhandl. d. Philologenvers.*, 1879, p. 27 f., and *Zur Kultur von Germanien und Gallie Belgica*, in *Westd. Zeitschr.*, ii, 1883, p. 14 ff.
- 260, 17. bronzes. Stälin, *Gesch. Württembergs*, i, 104-109.
- 260, 20. paintings. Cf. e.g. Hettner, *Ausgrabungen bei Bonn vor dem Cölner Thor*, in *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxii (1878), p. 64, plates iii-v.
- 260, 22. insipid. F. Keller, *Röm. Ansiedlungen in der Ostschweiz*, ii, *Mitth. der antiquar. Gesellschaft zu Zürich*, xv (1863), pp. 52 and 57.
- 260, 25. empire. Lysons, *Reliquiae Britannico-Romanae*, vol. i, Advertisement.
- 260, 29. camps. *Vit. Hadriani*, c. 10.
- 261, 1. statues. Marquardt, *StV*, iii^a, 533, 4. Statues in the theatre at Tusculum, *CIL*, xiv, 2647 sqq. Henzen-Or., 5128 (Falerii): statuas—ad exornandum theatrum. *Ib.*, 5320 = *CIL*, viii, 7960 (Rusicade): Praeter HS $\bar{x}$ m. n.—in opus cultumve theatri—statuas duas.
- 261, 3. Victory. Donaldson, *Architectura numismatica*, especially nos. 55-58, 60-66, 73 s., 77, 79-83 s. In the year 405 the senate and people erected for Theodosius and his sons arcum simulacris eorum tropaeisque decoratum: *CIL*, vi, 1196. At Seresita 25,000 sest. for ornamenta arcus, and besides that a quadriga, *CIL*, viii, 937. *Ib.*, 828 (Turca?): apodyterium—cetera restaurata atque statuis marmoribus tabulis pictis columnis alvibus cellarum cathedrebus ornata sumptu proprio. *Ib.*, 7079 (Cirta): porticum et zothecas. *Ib.*, 7957 (Rusicade): templum cum omnibus ornamentis et pictura.
- 261, 17. marble. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvi, 121. Cf. Jordan, *Topogr.*, 2, 58 ff.
- 261, 19. basins. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 20. *CIL*, ii, 3240 (Ilugo—Tarraconensis): lacus cum suis ornamentis.
- 261, 21. named. Preller, *Regionen*, p. 130 f., 136.
- 261, 21. Domitian. Sueton., *Domitian*, c. 13. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiv, 127: attolli super ceteros mortalis—et arcus significant novicio invento.
- 261, 30. building. Donaldson, *Arch. num.*, no. 57; Martial, viii, 65.
- 261, 35. Napoleon. Dierauer, *Gesch. Trajans*, in Büdinger's *Unters. z. röm. Kaisergesch.*, p. 133 ff.; Donaldson, *op. cit.*, nos. 7, 56, 66 s.; Jordan, *Topogr.*, i, 2, 467.
- 262, 2. Acratus. Dio, *Or.*, xxxi, p. 355 sqq. M. But, as Pausanias shows, it is a great exaggeration of Dio's that the Acropolis was then robbed of most of its columns. Wachsmuth, *Athen*, i, 681 f.
- 262, 4. lists. Dio, *Or.*, p. 325 M.: δημοσία τοῦς ἀνδράρτας ἀπεγράφασθε ὑμῖς.
- 262, 6. numerous. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiv, 36.
- 262, 8. too low. It is said of Delos in the pseudo-Ovidian *Heroid.*, 21, 100: miror et in cunctis stantia signa locis.
- 262, 14. of old. Liban., ed. R., i, 566: ἀλλὰ ἡρώδηςτο παλαιαί

πῶλεις, καὶ κάλλη ναυικηκότα χρόνον διὰ θαλάσσης ἤγετο ποιήσονται
κναφῶν νύσων οικίας τῶν βασιλείων παιδρονέρας.

- 262, 16. Middle Ages. Sathas, *Docum. indd. relat. à l'hist. de la Grèce au moyen âge*, i série, T. 1 (1880), p. xiv (at the time of Alexius Comnenus monks destroyed the Artemis of Patmos).
- 262, 21. Temples. Dio, *Or.*, xxxi, p. 337 sq. M.
- 262, 37. newness. Vitruv., ii, 7, 4.
- 262, 41. forum. Julian, *Or.*, v, p. 161 AB: τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς ιστορίας (of the Punic Wars)—σωζόμενα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ χαλκῶν εἰκόνων ἐν τῇ κρατίστῃ καὶ θεοφιλεῖ 'Ρώμῃ. The life of St. Melania mentions τοὺς ἐπ' ἀγορᾷ ἀνδριάντας χαλκοῦς in Rome (*Hist. Lausiaca Bibl. Vel. Patr.*, ed. 1624, t. 2, p. 1031). Lumbroso, vol. i, 1880, p. 136.
- 263, 5. Lavinia. Mommsen, *CIL*, i, 277 sqq.
- 263, 6. Otricoli. According to the statement in the *Musée Campana*.
- 263, 6. Ravenna. For 'and seen . . . part of' read 'and that seen . . . belonged to'. Plutarch, *Mar.*, c. 2.
- 263, 10. Arles. Apollinar. Sidon., *Epp.*, i, 11.
- 263, 11. Circa. *CIL*, viii, 7046—aequa[tisque] statuis quae i[ter totius (it[um] in area] Jordan, *Topogr.*, i, 2, 178, 21) fori angust[abant]. *Ib.*, 8935 (Saldæ): statuas equestres propatruī suī vetustate conlapsas e foro ad ornandum templum permissu ordinis transtulerunt etc.
- 263, 15. officials. Cf. Appendix liv.
- 263, 15. restoration. *Digg.*, xxxv, 1, 14. Concession of the place for the erection: *D.*, xliii, 9, 2.
- 263, 17. Corduba. Huebner, *Add. ad CIL* ii, 16; *Ephem. epigr.*, iii, p. 37.
- 263, 20. emperors. *E.g.* *CIL*, ii, 1956 (Cartima):—signum aereum Martis in foro—porticus ad balineum—cum piscina et signo Cupidinis. *Ib.*, 2098 (Cisimbrium—Baetica): N. N. iivir pontif. perp. forum aedes quinque signa deor. quinque statuas suas sua impensa dedit donavit. *CIL*, viii, 7094–7098 (Circa): gifts of the highest official to the city (210) among them statuam aeream Securitatis saeculi et aediculam tetrastylam cum statua aerea Indulgentiae domini nostri arcum triumphalem cum statua aerea Virtutis domini nostri. Cupids often in Asia minor, Lebas-Waddington, 618 = *CIG*, 3946 (Sardes): πέντε Ἑρωτας τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ πατρίδι. *Ib.*, 1663a (Mastaura): τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ πατρίδι τοὺς ἐπιχρύσους Ἑρωτας ἡ καὶ τὰς β' Νέκας σὺν ταῖς βάσεσιν. 1558 (Stratonicea): τοὺς Ἑρωτας 2925. At Olbia silver Victories were evidently apparently a customary votive offering. *CIG*, 2069–2074 (2078). G. Hirschfeld, *Zischr. f. Oesterreich. Gymn.*, 1882, p. 502.
- 263, 24. Aurelian's. Preller, *Reg.*, 141. Cf. *e.g.* Henzen, 5320; *CIL*, ii, 2006. Lebas-Waddington, 1859 (Berytus): genium col. Silver statues of the Genius of the city: *CIL*, ii, 3228 (signum argenteum cum domo sua); 4071 (ex arg. libris xv uncis ii.). *CIL*, v, 1, 2795 (Patavium): Genio domnor. Cereri N. laribus publicis dedit imagines argent. duas testamento ex HS MM is understood by Borghesi, *Oeuvres*, vii, 397 s., to mean that the donor gave to the *lares publici* (i.e. to the *Curia*) the two silver figures of the Genius of the emperor and Ceres.

- CIL*, x, 7222 (Lilybaeum): aedem genio 7223 imaginem gen. municipii Lilybitanorum ex arg. p. v p. s. p. *Id.*, xii, 119 (Carpentorate): genio coloniae Iiiiilviri. viii, 7990 (Rusicade): Dextros duos?
- 263, 31. plate. Cic., *Pro Rosc. Amer.*, 45, 133. *De orat.*, i, 35, 161. Sallust, *Catil.*, 20, 12.
- 263, 33. Ostia. Varro, *R. r.*, iii, 2, 8.
- 263, 34. curiosities. Sueton., *August.*, c. 72.
- 264, 8. paintings. Cic., *Ad Att.*, i, 5, 6 (686), 8, 9, 10 (687), 4 (689): *Ad Fam.*, vii, 23.
- 264, 15. library. Juv., 3, 215 sqq.
- 264, 15. statues. Seneca, *Epp.*, 86, 7.
- 264, 17. gardens. Juv., 7, 79.
- 264, 19. Hercules. Martial, vii, 50.
- 264, 22. statues. Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 18, 11.
- 264, 22. Silius. *Ibid.*, iii, 7, 8.
- 264, 24. Regulus. *Ibid.*, iv, 5.
- 264, 11. giallo. Justi, Winckelmann, i, 2, 186-188. The work of D. Comparetti and G. de Petra, *La villa ercolanese dei Pisoni, i suoi monumenti e la sua biblioteca*, Torino, 1883, I only know from the review by Mau in *BdI*, 1883, pp. 87-96, according to which de Petra è riuscito ad identificare tutti gli oggetti che da essi provennero, e ad assegnare ad ognuno il posto che occupava nella villa. On Comparetti's unsuccessful attempt to prove that L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus (consul 58 B.C.) was the owner of the villa, and that the so-called bust of Seneca found there is his portrait, see Mommsen, *Aus Herculaneum*, in *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1880, p. 32, and Mau, *loc. cit.*
- 265, 15. Frascati. *Ibid.*, i, 277.
- 265, 18. Tivoli. Hübner, *Antiken v. Madrid*, pp. 19-21.
- 265, 31. Museum. Winckelmann, *G. d. K.*, xii, 1, § 7. Information regarding the excavations in Hadrian's villa (1735-1748) by Ficoroni, *Notizie di antichità*, in Fea, *Miscell.*, i, p. cxxxxiii. Justi, Winckelmann, ii, 1, 24; R. Förster, *Ueber bildende Kunst unter Hadrian*, in *Grensböten*, 29 Jan. 1875. Gregorovius, *Hadrian*, 461 f.
- 265, 34. Peace. Josephus, *B. J.*, vii, 5, 7.
- 266, 32. Rome. Paullus, l. xxxiii ad Ed. (*D.*, xviii, 1, 34): plerasque enim res aliquando propter accessiones emimus, sicuti cum domus propter marmora et statuas et tabulas pictas ematur. Ulpian, l. xviii, ad Sabinum (*D.*, vii, 1, 13, § 7): Sed si aedium ususfructus legatus sit, Nerva filius et lumina immittere eum posse ait: sed et colores et picturas et marmora poterit, et sigilla, et si quid ad domus ornatum. By *sigilla* are probably to be understood chiefly reliefs (cf. Cic., *In Verr.*, iv, 22, 48: cf. also 'vestes sigillatae', stuffs with figured patterns, Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 533, 4; 540, 4). The reliefs were chiefly of clay (Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 461) and stucco. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvi, 183: usus gypsi in albariis, sigillis aedificiorum et coronis gratissimus. *D.*, xxxiii, 7, 12, § 23: Papinianus quoque l. vii Responsorum ait: sigilla et statuæ affixæ instrumento domus non continentur sed domus portio sunt. *Ib.*, 36:

Imagines (probably busts) quoque eae solae legatae videntur, quae in aliquo ornatu villae fuerunt. *Passio IV coronadorum* (*Sitzungsber. d. Wiener Acad.*, x, 119) : conchas sigillis ornatas . . . conchas et lacus cum sigillis et cantaris cum magna tenuitate artis. *CIL*, vi, 3, 18,378, l. 9 : sarcophago aeterno sigill[ario] cum opere et basibus (Alciati restored *Signino*, which is impossible). Also in *Eph. epigr.*, v, 535, 1214 (aram cum ornamentis et signis suis) *signa* probably mean figures in relief.

- 266, 34. nymphs. Overbeck-Mau, *Pompeji*⁴, p. 546 ff., Becker-Göll, ii, 266.
- 266, 39. shown. Diodorus, v, 12, says of Malta : *ἔχει . . . τὰς τε οἰκήσεις ἀξιολόγους καὶ κατασκευασμένας φιλοτίμως γέλοις καὶ κοινύμασι περιττότερον*.
- 267, 2. beards. Martial, ix, 47 ; Juv., 2, 4. Where in Martial and Lucian (Nigrin., 2 : *πολλὰ εἰκόνας παλαιῶν σοφῶν ἐν κύκλῳ κείμεναι*) the material is not mentioned, the cheapest may be assumed, especially in the last passage. In the house of Julianus the Sophist at Athens *καὶ εἰκόνας τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ θαυματούτων ἐταίρων ἀνέκειντο*. Eunapius, *Vitt. sophist.*, 121. Prudentius, *Contra Symmach.*, i, 436 speaks of images of the gods on which, *mollis si bractea gypsum Texerat*, infido *rarescit glutine sensim*.
- 267, 6. represented. Marquardt, *Priv.*, ii², 640, 5.
- 267, 12. stucco. Semper, *Der Stil*, i, 450 f. 'Tectorium picturaeque' combined : *Digg.*, iv, 1, 38. *Ib.*, xv, 3, 3, § 4 : Sed si . . . domum dominicam exornavit tectoriis, i.e. wall-paintings, as elsewhere ; cf. O. Müller, *Hdb. d. Arch.*, § 319, 5. *CIL*, ii, 4085 (Tarraco) : [Q. Attius messor exhedra(m) cum fronte templi Minervae Aug. vestustate] CORRVPTO. PER. | FECTOR. ET PICTOR | [de suo ref. et c. (?) d.] ought to be read : corrupt(am) opere tector(io) et pictor(io). In the *praescriptio* of the *fasti Maffeiani*, *CIL*, i, 303 : expoliendu(m) et pingendum. Pers., 5, 25 : pictae tectoria linguae. *CIL*, xiv, 3911, 10 (Aquae Albulae) : frontibus et pictis Aelia villa nitet.
- 267, 16. Empire. See Müller, *op. cit.*, § 210, 4 and R. Rochette, *Peintures inéd.*, 198. Cf. also Lysons, *Reliq. Brit. Rom.*, vol. ii, pl. 1. Keller, *Röm. Ansiedlungen in der Ostschweiz*, in *Mitth. d. antiq. Ges. in Zürich*, 1864, pp. 52 and 57. *Pictura porticus* at Sarmizegetusa, *Ephem. epigr.*, iv, 74 ; Tertullian, *De idolol.*, c. 8. Philostrat., *Apoll. Tyan.*, v, 22 ; Lucian, *De domo*, 21-31. Plutarch, *Conj. praec.*, 48 calls *γραφὰς οἰκημάτων* superfluous luxury.
- 267, 21. Mythology. Dosith., *Interpr.*, iii, ed. Boecking, p. 64, says in the introduction to the mythological section : *Picturae igitur hujus laboris multis locis dant testimonium*.
- 267, 22. Troy. Lucillius (in Rome at the time of Nero) 115 (*Anthol. Gr.*, ed. Jacobs, 1794, iii, 52, T. ii, p. 341) : *γραφὴν ἐν τοίχῳ Καλποόρπιος ὁ στρατιώτης ὅς ἐθός ἐστιν, ἰδὼν τὴν ἐπὶ ναυοὶ μάχην κ.τ.λ.*
- 267, 24. Rome. Brizio, *Pitture e sepolcri sull' Esquilino*, R. 1876. Cf. *BdI*, 1876, p. 5 ss.

- 267, 26. Jewish. Apoll. Sidon., *Carm.*, 22, 201 ss.
 267, 30. letter. *Ibid.*, 353 ss.
 267, 30. Greece. For 'had never seen a battle 'read' had no knowledge of war'. Lucian, *Conscr. hist.*, 29. Liban., ed. R., iv, p. 1021: *τίνας ἂν εἶποι λόγους θεασάμενος πόλεμον ἐν τῷ αἰεταίῳ ὀκνῶ γεγραμμένον.*
 267, 34. life. Helbig, *Wandgemälde Campaniens*, p. 383 f.
 267, 36. Weasels. Phaedrus, *Fabb.*, iv, 6. Also App., 16: Gallus lectica a felibus vectus apparently describes a picture. Dosith., l. c., p. 24, says of Aesop: *per eum enim picturae constant.*
 268, 3. fixed. Waddington, *Édit de Dioclétien*, p. 18 s.
 268, 12. gratuitously. *Cod. Theodos.*, xiii, 4, 2 and 4.
 268, 18. *concha*. *CIL*, viii, 8396 (*conchas de suo posuit*).
 268, 22. ornament. The *Passio sanctorum IV coronatorum*, edited by Wattenbach with a preface by v. Karajan: *Sitzungsb. d. Wiener Acad.* (1853), x, 115-137 and in Büdinger's *Untersuchungen s. röm. Kaisergeschichte*, iii, 323 f. with chronological annotations by Büdinger and archaeological ones by Benndorf. The question of the connexion of the legend of the martyrdom of the five Pannonian masons with that of the four Roman *cornicularii* (*coronati* was a name for higher officials, perhaps after a badge, Hirschfeld in *Öst. Mitth.*, 1885, p. 23 f.), and why the former legend was named *Passio SS. IV coronatorum*, is the subject of inquiries, with varying results, by De Rossi, *I Santi quattro coronati e la loro chiesa sul Celio*, *Bull. crist.*, 1879, p. 45 ss., C. Erbes (*Ztschr. f. Kirchengesch.*, v, 1881/2, p. 466 f.), and Edm. Meyer, *Ueber die Passio SS. IV coronatorum*, *Progr. d. Luisengymnasiums*, Berlin, 1886. De Rossi dates the martyrdom of the Pannonians 305/6, the Roman one earlier (after 288), the writing of the first (by a certain Porphyrius, *censualis a gleba*) in the time of Galerius, for whose name that of Diocletian was afterwards substituted. Meyer dates the Pannonian martyrdom 293, the Roman 303, the legend of the first he says circulated for a time among the people before it was written down. Petschenig (*Zur Kritik und Würdigung der Passio SS. IV coronatorum*, in *Sitzungsb. d. Wiener Acad.*, xcvi, 1880, p. 761) dates the composition on linguistic grounds in the sixth century at the latest, more probably in the fifth.
 268, 27. Attila. Suidas, s. *Μεδιόλαρον* and *κύρκος*.
 268, 31. plume. *Inc. paneg. in Maximian. et Constantin.* (306), c. 6.
 268, 32. lion. Auson., *Epigr.*, 6.
 268, 36. Cupid. *Id.*, *Idyll.*, 6. Cf. my *Kunstsinne der Römer*, p. 27 f.
 268, 36. amours. Libanius, ed. Reiske, iv, 1097.
 268, 41. background. *Ib.*, pp. 1048 and 1056 (*ἐκφράσεις γραφῶν ἐν βουλευτηρίῳ*).
 269, 7. grip. Apoll. Sidon., *Epp.*, ii, 2; *Kunstsinne der Römer*, p. 31.
 269, 11. girl. *Anthol. Lat.*, ed. Riese (Baehrens, *Plin.*, i), i, 304, 325, 374 (De Diogene picto, ubi lascivienti meretrix barbam vellit et Cupido mingit in podice ejus). Cf. also Baehrens, *Plin.*, i, 334 (De venatore picto in manibus oculos habente, because he never missed). Sculpture, 312, 347.

- 269, 17. flesh. Paulin. Nolan., *Poem.*, 25, 542 ss.
- 269, 21. Switzerland. H. A. O. Reichard heard at Avenches in 1811 that five or six mosaic pavements had been discovered, but destroyed by the peasants; he himself saw one in a barn, it was at least 60 ft. long, but already half destroyed. The drawing was noble and in a grand style, and the colours very fresh. Uhde, *Reichards Selbstbiographie*, 1877, p. 406.
- 270, 1. centaur. Juv., 3, 203-207. Marquardt, *Priv.*, i^a, 319, 5.
- 270, 5. *sigillaria*. Marquardt, *StV*, iii^a, 581. Blümner, *Technologie*, ii, 124 f.
- 270, 10. Danaë. Martial, xiv, 170-182.
- 270, 12. Parrhasius. Horace, *Carm.*, iv, 8, 5-8.
- 270, 15. Phidias. Martial, x, 87, 16.
- 270, 18. rich. *Philogelos*, ed. Eberhard, p. 97 mentions a *σοπός* for 5 myriads. Perhaps it was reckoned with the *denarius* of Diocletian's time (cf. Appendix I, p. 283), when the amount would be 62 25.
- 270, 27. interior. Grave at Tanagra painted inside: Fabricius, *Mitth. d. Archäol. Instituts in Athen*, x, 1885, p. 158 ff.; in Carniola near Thurn on the Hart (Helios in the *quadriga*, Europa on the bull), Hörnes, *Röm. Denkmal in Cilli, Österr. Mitth.*, 1884, p. 237 f.
- 270, 30. painted. Semper, *Der Stil*, i, 452. Jerome, it is true, says, *Adv. Vigil.*, no. 9: *sepulcra Pharisæica foris dealbata*.
- 271, 3. so on. O. Jahn, *Die Wandgemälde des Columbariums in der Villa Pamfili*, in *Abhandl. d. bairischen Acad.*, 1857, vol. viii. A *curator* of a *colleg. funeraticium* had a wall of the *columbarium* painted, 8 A.D., *CIL*, vi, 3, 21, 383.
- 271, 22. Glabrio. Livy, xl, 34. Cic., *Philipp.*, ix, 6, 13: *statua . . . inaurata equestris, qualis L. Sullae primum statuta est*—is there mistaken. Perhaps Sulla's statue was the first in the Forum.
- 271, 25. Republic. Detlefsen, *De arte Romanor. antiquissima* (Glueckstadt, 1868), P. ii, pp. 21-26.
- 271, 26. Capitol. Jordan, *Topogr.*, i, 2, 59 f.
- 271, 34. Octavia. Detlefsen, p. 26; Livy, xl, 51; Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiv, 30 sq.
- 271, 36. discovered. Lanciani, *Scavi nel portico d'Ottavia, BdI*, 1878, p. 209 ss. *CIL*, vi, 2, 10,043 and *Ephem. epigr.*, iv, 1881, pp. 284, 816.
- 272, 11. liberty. R. Rochette, *Peint. indd.*, p. 303 ss.
- 272, 13. Aricia. Appendix xxvi.
- 272, 17. tone. Semper, *Der Stil*, i, 292.
- 272, 22. proclamations. Burckhardt, *Zeitalter Constantins*, p. 310.
- 272, 23. Rome. Preller, *Röm. Mythol.*, i^a, 233.
- 272, 24. Rienzi's. Gregorovius, *Gesch. d. St. Rom.*, vi, 235 ff.
- 272, 28. purpose. L. Verus writes to Fronto, who wished to write the history of the Parthian war: *quod si picturas quoque quassdam desideravis, poteris a Fulviano accipere*. *Epp. ad L. Ver. Aug.*, 9, 6, ed. Niebuhr, p. 173.
- 272, 41. streets. Josephus, *B. J.*, vii, 5.
- 273, 7. Rhine. Jahn on Pers., 6, 47.

- 273, 9. asp. Plutarch, *Anton.*, c. 86, 2; Drumann, *RG*, i, 501.
 273, 17. eagle. Herodian, iv, 2.
 273, 23. crimes. Semper, *Der Stil*, i, 314 ff.
 273, 25. Lucullus. Cic., *Pro Sestio*, 43, 93; Drumann, *RG*, iv, 176.
 273, 28. tyranny. Sueton., *Galba*, c. 10. Cf. R. Rochette, p. 358, 1.
 273, 33. won. Quintilian, vi, 3, 72.
 273, 37. himself. *Id.*, vi, 1, 32.
 273, 41. sea. R. Rochette, *P. a.*, p. 329, 1; Horace, *A. P.*, 20.
 274, 2. Isis. Juv., 12, 28.
 274, 3. ex-votos. Hence Horace, *Sat.*, i, 1, 76; quo fit ut omnis Votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella Vita senis. Cf. R. Rochette, *op. cit.*
 274, 11. marble. Tac., *Hist.*, iii, 74. The alleged picture of the adventures of Daphnis and Chloe in the grove of the nymphs in Lesbos (at the beginning of Longus' novel) seems to have been regarded as a votive picture of the two lovers.
 274, 13. Pasitales. Read 'Pasiteles'. Cic., *De div.*, i, 36, 79.
 274, 18. atrium. Apulei., *Metam.*, vi, p. 129.
 274, 27. threads. Petron., *Sat.*, c. 29.
 274, 34. gorging. *Ibid.*, c. 71.
 274, 36. *Augustales*. Joh. Schmidt, *De seviris August.*, p. 82 ss. cf. the table. There were also paintings on sepulchral monuments. Lebas-Waddington, 1164 (Cius): ἐνθάδε τήνδ' ἀνέθηκα γραφήν σμήτορα (sic) τύμβου.
 275, 5. apace. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 105 f. F. Hettner, *Die Neumagener Monumente*, in *Rhein. Mus.*, 1881, p. 435 ff.; *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxxiv, 1887, p. 257 ff.
 275, 14. Forum. Herodian, ii, 9, 5 s.
 275, 19. 183. Dio, lxxii, 7.
 275, 19. Levena. Kaibel, *Epigr. gr.*, 839.
 275, 29. required. Burckhardt, *Zeitalter Constantins*, p. 309 f.
 275, 36. son. *H. A.*, *Vit. Severi*, c. 21.
 275, 40. fall. Herodian, vii, 2, 8. *Vit. Maximini*, c. 12. Mosaic of Theodoric on a wall in the Forum in Naples, Procop., *BG*, i, 24. Mosaics in the imperial palace in Byzantium, representing achievements of Justinian, *id.*, *De aedif.*, i, 10.
 276, 3. Isis. *Vit. Pescenn. Nigri*, c. 6.
 276, 6. cities. Εἰκὼν γραπτὴ τελεῖα of an ἀλλοτῆς ἐν Διονυσίῳ (Teos), *CIG*, 3068 B. Cf. 3085. 2775 c. d. (Aphrodisias): εἰκόνας γραπτὰς ἐν ὀπλοῖς ἐπιχρύσοις. 3524 (Cyme). *CIL*, xiv, 2410 = Orelli, 3701 (Bovillae 158 A.D.): quod permiserunt in cluqueo quod ei posuerun[t ante] templum noum (sic) pingere effigiem Ma[n]liae Severinae virginis Albanae maxi[mae] soro[r]is suae post excessum vitae eju[s]. Cf. Marquardt, *Priv.*, i², 244, 4. Erection of a statue of a patron cum picturam similitudinis ejus (Aquinum) Wilmanns, *E. I.*, 2047 = *CIL*, x, 5426.
 276, 7. Nero. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxv, 51.
 276, 9. Caracalla. Herodian, iv, 8, 2.
 276, 13. Victory. *Id.*, vii, 6, 6 (εἰκόνα μεγίστην γράψας παντὸς ἑαυτοῦ).
 276, 14. pandar. *Vit. Elagabali*, c. 30.
 276, 15. Tacitus. *Vit. Floriani*, c. 2,

- 276, 17. pictures. Julian, *Orat.*, i, 7 A.
 276, 19. walls. *De mortib. persec.*, c. 42.
 276, 21. Aurelian. *Vita Taciti*, c. 9: ut Aurelianum omnes pictum haberent. A picture of Aurelian and of Ulpius Crinitus in the temple of the sun-god, *Vit. Aurelian.*, c. 10.
 276, 23. portraits. *Vit. Alex. Severi*, c. 4.
 276, 25. accession. *Ib.*, c. 13.
 276, 27. latter. Victor, *Epit.*, 44, 11. Cf. on pictures of the emperors, Gothofredus on *Cod. Theodos.*, xv, 4, 1.
 276, 29. Claudian. Claudian, *Nupt. Honor. et Mariae*, 23-27.
 276, 29. East. Regum externorum consuetudine, Tac., *A.*, xvi, 6: according to the custom of Oriental kings.
 276, 34. Aristobulus. Josephus, *A. J.*, xv, 2, 5 sq.
 276, 39. Forum. Plutarch, *Pompej.*, c. 2; Becker, *Topogr.*, 299, 9.
 276, 41. Epicurus. Cic., *Fin.*, v, 1, 3.
 277, 4. mirror. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxv, 147 sq.
 277, 13. Pliny. *Ibid.*, xxxv, 11; Nep., *Attic.*, 18, 5; Teuffel, *RLG*⁴, 166, 5 and 172, 2 d.
 277, 17. Martial's. Crusius, in *N. Rhein. Mus.*, xlv, 1889, p. 455.
 277, 19. Virgil. Martial, xiv, 156.
 277, 20. beards. *Id.*, ix, 47, 2: Quidquid et hirsutis squalet imaginibus.
 277, 21. Galen. Galen, ed. Kuehn, iii, 776. (*De usu part. corp. hum.*, x, c. 3.)
 277, 27. *hermae*. Henzen, 6282: Onesimus Caes. vilic. thermar. bybliothec. Gra., where *hermar*. should be read for *thermar*. Hirschfeld, *VG*, 191, 5.
 277, 33. artist. Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 28.
 277, 35. commissions. Scribon. Larg., *Ep. ad C. Jul. Callist.*, ed. Rhodius, p. 4: quum interim nemo ne imaginem quidem suam committat pingendam, nisi probato prius artifice per quaedam experimenta atque ita electo.
 277, 36. Secundus. Martial, vii, 84. Cf. Mommsen, *Hermes*, iii, 79, n. 1.
 277, 37. Avitus. Martial, ix, *praef.*
 277, 41. half-length. *Id.*, xi, 9; ix, 74, 76; vii, 44; x, 32.
 277, 41. Statius. Stat., *S.*, i, 3, 111.
 278, 3. family. Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 10, 6.
 278, 7. Mantinea. Pausan., viii, 9, 4.
 278, 7. Marcia. *V. Commodi*, c. 11.
 278, 10. Eumelus. Philostrate., *Vit. soph.*, ii, 5.
 278, 11. Varus. *Ibid.*, ii, 6.
 278, 14. memory. Porphyry, *Vit. Plotini*, c. 1, 1.
 278, 17. blacker. Lucian, *Quom. hist.*, 13; *Pro immag.*, 6.
 278, 19. character. Plutarch, *Alexander*, c. 1, 3.
 278, 21. girl. Libanius, ed. Reiske, iv, 1097. Cf. Eunap., *Iamblich.*, 33.
 278, 41. city. Mommsen, *StR*, ii³, 450, 814. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 36: in suggestu, in quo paulo ante aurea Galbae statua fuerat, medium inter signa Othonem. *Ibid.*, iv, 37: Vitellii tamen imagines in castris et per proximas Belgarum civitates repositae, cum jam Vitellius occidisset. *Vit. Elagabali*, c. 13: misit et

- qui in castris statuarum ejus titulos luto tegetet. Cf. O. Hirschfeld, *Ausgrabungen in Carnuntum*, in *Epigr. archæol. Mitt.*, ii, 179 f. and on *signa castrensia* the note on *CIL*, xii, 3058 (Nemausus): *signa deorum argentea castrensia*.
- 279, 2. Rome. Dio, xlv, 4.
- 279, 4. temples. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 26; Dio, lvii, 9.
- 279, 6. Caligula. Dio, lix, 4.
- 279, 8. gods. Josephus, *B. J.*, ii, 10, 3.
- 279, 15. censers. Becker-Marquardt, *Hdb.*, ii¹, 3, 272 n. 1183. Gothofred., *Cod. Theodos.*, viii, 11, 4 and 5. Mommsen, *StR*, i⁸, x (cf. 366, 3).
- 279, 15. asylum. Lips., *Exc. ad Tac. A.*, iii, 36.
- 279, 21. shed. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 52.
- 279, 23. Christians. *Id.*, *Epp. ad Tr.*, 96 (97), 5 sq.
- 279, 26. God. *Cod. Theodos.*, xv, 4, 1.
- 279, 33. Augustus. Tac., *A.*, i, 74. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 58 perhaps refers to another case.
- 279, 39. criminal. *Digg.*, xlviii, 4, 4-7.
- 280, 1. rage. The statues of Napoleon and his family were broken to pieces in 1813 at Massa and Carrara: Eggers, *Rauch*, i, 131.
- 280, 4. Palatium. Martial, i, 70, 6.
- 280, 5. weight. Sueton., *Domitian.*, c. 13; Stat., *Silv.*, v, 1, 189.
- 280, 5. Capitol. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 52.
- 280, 6. empire. Dio, lxxvii, 8.
- 280, 10. blotted out. Sueton., *Domitian.*, c. 23. Also the equestrian statue in the forum described by Statius was certainly overthrown. Jordan, *Syll. inscr. fori R.*, in *Eph. epigr.*, iii, 257. A mutilated statue, probably of Domitian, was found in 1878 in the Tiber: Mayor, *XIII Satires of Juvenal*, ii, p. 445 a.
- 280, 16. flames. Pliny, *loc. cit.*
- 280, 22. Justinian. Procop., *Hist. arcana*, 8, p. 55 Dind.
- 280, 23. Commodus. Dio, lxxiii, 2; *Vit. Commodi*, c. 19, 20; *Vit. Pertinac.*, c. 6.
- 280, 24. black. Euseb., *H. e.*, ix, 11. Lips., *Exc. ad Tac. A.*, vi, 2.
- 280, 26. antiquity. Marcellin. Comes, *Chron.*, 512: Areobindam sibi imperatorem fieri clamitant, imaginibusque deinde statuisque Anastasii in terram dejectis etc.
- 280, 31. untouched. Jerome on *Habacuc*, ii.
- 280, 38. Liberty. Herodian, i, 14, 9.
- 280, 41. Commodus. *Vit. Severi*, c. 12, 19; Victor, *Caes.*, 20, 31; Dio, lxxv, 7.
- 281, 6. attire. *Vit. Macrini*, c. 6.
- 281, 9. Vespasian. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 45. O. Hirschfeld, *Götting. g. Anz.*, 1873, p. 747 ff.
- 281, 16. Hadrian. *CIL*, ii, 4230; cf. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, 1870, p. 1095 (ad statuas curandas (not *aurandas*)).
- 281, 20. Trajan. Pliny, *Ad Tr.*, 8 (24). *Negotiator vinarius a VII Caesaribus*, Wilmanns, *E. I.*, 2511.
- 281, 25. personages. Marquardt, *StV*, iii⁸, 466 f. Mommsen, *StR*, ii⁸, 2, 818, 833. (The consecration of Julia Domna apparently took place after 224, perhaps together with that of her sister Maesa.)

- 281, 30. Nerva. Preller, *Reg.*, pp. 178, 232; *Röm. Myth.*, i³, 447, 3.
 281, 35. gods. *Vit. M. Antonini*, c. 18.
 282, 2. towns. Tac., *Hist.*, iii, 7.
 282, 5. Ravenna. *Ibid.*, iii, 12 sq.
 282, 9. portent. Sueton., *Vitell.*, c. 9.
 282, 15. Greece. Dittenberger, *Inscr. aus Olympia*, *Archdol. Ztg.*, xxxv (1877), p. 36, n. 1. (The inscription of Faustina, *ibid.*, 1876, p. 50, 8).
 282, 17. Africa. Herodian, vii, 5, 8.
 282, 18. months. Vol. i, p. xvii, and note.
 282, 22. emperors. *Vit. Maximin.*, ii, 23 sq.
 282, 24. empire. *Maxim. et Balbin.*, c. 17.
 282, 26. colours. Mommsen, *StR*, ii³, 814 f.
 282, 28. Caracalla. Dio, lxxvii, 7; cf. Herodian, iv, 8. A. Rein, *Die Stätten der röm. Castelle zu Niederbiber bei Neuwied und auf der Saalburg bei Homburg vor der Höhe*, in *Jahrb. d. Vereins von Alterthumsfr. in Rheinl.*, xxvii (1859), p. 151: 'It is asserted that the fragments of a great statue, which together with very many other bronze objects are to be seen in the castle at Homburg, were found lying in front of the *praetorium* of the Roman permanent camp on the Saalburg, where a large rectangular stone is fixed in the ground. This assertion is all the more interesting, as it affords another illustration of the fact, confirmed in the case of several other permanent camps by remains and tradition, that bronze statues were erected in such positions. Among these may be counted with great probability (?) the statue found last year near Xanten'.
 282, 34. Tripoli. Apulei., *Apolog.*, c. 59 (hic Sabratae).
 282, 36. conduct. *Id. ib.*, c. 85.
 283, 6. Corinth. Keil, *Sylloge Inscr. Boeot.*, no. 31, p. 120, cf. p. 124. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, ii, 33 ff.
 283, 8. cult. Marquardt, *StV*, i³, 504 ff.; cf. e.g. for the pedestals of statues of emperors at Tarraco, Hübner in *Hermes*, i, 120 f. For such statues and cults in other towns cf. Marquardt, *StV*, iii³, 463 f. *Flamines divorum*: Wilmanns, *E. I.*, ii, 487.
 283, 9. Egypt. U. Wilcken, *Zu den arsinoitischen Tempelrechnungen*, in *Hermes*, xxiii, 1888, p. 630: *ostraca* of the 8th, 16th, and 18th years of Trajan: ὕπ(ερ) μερίσ(μοῦ) ἀνδριάντ(ος); ὕπ(ερ) τιμῆ(ς) καὶ δαπάνῃ(ματος) ἀνδριάντ(ος) Τραιαν(οῦ); others of the third year of Marcus and Verus.
 283, 17. modelled. Fronto, ed. Naber, p. 74. Vol. i of this work, p. 150, 36 and n.
 283, 26. Coronea. Hertzberg, *op. cit.*, 333 f.
 283, 26. Samothrace. Erected 132/3. Conze, *Archdol. Untersuchungen auf Samothrake*, p. 36.
 283, 27. Athens. Inscriptions on pedestals, *CIA*, iii, 464-524.
 283, 31. 126. Benndorf, *Beitr. z. Kenntniss d. Attischen Theaters*, in *Ztschr. f. Osterr. Gymn.*, xxvi, p. 15 ff.
 284, 1. statue. Pausan., i, 18, 6; Hertzberg, ii, 327.
 284, 3. Demetrius. Köhler, *Verm. Schriften*, vi, 355, 5. Strabo, i, 9, 20, p. 371 sq. (inscription on the pedestal of one of these 360 statues, W. Fischer, in *N. Rh. Mus.*, ix, 387). Still Con-
 R.L.M., R R

stantine στρατηγὸς ἐκείνων (the Athenians) ἤξιον καλεῖσθαι καὶ τοιαύτης εἰκόνας τυγχάνων μετ' ἐπιγράμματος ἐγάνυτο πλέον ἢ τῶν μεγίστων τιμῶν ἄξιωθεις, Julian, *Or.*, i, 8 C, D.

- 284, 4. must. Read 'may'.
- 284, 16. founders. Mommsen, *RGDA*³, p. 97.
- 284, 25. emperor. Hübner, *Augustus' Marmorstatue d. Berl. Mus., Progr. d. Winckelmannsf.*, 1868, p. 7 f.
- 284, 32. Carrara. Eggers, *Leben Rauchs*, i, 120.
- 284, 35. Prusa. Dio Chr., *Or.*, xxxi, p. 324 M.
- 284, 40. Antony. Cic., *Ad Attic.*, vi, 1, 26. Plutarch, *Anton.*, c. 60. Wachsmuth, *Athen*, i, 664, 3; 668, 3.
- 285, 2. Orestes. Pausan., ii, 17, 3.
- 285, 14. emperors. Dio, *ib.*, p. 343 M.
- 285, 27. person. Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.*, § 20, p. 565 M.
- 285, 28. alteration. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxv, 4.
- 285, 32. cases. Müller, *Hdb. d. Arch.*, § 157, 4; Köhler, *Verm. Schr.*, v, 357.
- 285, 33. habit. Dio, *ib.*, p. 312 M.
- 285, 37. free. *Ibid.*, p. 342 M., 348 M.
- 285, 40. rôle. *Ibid.*, p. 357 M.
- 286, 4. images. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 13.
- 286, 6. Nimes. On the relations of Nemausus to Agrippa and his house (whence the erection of a temple to Gaius and Lucius Caesar after their death, the *maison carrée*) see Hirschfeld, *Zur Gesch. d. röm. Kaisercultus*, in *Sitzungsb. d. Berl. Acad.*, xxxv, 1888, p. 845, 58.
- 286, 7. house. Statues of the family of Augustus in Athens, *CIA*, iii, 439-453.
- 286, 12. both. Orelli, 643 = *CIL*, xi, 1, 1421.
- 286, 13. Hadrian. *H. A.*, *Ael. Ver.*, c. 7.
- 286, 21. Dio. Dio, lviii, 2.
- 286, 24. Pompey. *Id.*, lvii, 21; Tac., *A.*, iii, 72; iv, 7.
- 286, 25. side. Dio, lviii, 4; Tac., *A.*, iv, 74.
- 286, 26. Syria. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 48.
- 286, 28. theatres. Tac., *A.*, v, 2. Cf. Mommsen, *StR*, i², 450.
- 286, 37. chamber-pots. Juv., 10, 56-64.
- 287, 2. Empire. Dio, lxxvii, 14 and 16. *H. A.*, *Sever.*, c. 14.
- 287, 9. temples. Sueton., *August.*, c. 52.
- 287, 9. Cicero. Cic., *Ad Attic.*, v, 21, 5.
- 287, 15. away. Cic., *In Verr.*, ii, 2, cc. 63, 67; iv, cc. 41, 62.
- 287, 18. Rome. *Ibid.*, ii, 2, cc. 59, 69.
- 287, 25. power. Dio Chr., *Or.*, xxxi, p. 317 sq. M., 323 M.
- 287, 29. plight. *Ibid.*, p. 344 sq. M.
- 287, 33. Athens. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, ii, 68, 22^b; *CIA*, iii, 561-641: tituli nobil. Romanorum, 865-884: mulierum Romanarum (875-77: 3 Vestals).
- 287, 36. Marcelli. Cic., *In Verr.*, ii, 4, c. 40 (86).
- 287, 41. bronze. Apulei., *Metam.*, iii, 11, ed. Eyssenhardt.
- 288, 5. inscriptions. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 1.
- 288, 8. provinces. *Id.*, *Titus*, c. 4.
- 288, 12. councils. *CIL*, ii, 4536-4548.
- 288, 15. Strabo. Henzen, *Acta frat. Arval.*, p. clxxi.

- 288, 17. statue. Apulei., *Florida*, iii, 16.
 288, 25. tombs. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiv, 17.
 288, 29. capital. Overbeck-Mau, *Pompeji*, ii⁴, 559.
 289, 2. Cirta. Vol. ii, p. 263 and note.
 289, 2. stolen. *CIL*, viii, 7063.
 289, 10. time. Dio Chr., *Or.*, xxxi, p. 344 sq.
 289, 17. temple. *Id.*, *Or.*, xlv, p. 509 M.
 289, 24. themselves. *CIL*, xii, 6038. Hirschfeld, *Z. Gesch. d. röm. Kaisercultus*, in *Sitzungsb. d. Berl. Acad.*, xxxv, 1888, p. 859 f.
 289, 25. Tarraco. *CIG*, ii, 4248: statuam inter flaminales viros positam.
 289, 29. diet. *CIL*, ii, p. 541.
 289, 30. dignity. *Ib.*, *Ind.*, p. 751.
 290, 8. calendar. Sueton., *Ill. gr.*, 9, 17.
 290, 14. Menander. Dio Chr., *Or.*, xxxi, p. 346 M. *CIA*, iii, 769 (after Kumanudes). Wachsmuth, *Athen*, i, 679 n.
 290, 23. place. Lebas-Waddington, 1618, 1619.
 290, 24. statue. Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 881 = *CIG*, 3672.
 290, 29. town. *CIL*, xiv, 474.
 290, 31. town. *Ib.*, 2977.
 290, 34. parents. Cf. e.g. Mommsen, *CIL*, ii, 3251. Borghesi, *BdI*, 1853, p. 185.
 290, 37. father. Orelli, 4051 = *CIL*, v, 1, 4441.
 290, 39. age. Cic., *Philipp.*, 9, 6, 13.
 290, 40. chariot. Statues in *bigae*, e.g. *IRN*, 4059 = x, 1, 6090 (Minturnae); cf. *CIL*, ii, 1086.
 291, 3. statue. *CIL*, xiv, 2991.
 291, 8. statues. *Id.*, x, 7295.
 291, 14. Themistocles. Keil, *N. Rh. Mus.*, xviii (1863), pp. 58-62. *CIA*, iii, 1, 642-644.
 291, 16. gilded. Orelli, 3882 = *CIL*, xiv, 375 sq. Mommsen, *Ber. d. Sächs. Ges.*, 1849, p. 295. *Id.*, *Ephem. epigr.*, iii, 317 ss.
 291, 20. Artemis. Lebas-Waddington, 1572 bis.
 291, 23. select. *Ibid.*, 1594, Cf. the inscription of Colossae, 1697.
 291, 24. priestess. Henzen, 6001 = *CIL*, viii, 5365/66. Cf. vol. ii, p. 251.
 291, 27. Priscus. Borghesi, *BdI*, 1853, p. 185. *CIL*, viii, 7066; *ib.*, xiv, 353 (Ostia): in foro ante statuas filii.
 291, 30. African. Mommsen, *StR*, iii, 100, 2.
 291, 34. services. *CIL*, viii, 5276.
 291, 35. towns. J. Schmidt, *Add. ad CIL viii*; *Eph. ep.*, v, p. 289, nos. 313, 314 (Abbir Cella), p. 568, 1322 (Sufetula).
 291, 36. Troas. *CIL*, iii, 384, 386. Of the statues there of one Sex. Quintilius and of one C. Antoninus Rufus some of the pedestals are left, viz. those which were set up to the former by *vic(us) dec(imus)*, and to the latter by *vici ii, vii, viii, ix*.
 291, 39. Tulla. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiii, 132.
 291, 41. Aventicum. Mommsen, *Inscr. Helvet.*, 192. *Id.*, *Röm. Schweiz*, p. 18; *Schweizer Nachstudien*, iv, in *Hermes*, xvi, 1881, p. 456 f.

- 292, 5. Hadrian. Dittenberger, *Familie des Herodes Atticus*, in *Hermes*, xiii, 72 f.
- 292, 12. reimbursed. Orelli, 3807 = *CIL*, xi, 1, 3258 (Sutrium): *CIL*, ii, 1971.
- 292, 15. modesty. Orelli, 4039.
- 292, 16. Greece. Lebas-Waddington, ii, 244, 245a, 294a.
- 292, 21. Delta. Bähr and Westermann, *Aristides*, *StRE*, i^a, 340.
- 292, 23. disappeared. Dio Chr., *Or.*, 37, p. 104 R. Statue of Proaeresius in Rome: Eunap., *Vitt. sophist.*, 157.
- 292, 27. forthcoming. Apulei., *Florid.*, iii, 16. Augustine, *Epp.*, 138, 19: (Apuleius) qui . . . pro statua sibi apud Oeenenses locanda . . . adversus contradictionem quorundam civium litigaret. quod posteros ne lateret, ejusdem litis orationem scriptam memoriae commendavit.
- 292, 31. Antisthenes. Lucian, *Demon.*, 58.
- 292, 32. Tyana. Aurelian, c. 24.
- 292, 33. Archippus. Pliny, *Epp. ad Tr.*, 58-60.
- 292, 36. Severus. Tertull., *Apol.*, c. 46.
- 293, 2. artists. *CIG*, ii, 4315^a. (Add. p. 1188): *τῶ τῆς τανδελ ἀνδριάντι*.
- 293, 6. Senate. Mommsen, *StR*, i^a, 451, 4. From the time of Diocletian the Senate proposed it to the emperor. *Ibid.*, iii, 2, 1186, 4. The permission of the senate was not required in the cases of statues of generals who celebrated triumphs (before Hadrian), and, in the earlier period, of statues of those who erected the buildings which they adorned.
- 293, 9. Tacitus. Tac., *A.*, iv, 15.
- 293, 10. Caligula's. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 34.
- 293, 19. Claudius. Dio, lx, 25.
- 293, 21. Musa. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 59.
- 293, 26. Dio. Dio, lvii, 21.
- 293, 28. living. Mommsen, *StR*, i^a, 451, 1.
- 293, 31. Cottius. Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 7.
- 293, 34. Trajan. *H. A.*, *Vit. M. Anton.*, c. 13 and 22.
- 293, 39. Drusus. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 9.
- 294, 2. dead. *Vit. Anton. P.*, c. 5.
- 294, 2. Marcus. *Vit. M. Anton.*, c. 29.
- 294, 5. wife. *Vit. Severi*, c. 14; where after *rumore belli Parthici* there is a lacuna, after which read perhaps, [*propinquis*] *extinctis patri matri* etc.
- 294, 8. Celsus. Dio, lxxviii, 16. See Appendix xi. Pedestal of the statue of Palma in the forum of Augustus, *CIL*, vi, 1386.
- 294, 11. lifetime. *M. Anton.*, cc. 2, 3.
- 294, 15. Mars. Henzen-Orelli, 372 (Orelli, 3574).
- 294, 16. rewards. *CIL*, ii, 3272.
- 294, 19. Edessa. Ammian., xix, 6, 12.
- 294, 21. Forum. Statues in *rostris* in the last centuries; Jordan, in Bursian's *Jahresber.*, 1875, p. 751.
- 294, 24. Martius. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 34.
- 294, 29. pedestals. Mommsen, *CIL*, i, p. 282^a. Preller, *Regionen*, p. 232. Jordan, *Topogr.*, i, 2, 465 f.
- 294, 33. Claudius. Sueton., *Octo*, c. 1.

- 294, 35. Tigellinus. Tac., *A.*, xv, 72.
 294, 39. Julia. Schol. Juv., 4, 81.
 295, 11. A.D. Jordan, *Tempel der Vesta und Haus der Vestalinnen* (1886), pp. 44-47. *CIL*, vi, 2131-2145.
 295, 15. patrons. Bronze statue of a *patrona collegii* with that of her husband in schola collegi fabrum civitatis Volsiniensium: *CIL*, xi, 1, 2702. *CIL*, xii, 4393 = Henzen, 7215 (the *signa collegiorum* used to decorate the town of Augustodunum at the entrance of Constantine, *Paneg.*, vii, 8, 4, were probably images of gods). Portraits of the *cosmetae* erected by the *ephebi* (Neubauer, *Hermes*, xi, 140; *CIA*, iii, 735 ss.), of the officials of the *θιασοι* erected by the latter (Lüders, *Die dionys. Künstler*, p. 40).
 295, 15. commanders. Orelli, 748 = *CIL*, v, 2, 7007 (Aug. Taurin.) *primipilari*—*decuriones alae Getulorum quibus praefuit bello Judaico*.
 295, 16. Palmyra. Lebas-Waddington, 2589 (142 A.D.), 2590 (155), 2596 (193), 2599 (247), 2603 (—ἀρχέμπορον ἀνακομίσαντα τὴν συνοδίαν προῖκα ἐξ ἰδίων, 257/8). Cf. 2606a.
 295, 23. stranger. Cf. vol. ii, pp. 23, 290.
 295, 23. Nero. Dio, lxiii, 8. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 24.
 295, 26. athletes. Philostrat., *Heroic.*, ed. Kayser, p. 292.
 295, 27. associations. Lebas-Waddington, 1620, 1620a.
 295, 28. prize. *CIG*, 4352 (Side): λαβὼν ἄλλα τότε θέμα καὶ τὸν ἀνδριάντα σὺν τῇ βάσει.
 295, 28. Leonidea. Lebas-Waddington, ii, 194 C. Kuhnert, *De curatorib. statuar. Regim.*, 1883, p. 26.
 295, 31. gratitude. *CIA*, iii, 773, 775.
 295, 32. teachers. Lanciani, *Suppl. ad vol. vi del CIL, Bull.*, 1884, p. 45, 773 (of the fourth century): *Ravennates monumentum perennis memoriae statuali veneratione dicaverunt*.
 295, 32. physicians. *CIA*, iii, 778.
 295, 33. advocates. Vol. i, p. 163.
 295, 34. *atria*. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiv, 17.
 295, 35. guests. *CIG*, 1076 = Lebas-Waddington, ii, 55 (Megara): Πύπλιον Μέμμιον Ρῆγλον Γραῖος Οὐτέλλιος Γραῖου υἱὸς Κρίσπος τὸν ἐαυτοῦ ξένον (between 41 and 44 A.D.).
 295, 39. libraries. *CIL*, vi, 2131, 2132 (cf. Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 190).
 296, 2. expense. *CIL*, ii, 1955.
 296, 6. freedman. Vol. ii, p. 288; *CIL*, ii, 4536-48.
 296, 10. city. Apulei., *Florid.*, iii, 16.
 296, 18. children. *CIL*, ii, 1721.
 296, 20. property. Statues of distinguished people in their villas: De Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, N. S., iii (1872), pp. 96, 104 s., 109.
 296, 23. Pliny. Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 2, 5.
 296, 27. marble. *Ibid.*, iv, 7, 1.
 296, 31. wax. Stat., *S.*, iii, 3, 200-202.
 296, 33. carved. Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 10, 6.
 296, 34. Anna. Keil, *Herodes Atticus*, *StRE*, i², 2101.
 296, 40. remove them. Philostrat., *Vitt. sophist.*, ii, 1, ed. K., p. 241; cf. *CIG*, 989 sq. Lolling, *Inscr. d'escorazioni in Cefisia*, *BdA*, 1873, p. 218 ss. *CIA*, iii, 810, 811, 813-818 (810:

- "Ἡρώα Πολυδευκλίωνα (sic) ἐπ' ἀγασθοθέτου Οὐβουλλίου Πολυδεύκεος αἰ
ραβδοφόροι). *CIA*, iii, 2, 1417 ss.
- 297, 1. graves. *E.g. CIL*, ii, 339, 2063, 2131, 2188, 2344 ss., 3251,
4268 (statua post mortem adjectis ornamentis aediliciis).
- 297, 1. Wills. *E.g. CIL*, ii, 1923, 1941, 4020.
- 297, 4. persons. *CIL*, v, 1, 4462.
- 297, 8. statue. *CIL*, viii, 924 (civitatis Zuccharitana).
- 297, 14. ring. *CIL*, ii, 2060.
- 297, 21. testator. Kiessling, *Anecd. Basil.*, p. 6 sq. Cf. *CIL*, ii,
3165a.
- 297, 24. lead. Petron., c. 71.
- 297, 28. marble. Cf. i, 55, 2, and note.
- 297, 29. rule. Interp. ad Stat., S., ii, 7, 123; cf. Sueton., *Calig.*,
c. 7. Orelli, 4585 = Wilmanns, *E. I.*, 240 = *CIL*, vi, 3, 15:
simulacra Claudiae Semnes in formam deorum. In the in-
scription on the monument of Atilia Pomptilla at Caralis
(Crespi, *Ephem. epigr.*, iv, 1881, p. 493) I understand by the
verses :—
- [J]unonis sedes infernae cerni[te cu]ncti :
numine mutato fulget Pomptilla per aevum
- that Pomptilla was represented there as Proserpina and ex-
changed therefore her name with that of a queen of the under-
world.—Mommсен explains otherwise, *l. c.*, p. 488.
- 297, 38. Hannibal. Herodian, iv, 8, 1-5.
- 298, 3. nobles. Ammian., xiv, 6, 8.
- 298, 5. Trajan. Teuffel, *RLG*⁴, 408, 2; 439, 1; 467, 2.
- 298, 8. pages. Auson., *Gratiar. act.*, ed. Toll., p. 722.
- 298, 9. Zeno. Preller, *Regionen*, p. 233.
- 298, 10. Rusticiana. Procop., *B. Goth.*, ii, 20.
- 298, 15. command. *Id.*, *De aedif.*, i, 2 (cf. i, 11, statue of Theodora).
- 298, 22. places. Templum cum ornamentis et pictura (Rusicade):
BdI, 1859, p. 50. Tem(plum) vetustate conl(apsum) sumtu
suo cum pictura refe(cit) (239 A.D., Virunum), *CIL*, iii, 2, 4800.
Aed(em) Herc(ulis)—fac(iendam) ping(endamque) (A.U.C. 699).
CIL, ix, 5052.
- 298, 34. Bacchus. Preller, *Röm. Mythol.*, ii³, 299.
- 298, 39. towns. At Aphrodisias a νεωπολῆς is at the same time
one of the ἐπιμεληταί, whose function is τὰς ἀνδριαποθέκας κατα-
σκεύασαι, *CIG*, 2749.
- 298, 40. Trèves. Braun, *Die Capitol*, pp. 19 and 24. Serv., *Aen.*,
ii, 319: in Capitolio omnium deorum simulacra colebantur.
On the multiplication of shrines in municipal Capitols see Jordan,
Topogr., ii, 1, 42 n.; cf. p. 50 f. An image of Diana in
the territory of Trèves, overthrown by a cleric with other *sigilla*
(signum immensum quod populus hic incredulus quasi deum
adorabat, Greg. Tur., *Hist. Fr.*, viii, 15) was probably a Celtic
idol.
- 299, 5. Clermont. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiv, 46.
- 299, 14. Rome. Cf. vol. i, p. 148. Henzen, however, *CIL*, vi,
363 and 9177 reads ar[gentarii] for geniarii. At Verecunda nine
dedications to *genii* (sanctissimi ordinis, patriae Aug., populi,
vici Aug.) have been preserved (*CIL*, viii, 4186).

- 299, 20. decorations. The fabri subaediani (Narbo), Henzen, 7215 = *CIL*, xii, 4393, fabri subidiani (*sic*—Corduba), *CIL*, ii, 2211, the corpus subaed. (Rome) *CIL*, vi, 2, 9558 sq., the marmorarius subaedanus (Rome) Henzen, 7245, the (amici) subaediani (Antium), Lanciani, *BdI*, 1870, p. 15 = *CIL*, x, 6699 (cent?)onari et subaedian. (*CIL*, viii, 10, 532), are perhaps artisans, or *collegia* in some cases, which stood in permanent relation to temples, and were employed for the building, repair and decoration of them. Mommsen, *BdI*, 1853, p. 30, conjectures that they were those who worked *sub aedibus*, i.e. *intestinarum*, as distinguished from the *tignarii* who worked *sub divo*. Similarly Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii¹, 624, 5; 721, 2, where Mau declares the word to be obscure. Abode near a place is expressed by *sub* in *summoenianus* and *subrostratus*, within a place in *subbasilicanus*. O. Marucchi, *Di una iscr. della via Flaminia*, in *Bull. comun.*, v (1877), p. 255 ss., thinks that the subaediani were 'negozianti sotto barache—coloro che aveano una bottega coperta'. *CIL*, vi, 2276 (= Orelli, 2342) is restored by Mommsen: ico]noplastes (componendus cum fictore pontificum).
- 299, 21. Glycon. Lucian, *Alexander*, 18.
- 299, 26. Artemis. *Acts Ap.*, xix, 23.
- 299, 29. Feronia. Bormann, in *Oesterreich. Mitth.*, x, 1886, p. 229 f. (eborar. negotiator) = *CIL*, xi, 1, 3948.
- 299, 35. Paphos. Athen., xv, 18, 676; Hesych., *δοτράκλις* · ἀγαλμάτιον τι 'Αφροδίτης.
- 299, 36. Cyprian. Vidal-Lablache, *Rev. archéol.*, 1869, pp. 341–344, Statuette chypriote du musée d'Athènes (one of a set of 14 examples in the collection of that place). (The passage cited there, Lucian, *Amores*, 11 : περιήειν τὴν Κνίδον οὐκ ἀγελαστὴ τῆς κεραμευτικῆς ἀκολασίας μετέχων ὡς ἐν 'Αφροδίτης πόλει—can only refer to obscene clay figures, on show in the potters' shops.) On the places where the images of Aphrodite were found cf. Ross, *Inselreisen*, iv, 100 (Idalion), and Preller, *Griech. mythol.*, i², 304, 5.
- 300, 36. Florentine. Gregorovius, *Gesch. d. St. Rom im Mittelalter*, vii, 566 f.
- 300, 38. Aricia. Hübner, *Antiken von Madrid*, p. 292.
- 301, 8. *Curiosum*. O. Richter, *Topogr. v. Rom*, in Iwan Müller's *Handb.*, iii, 728; 915 ff.
- 301, 11. Zacharias. Jordan, *Topogr. v. Rom*, ii, 149–152.
- 301, 17. Constantine. *Notit. dign.*, ii, 1, p. 200 sq.; Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 160 f.
- 301, 20. Palatine. Richter, pp. 827 and 917.
- 301, 32. centuries. According to De Rossi, *Bull. cr.*, iii, p. 5 ss., this was not the fault of the Christian Emperors; indeed they adorned the towns with pagan statues, taken from temples and other buildings. *CIL*, vi, 1651–1672: cippi statuarum a praefecto urbis ad ornandos locos publicos collocatarum. Those which can be dated range from 331 to Theodoric. On his care for the monuments of Rome cf. Cassiodor., *Var.*, x, 30 (elephants on the *via sacra*), at Comum, ii, 35 (36).

- 301, 32. statues. Vol. i, p. 10.
 301, 36. left. Preller, *Regionen*, p. 233.
 302, 9. Batanaea. Lebas-Waddington, 2097-99, 2118 (Eitha: a Ganymede), 2308 (Soada: a temple *σὺν ἀγάλμασι*), 2232, 2364 (Seia: statues of Herod the Great, cf. 2365), 2380, 2410, 2413g (Aera: *τοὺς τέσσαρας λαμπραδηφόρους*), 2413i, 2413j. *Διὶ τῷ κυρίῳ τὴν θύραν σὺν νεκαδίοις καὶ μεγάλῃ Νέλῃ καὶ λεοσταρίοις καὶ πάσῃ γλῶφῃ* 2479, 2506, 2526 (Εἰρήνην), 2527 (Εἶσω), 2528a.
 302, 10. Palmyra. 2582 ss. (honorary statues at Palmyra), 2611 statue of Zenobia (271 A.D.).
 302, 12. completed. Moltke, *Briefe aus der Türkei*, p. 222.
 302, 17. Moesia. *CIL*, iii, 1, 6147 (Nicopolis).
 302, 17. Dacia. O. Hirschfeld, *Epigraph. Nachlese zu CIL* iii (1874), p. 38. no. 48 (Sarmizegetusa).
 302, 18. spot. Cf. Ohlenschläger, *Röm. Inschr. aus Bayern, Sitzungsber. d. b. Acad.*, 5 Mar. 1887, p. 210 f. ('crown' of a pediment at Reichenhall). *Oesterr. mitt.*, viii, *Berichte über die Ausgrabungen in Carnuntum 1883* (Syrian sun god 'very carefully executed, considering that it is of provincial origin').
 302, 20. Hammara. Read 'Hammada'. Cf. vol. ii, p. 217.
 302, 26. models. Urlichs, *Der Rhein im Alterthum, Bonner Jahrb.* lxxiv (1878), p. 11 ff. Cf. E. Hübner, *Röm. Alterthümer in Lothringen*, *ibid.*, liii, liv (1873), p. 163 ff.
 302, 36. places. O. Keller, *Vicus Aurelii (Winckelmannsprogramm)*, Bonn, 1871, p. 23 ff. and pl. ii.
 302, 36. Rottweil. Herzog, *Die röm. Niederlassungen auf württembergischem Boden, Jahrb.*, lix, p. 60.
 302, 39. Bilbel. Urlichs, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
 302, 40. England. *CIL*, vii, 37: Sulevis | Sulimis | scultor (sic) Brucetif. | sacrum f. e. m. *Ib.*, 180:—*Celatus aerarius fecit*. On finds at Virunum (in part good work, some of it in Carrara marble), see Kämmer, *Virunum*, in *Grenzboten*, 1880, no. 37, p. 442; v. Jabornegg-Altenfels, *Kärntens röm. Alterthümer* (1870), p. 56 f.; Fr. Fichler, *Virunum* (1883), pp. 98 ff., 266 f.
 303, 3. Belgica. Hettner, *Zur Cultur von Germanien und Gallia Belgica*, in *Westd. Ztschr.*, ii, 18; cf. 26, 14.
 303, 15. times. See vol. ii, p. 216. Conze, *Ueber d. Relief*, in *Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Acad.*, 1882, pp. 564 and 572.
 303, 32. influence. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 104-106. F. Hettner, *Die Neumagener Monumente*, *Rhein. Mus.*, xxxvi, 1881, p. 435 ff.; cf. *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxxiv, 1887, p. 257 ff. *Id.*, *Zur Cultur von Germanien und Gallia Belgica*, ii, 1883, p. 10 f. Cf. vol. ii, p. 216. That at Durocortorum Remorum (Reims), the residence of the governor of Belgica, art stood under Italian influence is in itself very probable, and is indicated by the following fact. 'Among the statues at the great west door of Reims cathedral, examples of the sculpture of the best Gothic period are two female figures on the right side, apparently Mary and Elizabeth, the artistic character of which differs widely from the rest. They are undoubtedly copies of antiques. Lübke (*Geschichte der Plastik*, ii², p. 458) attributes them to the Renaissance period, which is impossible, because they were imitated

c. 1270 in Bamberg cathedral. The *motif* of the Mary recalls the Livia of the Naples museum, except that the *palla* is drawn somewhat closer round the head and breast. Elizabeth is still more completely wrapped, and wears a broad browband. The originals of both figures were evidently good portrait-statues of the first century. In other cases the Reims masons of the thirteenth century used ancient fragments as models. A saint on the left side of the door has an unmistakable Odysseus head on a body of mediæval form and dress. In this case too the original cannot have been altogether devoid of artistic merit. I intend to publish these figures in the forthcoming *Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des preussischen Staats* together with the replicas at Bamberg'. G. Dehio. The originals of the two female figures must have ranked with the best Roman works of the kind outside Italy of which we have any knowledge.

304, 19. Nubian. Letronne, *Recueil d'inscriptions*, i, p. 210. *Recherches p. servir à l'hist. de l'Égypte*, pp. 446 ss., 460.

304, 28. sculptures. Cf. the works mentioned by O. Müller, *Hdb. d. Arch.*, § 256, 3, especially Beechey, *Proceedings*, p. 528.

305, 1. standing. Plutarch, *Anton.*, c. 86.

305, 4. Aethiopians. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 594.

305, 4. tax. Cf. vol. ii, p. 283.

305, 6. Gallus. Dio, liii, 33.

305, 21. porphyry. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvi, 57; cf. Letronne, *Recueil*, i, p. 142.

305, 22. deities. *CIL*, x, 6303 (Tarracina—signum Memphiticum) with Mommsen's note.

305, 22. Memphis. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvi, 56.

305, 26. Theban. *H. A.*, *Pescenn.* N., c. 12. Marquardt (d. 1882) kindly furnished me with the following information: 'Of the black stone of which the statue is made there were two kinds; the one was found in the Thebaid between Philae and Syene and was used to make mortars (Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvi, 157; Strabo, p. 818). Of the other kind Pliny says, xxxvi, 63: Thebaicus lapis—invenitur in Africae parte Aegypto adscripta. As Pliny counted Egypt as part of Asia, the place where this stone was found was outside Egypt. The *Thebaei*, mentioned among the soldiers first at the time of Domitian (*CIL*, iii, 37), are not the inhabitants of Thebes, but a tribe which also may have been outside Egypt, and ruled by a chief, just as at Pliny's time *reges Aethiopiae* lived in the neighbourhood (vi, 186). If the Greek epigram, which is given in a Latin translation, really called Niger *Thebaidos socius*, this Thebais must have been an independent kingdom. Any one, however, who knows the *Scriptores h. A.*, will regard it as not impossible that the author of the *vita* found the information that a *rex* had the statue of Niger made of Theban marble, and that he conjectured the king's name from that of the stone. Also Lumbroso, *L'Egitto al tempo de' Greci e Romani*, p. 51 ss., understands by the *rex Thebaeorum* the chief of a tribe of Negroes or half-Negroes, like the *limitanei* (*Pescenn.*, c. 7) who lived on the borders of Egypt and Ethiopia. Blümner, *Technol. u. Terminol.*, p. 12, believes

- the stone to be *marmo bianco e nero d'Egitto* (black with white veins), or granite.
- 305, 27. Jews. Suidas, s. v. βδέλυγμα· πᾶν εἶδωλον καὶ πᾶν ἐκτύπωμα ἀνθρώπου οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο παρὰ Ἰουδαίους. Cf. Zonaras, p. 380; Schürer, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, p. 385 f.
- 305, 28. Tacitus. Tac., *Hist.*, v, 5.
- 305, 32. Gamaliel. Schürer, *op. cit.*, p. 386.
- 305, 36. Essenes. Hippolyt., *Refutat.*, ix, 26.
- 306, 8. Rome. Joseph., *B. J.*, i, 21, 8.
- 306, 10. spouted. *Ibid.*, v, 4, 4.
- 306, 12. law. Joseph., *Vit.*, c. 12. Schürer, *op. cit.*, p. 386 and ii^a, 32, 151.
- 306, 13. Philippi. Furrer, *Wanderungen durch Palästina*, p. 363.
- 306, 18. Alexandra. Cf. vol. ii, p. 276.
- 306, 22. brothels. Joseph., *A. J.*, xix, 9, 1.
- 306, 31. Sidon. Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.*, pp. 579-595 M.
- 307, 4. Philesius. Arrian, *Peripl. Pont. Eux.*, c. 1 and 2.
- 307, 7. Camulodunum. Read 'Camulodunum.' Tac., *A.*, xiv, 32.
- 307, 14. Aventine. Vol. ii, p. 190.
- 307, 24. emperors. *Vit. Alex. Sev.*, c. 25.
- 307, 30. places. Pellegrini, *BdI*, 1859, p. 68 ss. Benndorf and Schöne, *Bildwerke d. lateran. Museums*, p. 350. Bruzza, *Iscr. de' marmi grezzi*, *AdI*, 1870, p. 137 s., assumes that a part of the imperial administration of the marble-supply had its seat here, and had the blocks worked in workshops under government superintendence, while there were also private workshops.
- 307, 37. Megara. Blümner, *Gewerbl. Thätigkeit der Völker des class. Alterthums*, p. 71, 12.
- 308, 2. work. *Augsb. Allg. Zeitg., Beil.*, 14/12/1871 after C. Magenta, *L'industria de' marmi Apuani*, Firenze, 1871.
- 308, 4. Diocletian. *Passio Sanctorum quatuor Coronatorum*; cf. the references in note to vol. ii, p. 268, n.
- 308, 11. narrative. See vol. ii, p. 268.
- 308, 22. *philosophi*. Benndorf, *op. cit.*, p. 343 f., believed that *philosophi* meant sculptors, but Lumbroso, *Sulla fortuna della parola filosofo (Accad. dei Lincei*, ii, 3^a, 12 Feb. 1880) demonstrates that in later times the word meant teacher.
- 308, 28. *thermae*. Benndorf, *op. cit.*, p. 351 f.
- 308, 34. Diocletian. He also ordered some merely ornamental sculpture, which was executed by the Christians. Cf. vol. ii, p. 268. An inscription on the island of Brazza on the coast of Dalmatia: NN. mil. cum insisterem (as overseer) ad capitella columnarum ad termas Licinan. (*sic*—perhaps baths of the Emperor P. Licinius Valerius in Rome). Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 27, 35.
- 308, 40. Cana. *Peripl. mar. Erythr.*, c. 28.
- 309, 4. ivory. Philostrat., *Vit. Apoll. Tyan.*, v, 20.
- 309, 11. Hermes. Read 'Fortuna'. *Negotiator a(rti)s cretariae (et flaj) turariae si(gillariae)*; the last word refers to *cretaria* as well as *flaturaria* (Augustae Vindelicorum) *CIL*, iii, 2, 5833. On *ars cretaria* cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii^a, 636, 4.
- 309, 27. epitaphs. Makers of sarcophagi (*arcae marmoreae*) at

- Ravenna, Cassiodor., *Var.*, iii, 19. Lebas-Waddington, 25 (Smyrna): *Ἀθήλια Φηλικίσσιμα ἀγοράσασα—σποδὸν Πρακοννησίων* (also *Mith. der Arch. Inst. zu Athen*, 1887, 248; cf. Blümner, *Technol.*, iii, 36) ἀνάλυτον.
- 309, 33. hand. Helbig, *Campan. Wandmalerei*, p. 31, 1; *AdI*, 1863, p. 433. Benndorf and Schöne, *Bildwerke d. lateran. Museums*, p. 125. The expression ὁ τῆς παιδείας ἀνδρίας in the inscription *CIL*, iii, 4315^a. [p. 1148] (vol. i of this work, p. 176, vol. ii, p. 293, 2 n.), leads one to suppose that there were also statues of learned men and authors kept in stock, in conventional forms, e.g. with a roll in the hand, or a *scrinium* at the feet.
- 310, 11. Zeno. Vol. i, p. 318. C. Neubauer, *Zu d. griech. Künstlerinschr.*, *Arch. Ztg.*, 1876, p. 70f., and on the other hand Löwy, *Inscr. griech. Bildhauer*, nos. 364–367 and 549. Neubauer's interpretation (p. 68) of the inscriptions *CIG*, 247, 5923, as referring to a sculptor, M. Tullius Eutyches, who travelled about (with his brother a pugilist) is not convincing, as he himself observes, pp. 300–307.
- 310, 14. Blesamus. *CIL*, vi, 3, 23,083. Brunn, *Kunstlergesch.*, i, 614.
- 310, 16. Perinthus. *Ibid.*, ii, 312. Inscription of a mosaic at Lillebonne: T. Sen. Felix c(ivis) Putolecanus fec., Renier, *Revue archéol.*, N. S., xxi (1870), p. 274s.
- 310, 21. Rome. Vol. ii, p. 299. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiv, 46.
- 310, 22. *Dream*. Lucian, *Somn.*, 7.
- 310, 34. classes. *Cod. Theodos.*, xiii, 4, 2.
- 310, 35. Thysdrus. Barth, *Wanderungen durch die Küstenländer des Mittelmeeres*, i, 172.
- 310, 36. Rome. See vol. ii, p. 307.
- 310, 36. the latter. Read 'Pompeii'. Overbeck-Mau, *Pompeji*, p. 383; but cf. p. 646. In Urbisaglia? *Not. dei scavi*, 1882, p. 105s.
- 310, 40. Asia Minor. Brunn, *Kunstlergesch.*, i, 551 (Athenian artists); 603 (the other artists in Greece); ii, 304 ff. (painters). G. Hirschfeld, *Tituli statuariae sculptorumque*, p. 193 and pl. vii. Löwy, *Inscr. griech. Bilds.*, pp. 404 f., 407 f.
- 311, 3. descendants. E.g. the artists of the Laocoon. Brunn, *op. cit.*, i, 610 (*CIG*, 6174): Φιδίας καὶ Ἀμυώνιος ἀμφότεροι Φιδίου ἐπόλου (159 A.D.). *CIG*, 2024. Father and son mosaic artists at Perinthus, vol. ii, p. 310. Cf. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 31ss. Löwy, p. 405 f.
- 311, 19. Davy. Lysons, *Reliquiae Britt.-Rom.*, i, p. 5. Wall-paintings at Virunum, like those at Pompeii: Jabornegg-Altenfels, *Kärntens röm. Alterthümer*, p. 62.
- 311, 25. similar. Hettner, *Zur Cultur von Germanien und Gallia Belgica*, in *Westd. Ztsch.*, ii, 16–18.
- 311, 31. Dalmatia. Arneth, *Sitzungsber. d. Wiener Acad.*, 1862, p. 714.
- 312, 24. art. O. Jahn, *Aus der Alterthumswissenschaft*, p. 239 ff.
- 313, 23. women. Helbig, *Untersuchungen über die Campanische Wandmalerei*, p. 27 f.

- 313, 32. new. In part verbally from O. Jahn, *Ueber antike Gruppen welche Ortest und Elektra darstellen*, *Berichte d. Sächs. Ges.*, 1861, pp. 121-132.
- 313, 37. Argos. Josephus, *B. J.*, i, 21, 7. Also the Juno of Polycletus in Martial, x, 89, is probably a copy in Rome.
- 314, 5. statues. Helbig, *op. cit.*, p. 31 f.
- 314, 10. copies. Blümner, *Archäol. Studien zu Lucian*, 93 (Lucian, *Philops.*, 18).
- 314, 16. Venus. O. Jahn, *Ber. d. Sächs. Ges.*, 1850, p. 43.
- 314, 21. Troas. Brunn, *Kunstlergesch.*, i, 610. Löwy, *Inscr. griech. Bildhauer*, no. 377: 'the express designation of a work as a copy in the artist's inscription is unique. Cf. however for the prevalent character of the existing works of this period with artists' inscriptions p. 238, and notes on nos. 369, 374.'
- 314, 24. *paedagogus*. K. O. Müller, *Hdb. d. Arch.*, § 126, 5.
- 314, 25. Mattei. Jahn, *op. cit.*, 1861, p. 124, n. 35.
- 314, 33. sea. *BdI*, 1859, p. 48.
- 314, 35. Berytus. Joseph., *A. J.*, xx, 9, 4 (*ἀρτοποιῶν ἀναθήσει καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀποτύποις εἰκόσι*).
- 314, 38. incunabula. My *Kunstsinne der Römer*, p. 38 f.
- 315, 8. Quintilian. Quintilian, x, 2, 6: *quemadmodum quidam pictores in id solum student, ut describere tabulas mensuris ac lineis sciant*.
- 315, 10. Lucian. Blümner, *op. cit.*, p. 89 f.
- 315, 13. Diadochi. Helbig, *op. cit.*, especially pp. 111, 228, 331 f.
- 315, 27. Calamis. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiv, 46.
- 316, 24. province. Jahn, *Aus der Alterthumswissenschaft*, 241-244.
- 316, 38. art. For 'the profession of art' read 'craftsmanship'. K. F. Hermann, *Studien der griech. Künstler*, p. 6. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 607.
- 317, 11. Paris. Cf. Justi, *Winckelmann*, ii, 1, 380 f.
- 317, 35. eyes. *Fabri ocularii*. Also the *sculptor uclarius*, Orelli, 2457 = 4276 is the same (otherwise Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 695, 6).
- 318, 6. required. Cf. also Overbeck, *Pompeji*⁴, p. 571 f., and on the style of decoration since which prevailed after 63 A.D., Mau, *Gesch. d. decorativen Wandmalerei in Pompeji*, 1882, p. 447 ff.
- 318, 11. period. Of about 450 artists, whose names are known, about 125 collaborated with others, the latter were mostly members of the same family or were connected as teacher and pupil. G. Hirschfeld, *Tituli statuar. sculptorumque*, p. 51 ss. (similar inscriptions of Roman times: nos. 146, 152, 171). Inscriptions of Greek sculptors, p. xv; cf. p. 405 f. (artist families). Löwy, *Inscr. gr. Bildh.*, p. xv.
- 318, 27. vessels. Cic., *Verr.*, ii, 4, 24, 57.
- 318, 31. faces. Juv., 9, 145 sq.
- 318, 36. slaves. Cf. also Artemidor. *Onirocr.*, iv, *prooem.*, p. 200 sq.; *Digg.*, vi, 1, 28.
- 318, 37. household. *Vit. Alex. Sever.*, c. 41. Cf. the inscriptions of painters, *CIL*, vi, 9786-9794 (slaves, freedmen and free).
- 318, 37. Julianus. *Digg.*, ix, 2, 23, § 3.
- 319, 4. mentioned. *Id.*, xii, 6, 26, § 12.
- 319, 16. pound. Waddington, *Ed. de Diocl.*, p. 18. The rates

- were 50, 60, 75, 150 *denarii* (= 0.298 of a penny); in *sigillis vel statuis* 4 *denarii* to the pound.
- 319, 18. price. Cf. Appendix liv.
- 319, 30. Baetica. Hübner, *Addenda ad CIL* ii, 16. *Ephem. epigr.*, iii, 37.
- 319, 36. Hercules. Wilmanns, *E. I.*, 2486 = Orelli, 2983.
- 319, 38. Grenoble. *CIL*, xii, 2231—subpraef. equit. alae Agrippian. qui [HS] 1000 in statuas let . . et aenearum [test. reli]quit.
- 320, 3. Octavius. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxv, 155 sq.
- 320, 7. Nero. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 18.
- 320, 9. Mercury. Pliny, *ib.*, xxxiv, 45. Cf. vol. ii, p. 299.
- 320, 19. Amor. Lacroix, *XVIII siècle (Lettres, sciences et arts)*, p. 343ss.
- 320, 27. Rietschel. Oppermann, *Ernst Rietschel*, p. 287.
- 321, 10. Plutarch. Plutarch, *Pericles*, c. 2.
- 321, 18. argued. Especially by K. F. Hermann, *Studien der griech. Künstler*, p. 6, 8.
- 321, 24. astronomy. Seneca, *Epp.*, 88, 18.
- 321, 26. fashion. *Id.*, in Lactant., *Inst.*, ii, 2, 14; ed. Haase, iii, p. 443.
- 321, 32. oratory. Plutarch, *Præcept. gerend. reip.*, 5, 7.
- 321, 33. *Dream*. Lucian, *Somn.*, c. 9.
- 321, 37. Philostratus. Philostrat., *Apoll. T.*, viii, 331, ed. K., p. 155.
- 322, 2. Galen. Galen, ed. K., i, p. 38 (vol. i, p. 156).
- 322, 12. Virgil. Virgil, *A.*, vi, 847.
- 322, 17. few. Brunn, *Kunstlergesch.*, i, 602. G. Hirschfeld, *Tituli statuarior. sculptorumque*, p. 186 sqq. Löwy, *Inscr. griech. Bildh.*, no. 357 (Athens):—Τραϊανὸν Ἀδριανὸν Ὀλύμπιον ἢ μητρόπολιν τῆς Ἰωνίας Μελησίῳ πόλιν—Ἀνδριαντοποῖος Ἀθλος Παντοῦλης Γαῖου Ἐφέσιος ὁ καὶ Μελησίος ἐποίη. 368 (Olympia): Κορνήλιος Ἀφροδιτεύς ἐποίη. *CIL*, x, 1896 (Puteoli in basi): Ex officina Sextili Clementis. Cornelius Saturninus of Oea (Apulei., *Apol.*, c. 61 s.) was apparently more than a wood-carver.
- 322, 28. Greeks. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvi, 38. Löwy, p. 238 ff., 266 ff.
- 223, 32. painting. Semper, *Der Stil*, i, 490.
- 323, 8. Fabius. Valer. Max., viii, 14, 6.
- 323, 14. Nepos. Ad. Furtwängler, *Plinius und seine Quellen über die bildenden Künste*, in *N. Jahrb. f. Philol., Supplementband*, ix (1877), pp. 25–38 (against Brunn, who supposes Cornelius Nepos to have also written biographies of bronze-founders: *Cornelius Nepos und die Kunsturtheile bei Plinius, Sitzungsab. d. phil. hist. Cl. d. Münchener Acad.*, 1875, i, 311–327).
- 323, 16. Encyclopaedias. Pliny, *N. h.*, vii, 213 (xxxiv–xxxvi).
- 323, 24. Verona. Inscriptions of the same family at Verona, *CIL*, v, i, 3432.
- 323, 26. Virtus. Cf. note on vol. ii, p. 298, 2.
- 323, 27. Ladius. Brunn, *Kunstlergesch.*, ii, 302–316.
- 323, 32. artist. Helbig, *Wandgemälde der verschütteten Städte*, pp. 385–389.

- 323, 40. requisites. Jahn, *Darstellungen des Handwerks*, etc., *Abhandl. d. Sächs. Ges.*, v, 298-304.
- 323, 40. Justin. Justin Martyr, *Apol.*, i, 9: Καὶ οἱ οὖτοι τῶν θεῶν (images of the gods) τεχνῖται τε ἀσελγεῖς τε [suppl. εἰσὶ] καὶ πᾶσαν κακίαν, ἵνα μὴ καθαριθμῶμεν ἔχουσιν ἀκριβῶς ἐπίστασθε· καὶ τὰς παιδίσκας συνεργαζομένας φθέρουσιν.
- 324, 6. antiquity. Augustine, *De civ. D.*, xxii, 19, 1: complete recasting of a faulty statue. Boetius (d. 525), *De instil. Arithm.*, i, *praef.*, ed. Friedlein, p. 4: Each *scientia* needs *ceterarum quoque artium adjumenta*. Nam in effigiandis marmore statuis alius excidendae molis labor est, alia formandae imaginis ratio, nec ejusdem artificis manus politi operis nitor exspectat. At picturae manibus tabula commissa fabrorum, cerae rustica observatione decerptae, colorum fuci mercatorum sollertia perquisiti, lintea operosis elaborata textrinis multiplicem materiem praestant. Marcellini Com. Chronic. Areobinda et Messalla coss. (506). His coss. Anastasii principis statua in eodem loco, quo dudum Theodosii Magni steterat, super immanem columnam in foro Trajani facta est. Boetio solo cos. (510): Simulachrum aeneum in foro Strategii super fornicem residens et cornucopiae Fortunae tenens incendio proflammatum est combustumque brachium, quod tamen statuarii continuo solidarunt. Eunap., *Vitt. philos.*, 118: 'Ιλάριον . . . κατὰ γραφικὴν οἷτω φιλοσοφῆσαντα, ὥστε οὐκ ἐτεθνήκει ἐν ταῖς ἐκείνου χερσὶν ὁ Εὐφράνωρ.— On ivory carving cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 741 ff.
- 324, 16. stupefying. Semper, *Der Stil*, i, 479-486.
- 324, 22. justification. Frontin., *De aquis*, c. 16.
- 324, 27. lucrative. Vol. i, p. 155.
- 324, 28. overcrowded. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 613 f. Cf. *Cod. Theodos.*, xiii, 4 and the list of Promis mentioned in note on ii, 249, 5.
- 324, 39. refuse. Brunn, *Kunstlergesch.*, ii, 344. *CIL*, vi, 2, 14,647: Celeri Neronis Aug. l.
- 324, 40. Martial. Martial, vii, 56. Brunn, *ibid.*, ii, 377, misunderstands the end of the epigram.
- 325, 1. Roman. *Vit. Hadrian.*, c. 19.
- 325, 2. Mustius. Brunn, *ibid.*, ii, 371.
- 325, 8. Lacer. *CIL*, ii, 751. (*Ib.*, 2559: C. Sevius Lupus architectus Aeminiensis Lusitanus.)
- 325, 10. Verenius. *Revue epigr. du midi de la France*, Juli 1883, p. 74.
- 325, 11. Julius. *CIL*, xii, 186.
- 325, 15. Galen. Galen, *De anatom. administr.*, i, 2, ed. R., ii, 225. Cf. Clinton, *ad a.* 147.
- 325, 17. world. The passages in question seem never to have been understood. In the poem *Anthol. Palat.*, ix, 656 the χαλκὴ built by the emperor Anastasius (491-518) is compared with the most famous buildings; the poet says:—

L 13: κρύψον ἀμετρήτων μεγάρων στεινοῦμενον αὐλαῖς,
 ἱεράγαμε, παιδρὸν ἀγαλμα τεόν, 'Ρουφίνιον ἄλσος,

where Dübner thinks of the splendid buildings mentioned by

Claudian, *In Rufin.*, ii, 448. In Orelli's edition of Philo, *De VII orb. spectacc.*, p. 146, is a list of the wonders of the world from Georg. Cedren., *Comp. Hist.*, c. 81, p. 140, *ed. Basil.*, concluding thus:—

καὶ Ρουφίνειον ἄλλος (in Orelli 'Ρουφίνιον ἄλλος) ἐν τῷ Περγάμῳ, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ κάλλος πᾶσαν ἔδραμε χθόνα.

One Messalinus who restored a theatre at Ephesus, Lebas-Waddington, 150 = *CIG*, 2976 = *Append. ad Anthol.*, 333. Inscriptions of Greek architects are not frequent, according to G. Hirschfeld, *Monatsberichte d. Berl. Akad.*, 1888, p. 888.

326, 13. art. Marquardt, *Pril.*, ii^a, 960 f.

327, 10. Pasitales. Read 'Pasiteles'. Jahn, *Kunsturtheile des Plinius*, in *Berichte der Sächs. Ges.*, 1850, p. 121ff. Benndorf, *De Anthol. Gr. epigr. quae ad artes spectant* (Bonn, 1862), pp. 5, 52-65.

327, 19. architects. Ritschl, *Ind. Scholl. Bonn. 1856-57, Rh. Mus.*, xiii, 460 ff. The Hebdomad of painters, Quintilian, xii, 10, 6; the *statuarii*, Plin., *N. h.*, xxxiv, 54 sqq.

327, 23. life. Lucret., v, 1450-53 (carmina picturas et daedala signa polire).

327, 29. girls. Vol. i, p. 229.

327, 33. Paulus. Plutarch, *Aemil. Paull.*, c. 6.

327, 36. favoured. An inscription from Teos shows that in Greco painting formed a branch of education at least in some places, *CIG*, 3087, in which there is a list of the subjects for which prizes are offered for the πρεσβύτερα ἡλικία (elder boys or youths), viz.: ὑποβολή, ἀνάγνωσις, πολυμαθία, ζωγραφία. The supposition of Lüders (*Die dionysischen Künsiler*, p. 138), that in Teos there existed an academy for Dionysian artists, is very improbable, because of the subjects of instruction mentioned. *CIL*, viii, 724 (prov. Byzacena. Epitaph of a 17 year old youth): gratus apud magistros fui, qui dixi scribsi pincxsi bene.

328, 4. sculptor. Brunn, *op. cit.*, ii, 309 f.

328, 12. Labeo. *Ibid.*, 306.

328, 29. Atticus. Vol. i, p. 368 ff.

329, 6. indispensable. Vitruv., ed. Rose, vi, 5, 1; 7, 2; 8, 2.

329, 7. general. Aurelius Victor, *Caesares*, 14: ipse (Hadrianus), ut beatis locupletibus mos, palatia exstruere, curare epulas, signa, tabulas pictas. *CIL*, vi, 2270: Eutychus Augg. lib. officinator a statuis (199 A.D.). Julius Friedländer (*Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, iii, 167) concludes that the Romans used to collect coins, from Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 75: Saturnalibus modo munera dividebat, vestem et aurum et argentum, modo nummos omnis notae, etiam veteres regios ac peregrinos ('such as golden Alexanders or fine silver pieces of Syracuse', J. Fr.).

329, 13. Caesar. Sueton., *Caes.*, c. 47.

329, 13. Damasippus. Horace, *S.*, ii, 3, 64.

329, 15. Pliny. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxv, 4.

329, 18. carved. *Ibid.*, xxxiii, 157.

329, 22. Quintilian. My *Kunstsin*n der Römer, 38, 55.

329, 31. Diadochi. By *antiqui*, in Vitruv., vii, 5, according to

- Helbig, *N. Rh. Mus.*, 1870, p. 395 ff., are meant the artists of the time of the Diadochi.
- 329, 33. Tibur. Stat., *Silv.*, i, 3, 50 sq. reads according to the copy of Cod. Sangallensis (Baehrens, *praef.*, p. 13): Quicquid et argento primum, vel in aere minori Lusit et enormes manus est experta colossos. Since the *ed. princeps*, *Myronis* has been read instead of *minori*. Bergk, *Philol.*, xvi, 20, proposed *primum* for *primum* and *ut* for *et*. Baehrens thinks that *primum* means 'excellent', and that the reference is to real *colossi*, which had a place in the collection together with small bronze and silver works of art. I take the passage to refer to small studies in bronze and silver (*minori* refers to *argento* as well as to *aere*), in which the artist as it were tried the effect of the colossal figures which were to be executed later. Ed. Schwartz, *Conjectanea, Ind. lect. Rostoch. aestiv. 1889*, p. 7, gives essentially the same explanation.
- 329, 36. Myron. Stat., *Silv.*, ii, 63: Si quid Apellei gaudent animasse colores, Si quid adhuc vacua tamen admirabile Pisa Phidiacae rasere manus (cf. iv, 6, 28). In this connexion I do not think *Apellei* can be taken in a general sense as a synonym for painting.
- 329, 40. Apelles. Stat., *Silv.*, iv, 6, 10-21.
- 330, 1. Polycletus. Exceptionally Columella, *R. r.*, i, *praef.* 31 mentions Bryaxis and x, 30, Phradmon and Ageladas. Perhaps he read the first name on a pedestal. Of a number of statues, which stood in the Forum, the pedestals and inscriptions still exist (according to the shape of the letters rather of the second than the third century): Opus Praxitelis, Opus Polycleti, Opus Timarchi; a fourth inscription, Opus Bryaxidis, belonging to the same series, only exists in manuscript. De Rossi, *La base di una statua di Prassitele testè scoperta e la serie di simili basi alla quale esse appartiene*, *Bull. comun.* ii, 1874, p. 174 ss. Cf. *CIL*, vi, 10,038-43. De Rossi (p. 179 s.) supposes that the statues were erected shortly before the Basilica Julia. Cf. Löwy, *Inscr. griech. Bildhauer*, p. 319 ff.
- 330, 1. Juvenal. *Juv.*, 3, 216 sqq.
- 330, 17. masters. *My Kunstsinn der Römer*, p. 37.
- 330, 19. Tullus. Cf. vol. ii, p. 264, 22 and n.
- 330, 27. collection. Martial, xii, 69.
- 330, 29. Phaedrus. *Phaedr.*, v, *praef.*, l. 7, *Codd*: Detrito Myronem argento. fabulae exaudiant. Bergk, *Philol.*, xvi, 620 f.: Detrito Myn argento, tabulae Pausiam. *Detrito* either 'rubbed', to give the appearance of antiquity, or 'finely polished' (Apulei., *Metam.*, vi, 6: currum . . . limae tenuantis detrimento conspicuum et ipsius auri damno pretiosum). The alteration of *Myronem* is not to be recommended. Perhaps 'Trito Myronem argento, tabulae Pausiam' (so L. Müller, only with *Zeusidem* for *Pausiam*.)
- 330, 39. works. Zenob., v, 82, *Paroemiographi*, edd. Leutsch et Schneidewin, i, 153), cited by G. Hirschfeld, *Tituli statuar., sculptorumque*.
- 331, 5. Julian. Brunn admits it, *Kunstlorges.*, i, 187. 'Ars

- Phidiaca' in Martial, iii, 35, may mean, the plastic art, as 'ars Apellea', xi, 9, 2, painting. On the other hand, Φειδιακὴν χάριτα, Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 794, of an imitation of a Pallas of Phidias. Cf. Löwy, *Inscr. griech. Bildh.*, p. 362 f.
- 331, 8. goblets. Martial, xii, 69 (scyphos . . . archetypus).
- 331, 13. cups. Jahn, *Aus d. Alterthumswissenschaft*, p. 236 f. Cf. Brunn, *op. cit.*, ii, 408.
- 331, 16. Mentor. Martial, ix, 60, 16.
- 331, 18. silver. *Id.*, iii, 41; iv, 39; viii, 51, 2; xi, 11, 5; xiv, 93 (Pocula archetypa).
- 331, 25. Daedalus. Petron., c. 52.
- 331, 33. smell. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii^a, 688. Cf. my *Kunstsinne der Römer*, p. 39 f. Blümner, *Gewerbl. Thätigkeit*, p. 74 f.
- 331, 41. persons. Vol. ii, p. 203 f.
- 332, 2. talent. Lucian, *Adv. indoct.*, 13 sq.
- 332, 5. finger. Juv., 6, 156.
- 332, 7. Augustus. Dio, lix, 21.
- 332, 12. article. Lucian, *Saturn.*, 3, 33.
- 332, 14. Philip. Juv., 12, 46.
- 332, 15. Caracalla. Dio, lxxvii, 7.
- 332, 18. Argo. Martial, vii, 19.
- 332, 22. Dido. *Id.*, viii, 6.
- 332, 26. Sulla. Stat., *Silv.*, iv, 6.
- 332, 34. originals. Dionys., *De vi Demosth.*, c. 50, p. 1180. *De Dinarcho*, c. 7, p. 644.
- 332, 35. Statius. Stat., *Silv.*, iv, 6, 29.
- 332, 39. statues. Horace, S., ii, 3, 20-23.
- 332, 41. art. Detmold, *Kunst in drei Stunden ein Kunstkenner zu werden*.
- 333, 3. ignorant. Cic., *Verr.*, act. ii, or. iv, 44, 98. Luc., *Zeux.*, 5, in Blümner, *Dilettanten, Kunstlieb. und Kenner im Alterthum* (Virchow and Holtzendorf, viii. Serie, Heft 176), p. 42, 24.
- 333, 4. training. Epictet., *Dissert.*, ii, 24, 8: τὸ δ' ἰδεῖν ἐμμελῶς (sc. τὸν ἀνδριάντα) οὐδεμῶς σοι προσδεῖσθαι φαίνεται τέχνης; Προσδεῖται καὶ τοῦτο.
- 333, 6. fool. Cic., *Paradox.*, 5, 2; Horace, S., ii, 7, 95; Seneca, *Epp.*, 115, 8.
- 333, 4. Syracuse. Plutarch, *Marcell.*, c. 21.
- 333, 17. pictures. *Digg.*, xxi, 1, 65.
- 330, 33. Rome. Pliny, N. h., xxxvi, 27: Romae quidem multitudo operum etiam obliteratio [est] ac magis etc.
- 330, 38. picture. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 10.
- 334, 19. civilization. The proof I gave for this assertion in my *Ueber den Kunstsinne der Römer in der Kaiserzeit*, 1852 has been attacked by K. F. Hermann, *Ueber den Kunstsinne der Römer und deren Stellung in der Geschichte der alten Kunst*, 1856, but in my review of this work (*N. Jahrb. f. Philol.*, lxxiii, 391 ff.) I hope I was able to demonstrate, that H. (with the exception of a few comparatively unimportant additions and corrections) has not succeeded in really refuting me. Cf. also Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii^a, 609, 3.
- 334, 36. Arcesilaus. Plutarch, *De tranquill. animi*, c. 9, p. 470.

- 334, 40. Dionysius. *Dissertatio qua nonnulla scriptorum Graecor. de artibus . . . judicia recensentur*, Progr. Acad. Alb., 1886, iv.
- 335, 11. marble. Quintilian, ii, 19, 3.
- 335, 14. Memnon. Memnon, xvi, 52; Mueller, *Fr. hist. Gr.*, iii, 554.
- 335, 25. Dionysius. Herodian, v, 3.
- 335, 30. lost. Plutarch, *De glor. Atheniens.*, c. 2, p. 346.
- 335, 33. included. G. Hirschfeld, *Tituli statuariorum*, p. 56, 1. Strabo, xiv, p. 642 (Ephesus). Stephanus Byz., s. 'Ἀλεξάνδρεια (πρὸς τῷ Λαθμῷ τῆς Καπας). 'Ανθηδών, 'Ηλεκτρίδες νῆσοι, Κίθνος.
- 335, 34. Pausanias. Pfundtner, *Des Reisebeschreibers P. Lebens- und Glaubensansch.*, Progr. des Kneiphöf. Gymnas., Königsberg, 1868, p. 7 f. Cf. Kalkmann, *Pausanias der Perieget*, 1886, p. 194 ff.
- 336, 3. models. Kretschmann, *De latitudine Apuleji*, p. 8.
- 336, 7. Prusa. Dio Chr., *Or.*, xii, p. 209 M.
- 336, 18. poetry. *Ibid.*, xii, p. 210 sqq. M. It appears from this passage that expressions like τὸ χειρωνακτικὸν καὶ δημιουργικὸν (p. 214 M., 218 M.) which Phidias uses in regard to himself, by no means express contempt.
- 336, 25. Praxiteles. Lucian, *Amores*, 13 sqq. Cf. in general Blümler, *Archäol. Stud. zu Lucian* (1867), pp. 46–52, and Croiset, *Vie et œuvres de Lucien*, pp. 264–285.
- 336, 33. physicians. Galen, ed. K., x, p. 36 sq.
- 336, 34. Aristides. Aristid., *Or.*, xlv, 30 sq., J., ii, 38 sq., Dind., διὰ ταῦτα καὶ συμφοιτῶν οὐ μόνον οὐ (edd. οἱ μὲν) χεῖρους ἀλλὰ καὶ κρείττους ὁ Φειδίας, ὁ Ζεύξις, ὁ Ἱπποκράτης, ὁ Δημοσθένης [καὶ ἐν ἐκάστῃ τέχνῃ πᾶς] ὅτινα βούλεται θαυμάζειν τις. 'Also the rhetorician who wrote *Περὶ ἔψους* shows occasionally his knowledge of the plastic effect of high lights (c. 17, 3): the light, even when on the same ground and in the same colours as the shadow, all the same appears οὐ μόνον ἑξοχὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγγιτέρῳ παρὰ πολλῷ.' Furtwängler, *Plinius und seine Quellen über die bildenden Künste*, in *N. Jahrb. f. Philol.*, Supplementbd., ix, 37, 7.
336. MUSIC. In this section I have been able to use some notes kindly supplied to me by Dr. K. von Jan of Saargemünd. Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik* is quoted from the first edition.
- 337, 27. holes. Cassiodorus, *Chron.*, A.U. 639: His coss. L. Metellus et Cn. Domitius censores artem ludicram ex urbe removerunt praeter Latinum tibiae cum cantore et ludum talanum (*l. talarium*, Hertz, *De ludo talario s. talari*. *Ind. Vratisl. aest.* 1873: ubi ludiones palla ac tunica talari muliebriter vestiti erant).
- 337, 37. composition. Westphal, *Harmonik und Melopöie der Griechen*, p. 8 ff.
- 337, 39. music. Juv., 7, 18.
- 338, 6. overture. My article on the games in Marquardt, *StV*, iii², 543 f.
- 338, 9. lyre. Quintilian, i, 10, 29.
- 338, 10. choruses. Pliny, *Epp.*, vii, 17: lyrica . . . chorum et lyram poscunt. Cf. Gell., xix, 9.
- 338, 13. times. O. Jahn, *Wie wurden die Oden des Horatius vorgetra-*

- gen? in *Hermes*, ii, 427, 3. But in Plutarch, *Qu. conv.*, vii, 8, 2, p. 711 D., *Σ. ἀναλεγόμενης* should probably be read for *Σαπφούς ἀναδεχομένης*.
- 338, 14. lyre. Horace, C., iv, 9, 3. Jahn, p. 429.
- 338, 17. were. *Id.*, p. 433. The objections of Teuffel, *RLG*³, 34, 4 are not in the least valid (in the 4th edition they are withdrawn, with some reservations); the same is true of the objections of Fr. Süss, *Ein Beitrag zur Lyrik des Horatius* in *Zeitschr. f. österr. Gymn.*, xxx (1879), p. 881 ff.
- 338, 22. boys. Aristid., ed. Dindorf, i, p. 330; Baumgart, *Aelius Aristides*, p. 50 f.
- 338, 23. cithara. Pliny, *Epp.*, vii, 4, 9; iv, 19, 4.
- 338, 24. Catullus. It is then possible to take 'cantare Catullum' literally in Horace, S., i, 10, 18.
- 338, 30. treated. Theogn. 241. R. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman*, p. 139 ff. K. v. Jan, *Auletischer und aulodischer Nomos*, in *N. Jahrb. f. Philol.*, 1879, p. 589.
- 338, 31, 2. vocalist. Ovid, *A. a.*, iii, 345.
- 338, 37. poets. Gell., xix, 9, 3-5, 8 (cantilena).
- 339, 5. indifferently. *Ibid.*, 10: voce admodum quam suavi . . . cecinit . . . 13: dixit. In Petron., c. 78 Trimalchio says to the *cornicines*: dicite aliquid belli. Ann. Flor. p. 106 sqq.: urbem illam ubi versus tui a lectoribus concinuntur. Apollin. Sidon., *Ep.*, 8, 4: jambos, elegos, hendecasyllabos et cetera carmina . . . Narbonensibus cantitanda. Cf. Jahn, p. 419 ff.
- 339, 7. understood. Donat., *Vita Vergili*, p. 60 R.
- 339, 8. gestures. Odaria saltare: Petron., *Sat.*, c. 53. Jahn, p. 421. Tac., *Dial.*, 26: Jactant cantari saltarique commentarios suos.
- 339, 11. applause. Ovid, *Trist.*, ii, 519; v, 7, 25. Jahn, *loc. cit.*
- 339, 16. 'sung'. Juv., ii, 180 etc. Jahn, *loc. cit.*
- 339, 18. poetry. 'A simple form of singing, a monotonous recitative, goes back to the furthest antiquity among the Semitic peoples, and was indissolubly associated with poetry, for what we call the declaiming of a poem consists among the Arabs in a singsong recitation, with certain conventional modulations of the voice and a constant adaptation to the metre.' Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients*, i, 28.
- 339, 23. violin. Fauriel, *Romans de la chevalerie*. Cf. Bartsch, *Grundriss der Provenzal. Literatur*, § 22. Léon Gautier, *Les épopées Françaises*, i³ (1878), p. 158: Les Chansons de Geste n'étaient faits que pour être chantés. La décadence de notre poésie épique devait commencer le jour, où l'on devait la lire et non plus la chanter.
- 339, 29. both. Weinhold, *Die deutschen Frauen*, p. 103.
- 339, 31. lute. Montaigne, *Journal du voyage en Italie 1580-81*, iii, 37: je fus frappé de voir ces paysans (en Toscane) un luth à la main et de leur côté les bergères ayant l'Arioste dans la bouche; mais c'est ce qu'on voit dans toute l'Italie. Hübner, *Sixtus V.*, p. 96.
- 339, 34. verse. Ranke, *Serbische Revolution*³, 66.

- 340, 1. text. Westphal, *op. cit.*, p. 13. Ambros, *Gesch. d. Musik*, i, 446. Cf. the transcription on p. 451, n. 1 of the hymn of Dionysios to Helios, as adapted by Bellermann.
- 340, 7. successful. 'The ancient musical staff extends from F to g', if one compares the primary notes with the white keys and the secondary with the black keys of our pianos. The principal octave is f to f'. This was the most convenient octave for all singers, so its absolute pitch must have been 2 or 3 tones lower, about c-c' or d-d'. Bellermann, *Anonymi scriptio de musica* (1841), introd. p. 12 f. K. v. Jan.
- 340, 13. Greeks. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, *Gesch. Griechenl.*, i, 44. [*Christ. Anthol. carm. christian.*, p. 113. Bourgauld-Ducoudray, *Études s. l. musique ecclésiastique grecque*, p. 7. K. v. J.] Also harmony was hardly known to ancient Egyptian music: Ambros, i, 156 f.; [nor to modern Indian, Arabian, Chinese or Japanese: *Allg. Musikzeitung*, 1879, p. 583. Chappell, *History of Music*, p. 304. K. v. J.].
- 340, 16. together. Westphal, p. 19 f. Ambros, p. 452 ff.
- 340, 19. unison. Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 14, 17 (mesochorus). *CIG*, iii, 6231: ἀρχέχορος. Dio, lvi, 35: ἐμοῦ . . . τὰ κεφάλαια ἀποσημαίνοντος καὶ ὑμῶν τὰ λοιπὰ συνεπηχούτων. Dio Chr., *Or.*, lvi, 565, 19 M.: Κορυφαίους . . . τοὺς σημαίνοντας τοῖς ᾄδουσι καὶ μέλος ἐνδιδόντας. Colum., *R. r.*, xii, 2: ubi chorus canentium non ad certos modos neque numeris praeceuntis magistri consensit etc. Apulei., *De mundo*, p. 749: quod est in triremi gubernator, in curru rector, praecentor in choris etc.
- 340, 27. sense. Guhrauer, *Zur Frage der Mehrstimmigkeit in der griech. Musik*, in *Philolog. Abhandlungen f. M. Hertz* (1888), p. 177 f. Gevaert, *Histoire et théorie de la musique de l'antiquité*, 1876, p. 350 (p. 370: la polyphonie hellénique . . . se rapprochait de la manière en usage chez les chanteurs au luth de xv et xvi siècle). K. v. Jan, in *N. Jahrb.*, 1879, p. 583. Gevaert has (p. 374 ss.) set the hymn to Helios to the accompaniment of a stringed instrument, to give an idea of the application of harmony in ancient times, as he imagines it.
- 340, 32. developed. Cf. Ambros, i, 461-494.
- 340, 37. trumpet. The *tuba* did not resemble the trumpet in its note, but the bugle of the German army; K. v. Jan, *Signal- und Schlaginstrumente*, in Baumeister, *Denkmäler d. kl. Alterth.*, iii, 1657. The σαλπικτής (*tubicen*) was admitted to the Greek agones. In the record of an ἀγὼν μουσικὸς πενταετηρικός at Aphrodisias, *CIG*, 2758 s. = Lebas-Waddington 1620d, the list of competitors begins: σαλπικτῆ- κήρυκι- ἐγκωμιογράφου- ποιητῆ- πυθαύλῃ. Seneca, *Epp.*, 76, 4: theatrum Neapolitanorum . . . factum est et ingenti studio, quis sit pythaeus bonus, iudicatur. habet tubicen quoque Graecus et praeco concursum. *Encomiographi*, evidently at the same *agon*, are mentioned in M. Caes., *Epp. ad Frontin.*, ii, 2, 4, ed. Niebuhr (ii, 6, 7: interdiu in theatro consumitur). Most probably both Seneca and Marcus Aurelius refer to the pentaeteric *Augustalia* at Naples; it is known that poets participated in these; cf. *s.g. Stat. Silv.*, v, 3, 225-227.

- 341, 8. audience. Cf. Appendix xlii. Quintilian, ix, 4, 11; i, 10, 25. Details of the construction of the instrument in Chappell, *op. cit.*, p. 325 ss., and K. v. Jan in Baumeister, i, 563 ff., who remarks, p. 569, that no organist is ever mentioned in an inscription as crowned a victor, and that the organ never occurs in writers on music like Plutarch and Ptolemy; but that it seems to have been especially used in the amphitheatre to give the signals.
- 341, 10. *virtuosi*. The simple flute is regarded as the instrument of the soloists by Ambros, i, 487, Guhrauer (*Zur Gesch. der Aulosmusik*, in *N. Jahrb.*, 1880, p. 289 ff.) and apparently Gevaert (*op. cit.*, pp. 696, 699, 1). On the other hand v. Jan (*op. cit.*, 1879, pp. 581-584) thinks it was the double flute, which as a rule was played in two parts, the one half of the instrument rendering the melody, and the other maintaining a high note as an accompaniment. Cf. v. Jan, *Die musikalischen Festspiele der Griechen* (*Verhandl. der 39. Philologenvers.*), p. 80, 4, where the *aulos* is designated 'double clarinet'. See also his article *Flöten* in Baumeister, i, 553 ff. On the kinds of double flute in Roman theatrical music cf. my article in Marquardt, *StV*, iii², 545, 8 (K. v. Jan, *op. cit.*, p. 591, 21 and in Baumeister, i, 569).
- 341, 12. hautboy. Westphal, p. 21. Fortlage (*Rhythmica*, *StRE*, vi, 608). Ambros, p. 476. On the other hand K. v. Jan (in Baumeister, i, 553) considers the Greek *aulos* was not an oboe, but a clarinet.
- 341, 16. instruments. Westphal and Ambros, *opp. cit.*
- 341, 17. *cithara*. On the differences between the two cf. K. v. Jan, *Die griechischen Saiteninstrumente*, in *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1858, p. 181 (plate cxv); also his *Doctordissertation, De fidibus Graecorum* (Berol. 1859), p. 5ss., and his article *Saiteninstrumente* in Baumeister, iii, 1539 ff.
- 341, 24. Hebrews. *Ibid.*, 1544 ff.
- 341, 30. fingers. Jan, *Mus. Festsp.*, p. 80.
- 341, 32. antiquity. Ambros, i, 461-476. On the structure of the *cithara* cf. Gevaert, p. 254ss.
- 341, 38. to it. Westphal, p. 21. Cic., *Pro Murena*, 13s. (Quintilian, viii, 3, 79): ut aiunt in Graecis artificibus eos auloedos esse, qui citharoedi fieri non potuerint. K. v. Jan, *N. Jahrb.*, 1879, p. 591 explains this as due to the slight favour in which 'aulodic' was held. By this he understands the recital of an *auletes* who alternately played and sang. Guhrauer however (*op. cit.*, 1880, p. 689 ff., and *Zur Geschichte der Aulodik bei den Griechen*, *Progr. v. Waldenburg in Schlesien*, 1879) probably rightly understands it as the recital of a solo singer, accompanied by an *auletes*. A baritone voice accompanied in unison by a sort of oboe an octave higher, cannot have been particularly attractive, or even adapted to definite requirements. In reality the solo voice was accompanied by the *cithara*, which did not require a second musician; the function of the flute (apart from its use as the solo instrument of the *auletae*) was to accompany the choirs and to lead them with its more powerful tone.

- Guhrauer, *Zur Gesch.* etc., p. 15 f.; so also now v. Jan, *Mus. Festsp.*, p. 80.
- 342, 2. voice. Meyer, *Anthol. Lat.*, 955, 957.
- 342, 4. song. Westphal, p. 115: the polyphonic accompaniment of song might be effected either by several wind instruments, or by several stringed instruments, or finally by a combination of the two. So Pindar, *Ol.*, 3, 6: *φόρμιγγά τε πακιλδογάρων και βοᾶν αὐλῶν ἐπέων τε θέσιν συμμίζειν προκόντως*. Fortlage, *op. cit.*, p. 607. A changing accompaniment of wind and stringed instruments is assumed by Jahn, *op. cit.*, p. 430 f., on Horace, *Epod.*, 9 (l. 5: sonante mixtum tibiis carmen lyra, Hac Dorium, illis barbarum).
- 342, 6. choruses. Pliny, *Epp.*, vii, 17; Gell., xix, 9.
- 342, 9. alike. Aristides Quintilian., ii, ed. Meibom., p. 91: *οὐ γὰρ ταῦτ' ὧς εἶδος ἐν τε κιθάρα, καὶ ἐν αὐλῷ πρόπον*.
- 342, 14. husband. Pollux, iv, 80. *Ibid.*, 83: *Ἀθήνησι δὲ καὶ συναυλία τις ἐκαλεῖτο συμφωνία τις αὐτῇ τῶν ἐν Παναθηναίοις σιναυλοῦντων. οἱ δὲ τὴν συναυλίαν εἶδος προσαυλήσεως ὡς τὴν αὐλωδίαν*. Aristides Quintilian., ii, ed. Meibom., p. 101, cf. also p. 108 sq.
- 342, 39. Canus. Plutarch, *An seni ger. s. resp.*, c. 5, 6, p. 786. Cf. Plutarch, *Galba*, c. 16; Martial, iv, 5, 8.
- 343, 5. devout. Philostrat., *Vit. Apoll. Tyan.*, v, 21, ed. K., p. 93.
- 343, 19. Arions. Gesner on Quintilian, i, 12; cf. Bitter, *J. S. Bach*, i, 304 f.
- 343, 26. vases. Westphal, p. 22 f. I borrow the comparison from Ambros, i, 510.
- 343, 37. triumph. I follow here H. Guhrauer (*Der pythische Nomos, eine Studie zur griech. Musikgeschichte*, in Fleckeisen's *Jahrbb. f. cl. Philol.*, Supplementband viii, pp. 310–351), except that with K. v. Jan (in *Philologus*, xxxviii, p. 378 ff. and *Jahrbb.*, 1879, p. 577, whose view has since been adopted by Guhrauer himself [*Zur Gesch. der Aulosmusik*, in *N. Jahrbb.*, 1880, p. 703 ff.]) I do not assume the co-operation of two other instruments (*σάλπιγξ* and *ὄριγξ*). Guhrauer, rightly in my opinion, prefers the account in Pollux, iv, 84, to that in Strabo, ix, p. 421 C (p. 322 f.); and I regard as very probable his conjecture that Strabo mentioned Timosthenes not as a composer, but as his authority, and that the passage contains a lacuna (p. 316). Guhrauer also rightly points out (p. 341) that the Roman designation for a solo flute-player, *pythaulēs*, shows that the Pythian *nomos* was a solo.
- 344, 3. boiled. Athen., viii, 338 B.
- 344, 14. trumpet. Horace, *A. P.*, 202. Cf. K. v. Jan in Baumeister, i, 558.
- 344, 16. spinets. W. v. Kügelgen (d. 1867), *Jugenderinnerungen eines alten Mannes*, p. 348: 'There was as much difference between the instruments of that day (1817) and this, as between toy drums and kettle-drums.'
- 344, 20. carriages. Ammian. Marcellin., xiv, 6, 18.
- 344, 28. unison. Athen., v, p. 201 F.
- 344, 34. together. Ambros, i, 155.

- 344, 39. singers. *Id.*, i, 163.
- 344, 40. Alexandria. I do not know on what authority the following statement of O. Müller (*Gr. L. G.*, i, 293, quoted by Ambros, i, 313 f.) is based: 'At the courts of the Macedonian rulers, from Alexander onwards, symphonies were performed with hundreds of instruments, and we must believe from the statements of ancient writers that the instrumental music of that day, especially as regards wind-instruments was not less rich and varied than ours' (?). There is nothing of the kind in the passage quoted by Müller, Plutarch, *De mus.*, c. 18.
- 345, 5. Eastern. Ambros, i, 183.
- 345, 6. *sambuca*. Livy, xxxix, 6: Tunc psalteriae sambucistriaeque (Ambros, i, 181) et convivalia ludionum oblectamenta addita epulis.
- 345, 8. fife. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 462, 1.
- 345, 9. kettle-drums. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 2, 1; Juv., 3, 62 sqq.
- 345, 11. Nero. Ambros, i, 180 f. (where however the *pythaulas* is confused with the *utricularius*).
- 345, 17. Alexandria. Lumbruso, *L'Egitto nel tempo de' Greci e de' Romani*, p. 100, 3.
- 345, 21. cithara. Cf. vol. i, p. 359.
- 345, 27. harp. Ambros, i, 161.
- 345, 30. played. Athen., iv, 183 E.
- 345, 32. airs. Ovid, *A. a.*, iii, 318.
- 345, 34. ballets. Martial, iii, 63, 5.
- 345, 35. symphonies. Cic., *In Verr.*, ii, 3, 44, 105; 5, 13, 31; *Pro Coel.*, 15, 35.
- 345, 36. *symphoniaci*. *Id.*, *Divin. in Caecil.*, 17, 55; *In Verr.*, ii, 5, 15, 64; *Pro Milone*, 21, 55.
- 345, 39. flute. The 'collegium symphonicorum qui sacris publicis praestu sunt' (Henzen, 6097) is no other than the coll tibicinum et fidicinum Romanorum qui s. p. p. s. (Orelli, 2448, inscription of 111 A.D.). *CIL*, vi, 2191-93. Marquardt, *StV*, iii², 226, 8. *CIL*, vi, 3, 23, 3369: Ode C. Cassi symphoniaci vixi ann. xiix. Moschion contubernali.
- 346, 5. Pylades. Cf. vol. ii, p. 102.
- 346, 17. foot. In monuments the *scabillum* appears more often as an independent instrument standing on the ground by the dancer. Jahn, *Columbarium der Villa Doria-Panfili*, pp. 24, 47. The *scabilla* seem to have been sometimes furnished with bells. Augustine, *De musica*, 3, 1: cum symphoniaci scabella et cymbala pedibus feriunt. K. v. Jan, *Signal- und Schlaginstrumente*, in Baumeister, iii, 1662.
- 346, 23. Northerner. Ambros, i, 292n. Mendelssohn, *Reisebriefe*, p. 146.
- 346, 31. Horace. Horace, *Carm.*, iv, 1, 22. Cf. Jahn in *Hermes*, ii, p. 432.
- 346, 37. drums. Athen., vii, 361 E.
- 346, 41. song. Max. Tyr., *Diss.*, xxxii, 4. Cf. also the description of the wedding music in the *Epithalamium Laurentii*, *Anthol. Lat.*, ed. Riese, ii, p. 742 (of the time of Claudian, *praef.*, xxvii), 60-64 (with Haupt's remarks in *Hermes*, ii, 14):—

Tympana, chorda simul, symphonia, tibia, buxus, cymbala, bambilium, cornus et fistula, sistrum, quaeque per aeratas inspirant carmina fauces, humida folligenas exclament organa voces.

- K. v. Jan (in Baumeister, i, 563) reads with Burmann *bombilium*, which is said to be a deep flute, instead of *bambilium*.
- 347, 8. stage. Seneca, *Epp.*, 84, 10. According to Phrynichus, p. 163 Lob. (who is probably speaking only of Greek theatres) κωμῳδοὶ καὶ τραγῳδοὶ appeared on the λογεῖον, but αὐληταὶ καὶ κιθαρῳδοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς ἀγωνίζοντες . . . καὶ οἱ χοροὶ in the ὀρχήστρα (incorrectly called θυμέλη).
- 347, 19. flutes. *Vit. Carin.*, c. 19.
- 347, 21. great. Ammian., xiv, 6, 18.
- 347, 27. severity. Cic., *De legg.*, ii, 15, 39: Illa quidem (sc. theatra) quae solebant quondam compleri jucunda severitate Livianis et Naevianis modis, nunc ut eadem exultant, ut services oculosque pariter cum modorum flexionibus torquent.
- 347, 32. melodies. Varro in Non., 7, 16 (Buecheler, Petron., ed. min.³, p. 199, n. 365. Vahlen, *Conjectanea*, p. 16): Saepe totius theatri tibiis, crebro flectendo Commutari mentes, frigi (*frigier* V., *erigi* B.) animos eorum. Cf. Horace, *A. P.*, 211 sqq.
- 348, 2. divine. Plutarch, *De mus.*, 15, 1. As Westphal, *Harmonik u. Melopoïe*, pp. 51–57, has shown, the treatise is the first essay of a Platonizing musician, who has to a great extent plagiarized Aristoxenus.
- 348, 2. Plutarch. Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.*, ix, 15, 17: ἡ ὀρχησις . . . τῶν μὲν ἐμπληκτικῶν καὶ ἀνοήτων κρατεῖ θεάτρων, ὥσπερ τύραννος ὑπήκοον ἐαυτῇ πεποιημένη μουσικὴν ὀλίγου τὴν ἅπασαν.
- 348, 7. virility. Quintilian, i, 10, 31.
- 348, 11. tickling. Plutarch, *De esu carniū*, ii, 2, 3.
- 348, 37. unnatural. Thibaut, *Ueber Reinheit der Tonkunst*.³ te Ausgabe (1851, Iste, 1825), pp. 10 ff., 77, 92, 112 ff.
- 349, 24. 'chapels'. Read 'bands'.
- 349, 26. serfs. Prince Nicholas Borisovich Yusupov (ii, p. 137) 'had in his service not only a large orchestra, but also an operatic company and a *corps de ballet* consisting entirely of his serfs'. Bernhardi, *Gesch. Russlands*, iii, 677.
- 349, 28. inheritance. Vol. ii, p. 112. Cf. Cic., *Div. in Caecil.*, 17, 55; *In Verr.*, ii, 5, 15, 64.
- 349, 33. flutes. Cic., *Pro Roscio Amer.*, 45, 134.
- 349, 35. musicians. *Id.*, *Pro Milone*, 21.
- 349, 37. song. *Id.*, *Pro Coel.*, 15; Seneca, *Epp.*, 51; vol. i. p. 338.
- 349, 37. Maecenas. Seneca, *Quare aliqua incommoda* etc., c. 3, 10.
- 349, 38. Caligula. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 37.
- 349, 41. table. Was the custom derived from Greece? Cic., *Fam.*, xvi, 9 writes in 50 B.C. to Tiro: Symphoniam Lyconis (a musical banquet at Patrae) vellem vitasses. Seneca, *Vit. beat.*, c. 11, 4: vide hos eosdem . . . aures vocum sono, spectaculis oculis, saporibus palatum suum delectantes. Horace, *A. P.*, 374 (ut gratas inter mensas symphonia discors). C., iii, 19, 18. At the banquet of Nasidienus there is no music. Lib., ed. R., i, 192: οἱ δὲ περὶ τὰς τραπέζας ὑμῖν δδόντες μέλι καὶ

ὅφ' ὦν τοῖς ἄσμασι πνεύε . . . εἰσὶν ἡδύτοι αὐτοῦ τοῦ πόματος. It is said of Stilicho by Claudian, *Laud. Stilich.*, ii, 141: nullo citharae convivium cantu Non pueris lasciva sonant. Cf. Mueller, *Gen. aev. Theodos.*, ii, 7.

- 350, 3. Martial. Martial, ix, 77, 3.
 350, 5. Andalusians. Juvenal, ii, 162.
 350, 8. cithara. Gell., xix, 9, 3.
 350, 11. lute. Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 15.
 350, 11. Martial. Martial, v, 78.
 350, 23. house. Petron., *Sat.*, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 41, 47.
 350, 26. hymns. Dessau, *BdI*, 1884, pp. 154-156: Ti. Claudio Veloci hymnologo primo M. d. I. et Attinis publico etc. *CIL*, vi, 9475 = Orelli, 2617: Ti. Claudio Glypto hymnologo de campo Caelimontano. Firmicus, *Math.*, iii, 6: hymnologos et qui deorum laudes cum jactantia et ostentatione decantent.
 350, 28. Isis. Vol. i, p. 256.
 350, 30. sacred. On music in Roman worship cf. Marquardt, *StV*, iii^a, 186 f. It is an error of Ambros (*Gesch. der Musik*, i, 528) to understand by *λεπὰ μουσική* in Julian, *Epp.*, 56 sacred music in the modern sense; the predicate is evidently an honorific one applied to the art generally.
 351, 3. ballads. Reumont, *Lorenzo de' Medici*, i, 597 f.
 351, 10. places. Ovid, *Fast.*, iii, 535; *A. a.*, iii, 317.
 351, 13. Cicero. Cic., *Acad. prior.*, ii, 7, 20.
 351, 15. disapproval. Cic., *De orat.*, iii, 25, 98: quanto molliores sunt et delicatiores in cantu flexiones et falsae voculae quam certae et severae! quibus tamen non modo austeri, sed si saepius fiunt, multitudo ipsa reclamat.
 351, 21. performance. Polyb., xxx, 13. Athen., xiv, 4 (at the triumphal games of L. Anicius in 587 = 167 B.C.).
 351, 27. colours. Marquardt, *PrI.*, ii^a, 580 f.
 351, 29. hand. *Auct. ad Herenn.*, iv, 47, 60; cf. Cic., *De orat.*, ii, 80, 325; *Tusc.*, v, 40, 116.
 351, 32. cithara. Psilocitharistae, Sueton., *Domit.*, c. 4.
 351, 32. varieties. Trigonon, cf. vol. ii, p. 345.
 351, 32. flute. Appendix xlii.
 351, 33. organ. Vol. ii, p. 341. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 41, 54: voverat . . . proditurum se . . . etiam hydraulam et choraulam et utricularium. Organ-playing on contorniates: Sabatier, *Descr. gén. des méd. cont.*, pl. x, 6-9. In the Nennig mosaic the organist is accompanied by a performer on the crooked horn. Gevaert, p. 372: La grande vogue du jeu de l'orgue (hydraulus) sous l'empire romain témoigne d'une certaine culture de l'harmonie. On ne concevrait pas qu'un instrument aussi compliqué que celui dont Héron d'Alexandrie et Vitruve nous ont laissé la description eût simplement fait entendre une musique homophone, que des instruments moins riches, mais doués de la précieuse faculté de l'expression pouvaient rendre avec infiniment plus de charme.
 351, 35. dramatic. Appendix xlii.
 351, 35. lyric. *ψῳδ.*: Appendix xlii. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 42: jocu-

lariâ in defectionis duces carmina lasciveque modulata . . . etiam gesticulatus est.

- 351, 39. Leucothea. Pseudolucian., *Nero*, c. 3. In the imperial age there was also at Olympia a contest for singers. *Archæol. Zeitung*, 1879, 210, n. 331: Πεισάιοι Σπερχειὸν ἀρμόμιος εἴρεκα μόλπης, Ol. 253 = 233 A.D.; *ibid.*, 1884, p. 54, n. 339 (second cent.): Ἰσό[δη]μος Ὀλύμπιον ὕμνον ἀέσας Εἰδρυμαὶ βουλῆς ψῆρεψ Ὀλυμπιάδος.
- 351, 40. *virtuose*. Citharoeda: Orelli, 2609. ΧΟΡΑΥΛΙΣ, 2610.
- 351, 41. Alexandria. Cf. vol. ii, p. 345.
- 352, 1. Herculaneum. *Ant. d. Ercol.*, v, 4, p. 201. Roux and Barré, *Pompeji und Hercul.*, ii, 13. Helbig, *Wandgemälde*, p. 348 f.
- 352, 5. *plectrum*. 'This is the usual attitude of the *citharoedi*. I therefore conjecture that they only played the prelude, interlude and postlude (the *κρούματα*) with the *plectrum*, but accompanied the singing softly with the left hand (intus cano: Ascon. ad Verr., ii, 1, 20; Athen., iv, 80; Plato, *Lys.*, 299 B; *Archæol. Ztg.*, 1858, p. 190)'. K. v. Jan. Cf. his article on stringed instruments in Baumeister, iii, 1542 and his *Mus. Festspecte der Griechen (Verhandlungen der 39. Philologenversammlung)*, p. 79.
- 352, 10. instruments. *Chorocitharistae*, Sueton., *Domit.*, c. 4. Cf. e.g. Phaedr., v, 7, 25.
- 352, 14. solos. That the 'cornicines atque tubarum conventus', Juv., x, 210 sqq. are a prelude to the solo of the *citharoedi*, as Grysar assumed (*Ueber das canticum u. d. Chor*, p. 49), does not follow with any certainty from the passage, although quite possible. *Principium* (Sueton., *Nero*, c. 21) is the prelude of the *citharoedi* itself. Cic., *De orat.*, ii, 80, 325: conexum autem ita sit principium consequenti orationi, ut non tamquam citharoedi prooemium affictum aliquod . . . videatur.
- 352, 15. Nero. Cyprian, *De spect.*: Graeca illa certamina vel in cantibus vel in fidibus vel in vocibus vel in viribus.
- 352, 18. festival. Vol. ii, p. 119.
- 352, 25. airs. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 20.
- 352, 26. Domitian. Vol. ii, p. 120; Appendix xlii. Domitian is the ἀλλήσεως ἐραστής in Dio Chr., *Or.*, iii, 57 M.
- 353, 9. discontinued. Appendix xlii.
- 353, 15. technique. Lebas-Waddington 81 = CIG, 3053. The inscription seems to belong to the middle of the second century B.C.
- 353, 21. time. Cf. e.g. the inscription of the ποιητής καὶ κιθαριστής M. Sempronius Nicocrates, vol. i, p. 319. A certain P. Aelius Pompeianus, ποιητής πλειστονείκης, μελοποιὸς καὶ ραψωδὸς θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ (Nysa), *Bull. d. corr. Hellén.*, ix, 1885, p. 124.
- 353, 22. Tigellius. *Acro*, *Hor. Sat.*, i, 2, 3; dicebatur in poematis suis placere voce non carminum probitate. Cantor optimus et modulator: *Hor., Sat.*, i, 3, 129.
- 353, 23. Menecrates. Petron., *Sat.*, c. 73; Menecratis cantica.
- 353, 23. Mesomedes. Euseb., *Chron.*, ad an. 146 A.D.: Μεσομήδης ὁ Κρήσις κιθαροφδοκῶν νόων μουσικὸς ποιητὴς γνωρίζεται. Cf. Suidas,

- s.v. *Μεσομήδης* with Bernhardt's note and Jacobs, *Anthol.*, iii, p. 6. Bellermann, *Die Hymnen des Dionysius und Mesomedes*, Berlin, 1840.
- 353, 27. Helios. Ambros, i, 450.
- 353, 33. Musaeus. Inscription of a *citharoedus* M. Ulpus Heliodorus of Argos who had gained as many victories *ὅσας οὐδεὶς πρὸ αὐτοῦ κιθαρωδῶν ὑπὸ φωνασκῶν* M. Οὐλπίων Θεόδωρον τὸν Ἰδιὸν ἀδελφῶν, edited by Lüders (who wrongly takes *φωνασκός* to mean a singer) *BdI*, 1873, p. 142. Inscription of one Valerius Eclectus of Sinope, victor as *κήρυξ* in many *agones* ὑπὸ M. φωνασκῶν Δυρρήλιον Μουσαῖον τειμηθέντα ὑπὸ Ἑλλείων καὶ Δελφῶν ἀνδριάσι μύσων καὶ πρώτων τῶν ἐπὶ φωνασκίᾳ. *CIA*, iii, 129.
- 353, 38. prominent. Quintilian, xi, 3, 19 sqq. (*praeparare ab imis sonis vocem ad summos*).
- 354, 6. so forth. Quintilian, *loc. cit.*; Sueton. *Nero*, c. 20, 25; Galen, *De locis affectis*, vi, 6, ed. K., viii, 451: *ὅσαι δ' εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἢ ἀθλοῦντες ἢ φωνασκοῦντες ἀπειροὶ τῶν ἀφροδισιῶν διετέλεσαν* κ.τ.λ. Choricus, Π. τ. ἐν Διονύσου τ. βίαν εἰκονιζόντων, c. 15, 9. *Rev. de philol.*, i, p. 240 (cf. vol. ii, 93). *Infibulatio* (Cels., vii, 25, 3) e.g. Martial, xi, 75, 3; xiv, 215; Juvenal, vi, 379 sqq. Silver *fibulae*, Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiii, 151.
- 354, 11. blood-vessel. Galen, *ib.*, iv, 13, ed. K., viii, 287: *καὶ τισὶν ἑτέροις ἀγωνιζομένοις κιθαρωδίαν ἢν τραγωδίαν ἢ ὀρεία καὶ μεγάλη φωνὴ διέρρηξεν ἀγγεῖα*.
- 354, 19. distinctions. Vol. i, p. 319. Statues of *citharoedi*: Köhler, *Verm. Schr.*, vi, 209; Dio, lxiii, 8.
- 354, 21. performances. Prizes for *citharoedi* of 500, 1500, 3250 *denarii* at Aphrodisias, *CIG*, 2758.
- 354, 28. crowns. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 19.
- 354, 29. fees. Juv., 7, 175 sqq. A foundation in Teos provided the following annual salaries: for three γραμματοδιδάσκαλοι (for boys and girls) 600, 550 and 500 *drachmae*; two παιδοτρίβαι 100 *drachmae* each; one κιθαριστής or ψάλτης 700 *drachmae*; one τοξεύειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν διδάσκων 250 *drachmae*; one ὀπλομάχος 300 *drachmae*. G. Hirschfeld, *Inscript aus Teos*, in *Hermes*, 1875, pp. 501-503.
- 354, 34. *citharoedus*. Martial, iii, 4.
- 354, 40. *choraules*. *Id.*, v, 56.
- 355, 8. favours. Vol. i, p. 246 f.
- 355, 12. Anaxenor. Strabo, xiv, 41, p. 648 C.
- 355, 16. Augustus. Vol. i, p. 83.
- 355, 22. pain. Vol. i, p. 60.
- 355, 23. Menecrates. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 30.
- 355, 27. reduce. Bähr, *StRE*, iv, 1874; Suid., s. v.; *Vit. Anton. P.*, c. 7.
- 356, 15. shoes. Phaedr., v, 7. On *divina domus* cf. note on vol. i, p. 54, 13. In the inscription from Amaria of the time of Augustus or Tiberius (Jahn, *Spec. epigr.*, p. 138): L. Mini tibicinis | Cassia uxor | L. Cassi principis tibicinis | cappae (?) Bücheler, probably rightly, regards the latter (father of Cassia who married L. Minius) as the *princeps* of Phaedr. *Rhein. Mus.*, xxxvii, 332.

- 356, 19. Tigellius. Cic., *Ad Fam.*, vii, 24; cf. *Ad Attic.*, xiii, 49-51.
 356, 36. day. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 3, 1-19; 2, 1-4.
 357, 4. made. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 23. Cf. Dio, lxxiii, 9.
 357, 8. dress. Tac., *A.*, xvi, 4; Sueton., *ib.*, c. 24.
 357, 9. hearing. Dio, lxi, 20.
 357, 13. hearers. Tac., *ib.*
 357, 20. Pompey. Martial, xiv, 166 (cithara):—
 De Pompeiano saepe est ejecta theatro,
 quae duxit silvas detinuitque feras.
 357, 21. entering. Epictet., *Diss.*, ii, 16, 9. Cf. also Cic., *De orat.*,
 iii, 50, 196; *Orat.*, 51, 173; *Parad.*, 3, 26.
 357, 24. profession. Martial, iv, 5, 8.
 357, 37. Scipio. Macrobi., *Sat.*, ii, 10.
 358, 2. boy. Cic., *De orat.*, iii, 23, 86 speaks of the difference be-
 tween *dilettanti* and artists: Valerius cottidie cantabat. erat
 enim scenicus, quid faceret aliud? 87: At Numerius Furius,
 familiaris noster, quum est commodum, cantat. Est enim pater
 familias, est eques Romanus, puer didicit quod discendum fuit.
 358, 5. offence. Macrobi., *loc. cit.*
 358, 6. Nepos. Cornel. Nepos, *Praef. Epam.*, 1.
 358, 9. Catiline's. Cic., *Catil.*, ii, 10, 23.
 358, 18. subjects. Seneca, *Epp.*, 88, 9; Quintilian, i, 10, 22.
 358, 24. schools. Colum., *R. r.*, i, *praef.*, 5; Lucian, *Amores*, 44.
 358, 21. Augustine. Teuffel, *RLG*⁴, 440, 7.
 358, 30. *cithara*. Sueton., *Tit.*, c. 3.
 358, 30. Britannicus. *Id.*, *Nero*, c. 33.
 358, 41. year. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 15.
 358, 41. Suetonius. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 20.
 359, 3. Apollo. Seneca, *Apocol.*, c. 4.
 359, 4. Andron. *H. A.*, *Vit. M. Antonini*, c. 2.
 359, 6. Commodus. *Vit. Commodi*, c. 1.
 359, 14. chairs. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 10, 90.
 359, 16. instruments. Vol. i, p. 231.
 359, 18. women. Ovid, *Trist.*, ii, 23: Ipse quoque Ausonias Caesar
 matresque nurusque Carmina turrigeræ dicere jussit Opi. I
 am not aware that anything is known about this festival.
 359, 19. Diana. Catull., c. 33.
 359, 20. games. Marquardt, *StV*, iii^a, 393, 8. In Stat., *Silv.*, i,
 4, 96. Apollo says: neque enim frustra mihi nuper (88 A.D.)
 honora Carmina patricio pueri sonuistis in ostro.
 359, 24. Augustus. Sueton., *August.*, c. 100.
 359, 29. melodies. Herodian, iv, 2, 5.
 359, 30. Caligula. Dio, lix, 7.
 359, 35. Paetus. Tac., *A.*, xvi, 21; Dio, lxii, 26. The expressions
 of the two writers: habitu tragico cecinerat and τραγῳδίας
 ὑποκρινάμενος exactly correspond. Cf. vol. ii, 98 f.
 359, 41. Sempronius. Sallust, *B. C.*, c. 25.
 360, 7. Pliny's. Cf. vol. i, p. 63.
 360, 18. modulation. Lucian, *Imagg.*, 13 sqq.
 360, 27. youth. Seneca, *Controu.*, i, *prooem.*
 360, 35. tune. Seneca, *De brev. vitae*, c. 12, 4.

- 360, 38. else. Manil., v, 329 sqq.
 361, 1. ladies. Ovid, *A. a.*, i, 595.
 361, 2. circles. Horace, *Sat.*, i, 9, 25.
 361, 3. society. Manil., iv, 525 sqq.; v, 329.
 361, 9. Menecrates. Petron., *Sat.*, cc. 64 and 73.
 361, 12. nicely. Martial, ii, 7.
 361, 20. foe. Cic., *In Pisonem*, 166-177.
 361, 22. Hadrian. *Vit. Hadriani*, c. 14.
 361, 23. Fronto. *Fer. Als.*, 3, ed. Naber, p. 226.
 361, 31. Pius. Dio, lxxvii, 13.
 361, 33. organ. *Vit. Elagab.*, c. 32.
 361, 36. emperor. *Vit. Alex. Severi*, c. 27.
 362, 6. difficulties. Sueton., *Nero*, cc. 41, 54.
 362, 12. war. Dio, lvii, 18.
 362, 40. endure it. Sueton., *Nero*, cc. 49, 41, 40.
 363, 4. diet. *Ibid.*, c. 20; Dio, lxi, 20.
 363, 6. Tiber. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 14 sq.; Dio, lxi, 20; Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxvii, 19.
 363, 7. Naples. Tac., *A.*, xv, 33.
 363, 9. Pompey. *Ibid.*, xvi, 4.
 363, 11. 67. Haakh, *StRE*, v, 583 f.
 363, 14. mask. Vol. ii, p. 99.
 363, 15. composer. This cannot be concluded with certainty from Philostrate., *V. Apoll. Tyan.*, iv, 39, p. 82, ed. K.
 363, 28. Maternus. Firmic. Matern., iii, 7, 10; 14, 1; 14, 10; v, 15 sq.; vi, 8.
 363, 37. tombs. Ammian. Marcell., xiv, 6, 8 (where however *paucae* can hardly be right, unless there is a *lacuna*).
 364, 2. oblige him. P. E. Mueller, *De gen. aev. Theodos.*, ii, 123.
 364, 18. church. Forkel, *Allg. Gesch. der Musik*, ii, 151; Jerome on *Ep. ad Ephes.*, c. v.
 364, 21. Pelusium. Forkel, ii, 140; Isidor. Pelusiota, *Epp.*, i, 90.
 364, 28. Paul. Forkel, *loc. cit.*
 364, 37. Athanasius. *Id.*, ii, 133 f.; Augustine, *Conf.*, ix, 6.
 365, 15. at once. Ambrose, *Opp.*, i, p. 740 (*Praef. ad Psalm. i*); Forkel, ii, 131.
 365, 40. period. Westphal, *Harmonik und Melopödie der Griechen*, p. 24, cf. 157.

VOL. III.

I. BELLES LETTRES.

- 1, 26. phraseology. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 30 sq.
- 1, 28. Tacitus. *Id. ib.*, c. 37.
- 2, 12. many. Diodor., i, 2.
- 2, 13. Seneca. Seneca, *Contr.*, ii, praef., p. 151, 27, ed. Kiesel.
- 2, 31. youth. Martial, ii, 90, 2; Marquardt, *StV*, ii^a, 106 f.
- 2, 37. Latin. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman*, p. 302, 3.
- 2, 40. child. Horace, *Epp.*, ii, 1, 126.
- 3, 2. generation. Cf. my *Programm, De historiarum enarratione in ludis grammaticis, Ind. lect. aestiv. Regim. 1874*. Also Marquardt now agrees with me; *Pril.*, i^a, 106, 7.
- 3, 7. days. Cf. vol. ii, p. 337.
- 3, 14. poets. Horace, *Epp.*, ii, 1, 128-131.
- 3, 16. use. Jerome, *Ep. ad Lact.*, 107, quotes a verse of Syrus with the remark: legi quondam in scholis puer. Phaedr., iii, *epil.* 33: Ego quondam legi quam puer sententiam: Palam mutire plebejo piaculum est (Enn., *Trag.*, 376 Vahlen), obviously also in a collection of maxims.
- 3, 19. Homer. Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 14, 2. So also in Augustine, *Conf.*, i, 14; Paulinus Pellens., *Euchar.*, 72.
- 3, 19. Quintilian. Pliny, *ib.*; Quintilian, i, 8, 5.
- 3, 26. Ovid's. Ovid, *Trist.*, ii, 369. Vol. i, p. 230 f. Menander and Homer were also the principal authors used in the Greek schools; see Stat., *Silv.*, ii, 1, 114. On the overrating of Menander by Greek stylists see Phrynichus, *Epit.*, p. 418, ed. Lobeck.
- 3, 27. Greek. Auson., *Protrept. ad nepot.*, *Id.*, 4, 46: Conditor Iliados et amabilis ursa Menandri Evolvenda tibi. *Vita S. Fulgentii episcop. Ruspens.* (468-533): quem . . . mater . . . Graecis litteris imbuendum primitus tradidit, et quamdiu (ut quando?) totum simul Homerum memoriter reddidisset, Menandri quoque multa percurreret: nihil de Latinis permisit litteris edocere. Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, lxxv, col. 117.
- 3, 33. read. Stat., *Silv.*, v, 146-175.
- 3, 34. countries. On the interpretation of the Greek poets in the Greek countries cf. Lehrs, *Qu. epp.*, p. 14; Aristid., i, p. 142 D, where Homer, Archilochus, Hesiod, Simonides, Stesichorus, Pindar, Sappho, Alcaeus and others are mentioned as poets who were interpreted in the school by Alexander of Cotyaeum. Cf. also Galen, ed. K., xvi, 566: καὶ γὰρ ῥήτορος ἤκουσα μελετῶντος ἐν παρακοπῇ καὶ γραμματικοῦ βιβλίον ἀναγινώσκειν οὐδέμινου

Βακχυλιδεῖον ἢ Σαπφικόν. Aristides dreamed that he heard the pupils in the schools of Alexandria read his own hexameters; he speaks as if it really could have happened (t. ii, p. 310, 12, ed. D.).

- 3, 40. Sabinus. Cf. vol. ii, p. 220.
- 4, 22. Martial. Sueton., *Ill. gr.*, 16.
- 4, 27. schools. Horace, *S.*, i, 10, 80-84.
- 4, 32. orator. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 26. Cf. Genthe, *De vita Lucani*, p. 82.
- 4, 33. Suetonius. Sueton., *Vit. Lucani*, f., poemata ejus etiam praelegi memini.
- 4, 35. Martial. Martial, xiv, 194. Hence also the use made of Lucan by Florus (Teuffel, *RLG*⁴, 348, 2 and 4) and in metrical inscriptions. *Pharsal.*, vii, 1-3, on a tablet found near Trèves, perhaps as Bücheler supposes, a specimen of calligraphy or the signboard of a *quadratararius*; considering the good writing it is not likely to be of late date. (I suppose *lux* for *lex* to be a mistake.) Bücheler, *Trierer Inschriften*, in *Bonner Jahrb.*, lviii, 1876, p. 175 ff.
- 5, 1. probable. Pers., *S.*, i, 29 c. schol.
- 5, 3. Italy. Stat., *Theb.*, xii, 810 sqq.
- 5, 5. indecencies. Martial, i, 35:—

Versus scribere me parum severos,
nec quos praelegat in schola magister,
Corneli quereris etc.

- 5, 10. men. Martial, viii, 3, 15.
- 5, 17. prose. Bernhardt, *RLG*⁴, n. 213.
- 5, 23. outdid. Quintilian, x, 1, 125-131.
- 5, 35. schools. Cf. also Martial, xi, 90 (composed 96 at latest).
- 6, 19. others. Quintilian, i, 8, 8. Bernhardt, *RLG*⁴, n. 212.
- 6, 22. Virgil. *Vit. Hadriani*, c. 16.
- 6, 34. Horace. Fronto, *Ad M. Caesarem et invicem*, i, 8, ed. Naber, p. 23. He has however echoes of Virgil and Horace. Hertz, *Renaissance und Rococo*, 47, 76. *Id.*, *Anall. ad carm. Horat.*, hist. iii (*Ind l. Vratist. aest.* 1879), pp. 4-6.
- 7, 1. sewers. Fronto, *Ad M. Antoninum de orationibus*, ed. N., p. 155 sq. (according to Naber 162 A.D.).
- 7, 9. Cicero. Gell., xii, 2.
- 7, 15. wind. *Id.*, ii, 22.
- 7, 30. audience. Juv., 7, 82-86.
- 7, 32. schools. Sueton., *Vit. Lucani*, f.: poemata ejus praelegi memini. But perhaps his banishment from all the schools was not carried out everywhere and did not last long (cf. above n. on p. 4, 35). Certainly he was again a school author in the fourth century. Jerome, *In Rufin.*, lib. ii, opp. ii, p. 639, ed. Vallars: puto quod puer legeris atque Lucanum.
- 7, 35. Virgil. *H. A.*, V. *Ael. Veri*, c. 5.
- 7, 36. antiquity. Cf. my edit., i, p. 67 f.
- 7, 38. Ennius. The sentence from Ennius read by Phaedrus in the school (see n. on p. 3, 16) certainly stood in a collection of sentences.

- 8, 1. Puteoli. Gell., xviii, 5.
 8, 3. Ennius. *Id.*, xix, 10, 13: Tum Fronto ad grammaticum . . . audistine . . . Ennium tuum dixisse. *Id.*, xx, 10, 2: Tum ille (grammaticus) . . . sic quid ex Vergilio Plauto Ennio quaerere habes, quaeras licet.
 8, 9. Ennius. Fronto, *De fer. Als.*, ed. N., p. 224.
 8, 15. day. Cf. Appendix lx.
 8, 16. Ennius. Gell., xix, 8, 3.
 8, note. Ritschl. *Neue Plautin. Excursus*, p. 124 n.
 8, 27. everywhere. Gell., xviii, 5, 7: quumque aliquot eorum qui aderant, 'quadupes equus' apud suum quisque grammaticum legisse se dicerent.
 9, 16. Petronius. Petron., *Sat.*, c. 118.
 9, 29. comedy. Sueton., *De gramm.*, 11 and 21.
 9, 36. *Thebaid.* Stat., *Silv.*, v, 3, 133-145, 195-208, 233-238.
 9, 41. Catullus. Catull., 68, 15 sqq. (on l. 18 see Crusius, *Rhein. Mus.*, N. F., xlv, 1889, p. 449 f.).
 10, 6. sprout. Ovid, *Trist.*, iv, 10, 19-28, 57 sq.
 10, 7. *virilis.* Propert., v, 1, 133.
 10, 8. *Culex.* Vergil, ed. Ribbeck (ed. minor), *Proll.*, p. xii.
 10, 8. Lucan. Genthe, *De vit. Lucani*, pp. 14, 37, 47, 50 sqq., 71 sqq.
 10, 16. Cornutus. *Vita Persii.*
 10, 17. Nero. Tac., *A.*, xiii, 3.
 10, 18. Verus. *Vit. L. Veri*, c. 2.
 10, 23. Constantine. *Gordiani duo*, c. 3.
 10, 25. shops. Martial, i, 113.
 10, 26. Serranus. Quintilian, x, 1, 89.
 10, 30. example. Stat., *S.*, v, 3, 135-138, cf. 121-123.
 10, 33. hexameters. *BdI*, 1871, pp. 98-115; Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, n. 618. Appendix xlii.
 10, 35. judges. Appendix xlii. If the passage in Auson., *Professores*, v, 4: Tu paene ab ipsis orsus incunabulis Dei poeta nobilis Sertum coronae praeferens Olympiae Puer celebrasti Jovem—really, as seems to be the case, refers to the *agon Capitolinus*, it affords the fourth example of a boy taking part in it, and one might believe that the participation of such youthful poets was not merely exceptional, but that there was a special poetical competition for boys.
 10, 38. Tarsus. Welcker, *Kl. Schr.*, ii, p. xc ff. (Cic., *Pro Arch.*, 8, 18; *De orat.*, iii, 50, 194; Strabo, p. 674); Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman*, 308, 4.
 11, 8. Laberius. Macrobi., *Sat.*, ii, 7, 7. Wölfflin, *Der Mimograph Publilius Syrus*, in *Philologus*, xxxiii, 443 f.; Teuffel, *RLG*⁴, 212, 3.
 11, 8. Quintilian. Quintilian, x, 7, 19.
 11, 10. *Orpheus.* Teuffel, *RLG*⁴, 303, 4.
 11, 15. subjects. Martial, xi, 42. Cf. introd. to my edition, p. 20.
 11, 17. improvisations. Stat., *Silv.*, Praef. i. Cf. Kerckhoff, *Duae quaest. Stadianae*, pp. 31-61 (*De Statii facultate extemporali*).
 11, 18. improvisations. Apoll. Sidon., *Epp.*, i, 11; v, 17; ix, 14.
 11, 20. metres. *Id.*, *Epp.*, ix, 13.

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- 11, 29. lads. Quintilian, ii, 5 (18-21).
 11, 33. Horace. Fronto, ed. Naber, pp. 17 and 34.
 11, 35. Gracchus. Fronto, *Ad. Marc. Caes.*, ii, 13; ii, 18 etc. (according to Naber, 141 and 143 A.D.).
 11, 36. heart. *Id. ib.*, iv, 3, ed. N., p. 63.
 11, 38. Gellius. Gell., x, 3, 2.
 12, 6. aroused. For the following see Quintilian, ii, 4; Sueton., *De rhet.*, c. 1.
 12, 34. elegies. Propert., iii, 12, ed. Keil.
 13, 13. ecstasy. Pers., *Sat.*, 3, 44 sq.
 14, 2. ownership. Sueton., *De rhet.*, c. 1.
 14, 10. possible. Quintilian, ii, 10; v, 12.
 14, 17. nonsensical. Bernhardt, *RLG*⁴, nn. 60, 214, 215.
 14, 20. parents. Petron., *Sat.*, c. 3.
 15, 4. tyrannicide. W. A. Schmidt, *Gesch. der Denk- u. Glaubensfreiheit im 1. Jahrhundert*, p. 424 ff.
 15, 6. fathers. Petron., *Sat.*, c. 1.
 15, 8. death. Juv., 7, 150 sq.
 15, 10. Maternus. Dio, lix, 20; lxxvii, 12.
 15, 18. chains. Petron., *Sat.*, c. 1.
 15, 19. story. Seneca, *Controv.*, i, 6.
 16, 7. done. *Id. ib.*, iii, 9; x, 3; Calpurn., *Declam.*, 10; Quintilian, *Decl.*, 330.
 16, 11. bees. Quintilian, *Decl.*, 13.
 16, 12. lovers. *Id. ib.*, 257.
 16, 13. brothel. Seneca, *Controv.*, i, 2.
 16, 17. father. Quintilian, *Decl.*, 302; cf. 10 and Calpurn., *Decl.*, 50.
 16, 21. maidens. Petron., *Sat.*, c. 1; Quintilian, *ib.*, 326, 384.
 16, 22. victims. *Id. ib.*, 12.
 16, 24. cure. Juv., 7, 169 sqq. Seneca, *Controv.*, vii, 4.
 16, 24. insanity. Quintilian, *ib.*, 256 (furiosus trium filiorum pater).
 16, 25. adultery. Calpurn., *Decl.*, 2.
 16, 31. receive. Seneca, *Controv.*, x, 4.
 16, 32. tragedy. Quintilian, *Inst.*, ii, 10, 15; Juv., *l. l.* Some themes apparently had 'a real background in the criminal records' (Moravsky, *Wiener Studien*, iv, 166) but probably not many.
 16, 41. *Romanorum*. Cf. Appendix iv.
 17, 12. ill-treatment. Quintilian, *Decl.*, 10. *Mathematicus*, 4. *Odii potio*, 14, 15.
 17, 16. suicide. Philostrat., *Vitt. soph.*, ii, ed. K., p. 270.
 17, 23. figures. *Id. ib.*, ii, 4, ed. K., p. 246. Lucian, *De saltat.*, 65. Cf. W. A. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Denksfreiheit*, p. 425.
 18, 5. Isaeus. Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 3, 2.
 18, 12. rhetoricians. Gell., xiv, 2, 1.
 18, 17. situations. Ennodius, *Dictiones*, xxiv (*Ethica*, 1): dictio extempore, quam ipse Deuterius injunxit (Speech of Diomedes, who on returning finds his wife wedded to another man). The poem by Q. Sulpicius Maximus is of the same kind.
 18, 19. verse. Examples (specially from the poems of Dracontius) in Teuffel, *RLG*⁴, 45, 9.

- 18, 21. schools. Tertullian, *Adv. Valentin*, 8 (a rhetor Latinus at Carthage treats *virum fortem*). H. A., Gordiani, c. 3; XXX tyranni, c. 4. Bernhardt, *RLG*, 568; Aur. Vict., 47, 4; Lactant., *Inst.*, i, 1; Auson., *Proff.*, i, 15; Apoll. Sidon., *Ep.*, 8, 11. Ennodius, *Controversiae*, 10, *Ethicae*, 5. The list of subjects treated by Libanius (specially for beginners) ed. Reiske, iv, pp. 1141-1145. M. Schmidt, *Georgii Cyprii declamationes e cod. Leidens. editae, Pars ii, Ind. lect. hib. 1875 Jenens.* (theme of the tyrant). R. Förster, *Achilleus u. Polyxena*, two inedited declamations of Choricus. *Hermes*, xvii, pp. 193-238 (where on p. 206 are mentioned the as yet unknown speeches of Choricus, *Λυδῶν, Μιτυλήνης, Σπαρτιάτης*).
- 18, 23. pupils. Augustine, *Conf.*, i, 17: *verba Junonis irascentis et dolentis, quod non posset Italia Teucrorum avertere regem*. Ennod., *Controvers.*, 7 (*dict.* 20) in eum qui in lupanar statuam Minervae locavit. *Ib.*, 3 (*dict.* 16) in eum qui praemii nomine Vestalis virginis nuptias postulavit.
- 18, 25. instruction. Cf. also Ebert, *Gesch. d. christlichen latein. Litt.*, i, 419.
- 19, 39. influences. Echoes of the rhetorical school in Velleius, L. Seneca, Tacitus: Moravsky, *loc. cit.* (see n. on p. 16, l. 32).
- 19, 3. justified. Quintilian, x, 1, 90.
- 19, 16. Virgil. Seneca, *Controv.*, i, 3, ed. Bursian, pp. 19-21.
- 19, 20. prose. *Id. ib.*, ii, 10, ed. B., p. 136.
- 19, 29. bricks. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 20.
- 19, 33. aphorisms. Petron., *Sat.*, c. 118.
- 19, 35. word. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 10: *ego vero omnem eloquentiam omnesque ejus partes sacras et venerabiles puto; nec solum cothurnum vestrum aut heroici carminis sonum, sed lyricorum quoque jucunditatem et elegorum lascivias et iamborum amaritudinem et epigrammatum lusum et quaecumque aliam speciem eloquentia habeat, anteponendam ceteris aliarum artium studiis credo.*
- 20, 3. influences. H. Kretschmann, *De latinitate L. Apuleji Madaurensis* (Regim. 1865), p. 17 sqq.
- 20, 16. classes. Sueton., *August.*, c. 88.
- 20, 20. Hadrian. *Hadrian.*, c. 3.
- 20, 27. Greek. Dio, lxxi, 5; *Exc. Vat.*, 106. On Bassaeus Rufus cf. Appendix viii.
- 20, 34. classes. Cf. vol. iii, p. 26.
- 20, 37. form. *Gell.*, xiv, 5: the quarrel of two grammarians non parvi in urbe Roma nominis, on the question whether the vocative of *egregius* is *egregie* or *egregi*.
- 20, 38. meaning. *Id.*, xvi, 5. *Pler que sunt vocabula, quibus volgo utimur, neque tamen liquido scimus, quid ea proprie ac vere significant, sed incompertam et vulgariam traditionem rei non exploratae secuti videmur magis dicere quod volumus, quam dicimus* (on the meaning of *vestibulum*).
- 20, 41. advocates. *Id.*, i, 22: *Superesse (for advocatum esse) dicitur non in compitis tantum nec in plebe volgaria, sed in foro, in comitio, apud tribunalia.* Cf. on *deprecari*, vii, 16.

- 21, 3. inscriptions. Mommsen, *CIL*, iii, p. 919. Cf. *Hermes*, xiv, 71.
- 22, 35. proud. Verg., *A.*, vi, 848-854.
- 22, 39. strove. Lehrs, *Popul. Aufs.*, p. 367.
- 23, 3. world. Eyssenhardt, *Römisch und Romanisch*, p. 112 f.
- 23, 8. Horace. Horace, *C.*, ii, 2.
- 23, 12. West. Ovid., *Tr.*, iv, 9, 19-24.
- 23, 14. Ovid. *Id. ib.*, iv, 10, 128.
- 23, 16. Borysthenes. Prop., ii, 7, 19.
- 23, 30. Hungary. Vellei., ii, 111.
- 23, 39. home. Bernhardt, *RLG*, n. 498.
- 24, 3. handling. Horace, *Epp.*, i, 20, 11-13.
- 24, 4. sea. *Id.*, *A. P.*, 345.
- 24, 25. household. Ribbeck's Vergil, ed. minor, p. xxiii; cf. vol. ii, p. 3 f.
- 24, 28. crowd. *Id. ib.*, p. xxiii.
- 25, 3. mottoes. Vol. i, p. 153.
- 25, 8. atrociously. Petron., *Sat.*, 39 and 68; cf. also Teuffel, *RLG*, 231, 2.
- 25, 11. destiny. Marquardt, *StV*, iii^a, 102 f.
- 25, 12. Renascence. Burckhardt, *Cultur d. Renaissance*, p. 528.
- 25, 12. birthday. Martial, xii, 67; Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 7.
- 25, 15. Virgil. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, 101, 1. On the partiality of the Christians for him cf. G. Boissier, *Relig. rom.*, i, 351 f.
- 25, 22. promenade. Zangemeister, *Inscr. Pompej. parietariae*, *CIG*, iv, Ind. 259-261. Besides Virgil: Propertius, Ovid, Lucretius (i, 1); an echo of Tibullus, ii, 6, 20; 1837 (cf. Lucian Mueller, *Tibull.*, p. 63 sq.); from an unknown epic poet probably 1069a (barbarus aere cavo tubicen); elegiac 1118, 1928. *Ephem. epigr.*, i, p. 53, n. 166. The beginning of the Aeneid, also *CIL*, ii, 4967, 31 (Italicae tegulae stilo inscr. Litterae sacculi primi, ni fallor, Huebner). Inscription on a tile 66 A.D. at Julia Concordia with reminiscences of Virgil and Ovid (*Memorie dei Lincei*, vi, p. 245. Jordan, *Programm Acad. Regim.*, 1882, ii, p. 4), two lines of Virgil on a brick from Unter-Esching (Tasgetium) deciphered by Zangemeister. F. Keller, *Anzeiger f. schweizer. Alterthumsk.*, 1877 (not accessible to me).
- 25, 30. old. J. Grimm, *Kl. Schr.* (Speech in Schiller's honour) i, 391. Treitschke, *Deutsche Geschichte*, i, 199.
- 25, 33. popular. Hübner, *Sixtus V.*, p. 96.
- 25, 34. Ariosto. *Journal du voyage de M. de Montaigne en Italie* (1580/81), 111, 37.
- 25, 39. school. Vol. ii, p. 339.
- 26, 14. nightingale. Philostrat., *Vitt. soph.*, ii, 10, p. 256) Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman*, 313, 1.
- 26, 26. Goethe. Goethe (on dilettantism), *Werke*, 31, 425.
- 27, 7. Helicon. Petron., *Sat.*, c. 118.
- 28, 24. Atreus. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 2: nam postero die quam Curiatius Maternus Catonem recitaverat, cum offendisse potentium animos diceretur, tamquam in eo tragoediae argumento sui oblitus tantum Catonem cogitasset etc. Bernhardt, *RLG*, n. 201.

- 28, 31. oratory. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 10: illud . . . quod plerisque patrocinatur, tamquam minus obnoxium sit offendere poetarum quam oratorum studium.
- 28, 38. poetry. Horace, *Epp.*, ii, 1, 107-117.
- 29, 15. unpleasantness. *Mém. de Mme. de Rémusat*, ii, 131, 163, 406-409. Fournier, *Napoleon I*, vol. ii (1888), pp. 159 and 161.
- Reumont, *Gräfin von Albany*, ii, 14.
- 29, 28. ladies. Vol. i, p. 251.
- 29, 36. good-will. For the following cf. Bernhardt⁴, nn. 178-182.
- 30, 26. throne. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 10.
- 30, 27. frivolous. Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 3, 5.
- 30, 32. comedies. Bernhardt, n. 195 and for the following n. 197 ff.
- 31, 33. property. Pers., *Sat.*, i, 51 sq.
- 31, 35. Verus. *H. A.*, *Vit. Veri*, c. 2.
- 32, 1. Nero's. Jahn, *Proll. ad Pers.*, p. lxxv sqq.
- 32, 3. hair. The expression may have been suggested by the products of the expedition to the amber coast (vol. i, p. 309).
- 32, 11. poems. Martial, viii, 70, 8: carmina docti Neronis.
- 32, 15. festival. Vol. ii, pp. 119, 352.
- 32, 19. talent. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 21.
- 32, 28. public. Genthe, *De vita Lucani*, pp. 23, 73.
- 32, 32. poet. Tac., *A.*, xvi, 28 sq.: Montanum . . . quia protulerit ingenium extorrem agi; cf. Nipperdey's note.
- 32, 41. art. *Id. ib.*, xiv, 52.
- 33, 32. Flaccus. Valer. Flacc., *Argon.*, i, 12. Imhof, *Domitian*, 133, 5.
- 33, 25. war. Martial, v, 5:—

Ad Capitolini caelestia carmina belli
grande cothurnati pone Maronis opus.

On the meaning of *caelestis* cf. Fincke, *De appellationibus Caesarum honorificis* (Regim. 1867), p. 42; but apparently there this passage, which hitherto has never really been understood, has been overlooked; cf. note in my edition.

- 33, 29. nine. Martial, v, 16, 18.
- 33, 32. trifles. Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 3, 5.
- 33, 35. show. For 'show that . . . liked' read 'show that Nerva still, towards the end of Domitian's reign, liked'.
- 34, 1. poems. Martial, viii, 70; ix, 26.
- 34, 2. preserved. Apulei., *Apol.*, c. 11, p. 410, ed. Oudendorp. Teuffel, *RLG*⁴, 346, 5. The poem on the horse Borysthene, *CIL*, xii, 1122.
- 34, 4. poetry. Bernhardt, *RLG*⁴, n. 220.
- 34, 12. Aelius. *H. A.*, *Vit. Ael. Veri*, c. 5.
- 34, 18. flames. Fronto, *Ad M. Caes.*, ii, 10, p. 34, ed. Naber.
- 34, 25. Numerian. Bernhardt, n. 233. *H. A.*, *Maxim. et Balbin.*, 7. Cf. also *Macrin.*, c. 14.
- 35, 9. Gibbon. Gibbon, *History of the Decline*, ch. ii, end.
- 35, 14. dearth. See e.g. *Vit. Alex. Severi*, c. 34.
- 36, 7. Cicero. Cic., *De Orat.*, i, 5 (quae pueris aut adolescentibus nobis ex commentariolis nostris inchoata ac rudia exciderunt),

- and i, 94 in Hanny, *Schriftsteller und Buchhändler in Rom*, p. 25.
- 36, 8. Atticus. *Id.*, pp. 30–33 on the 'Ἀττικῶν ἀντιτύπων (of Demosthenes, Aeschines and Plato).
- 36, 10. rivals. *Id.*, p. 25; Cic., *Ad Attic.*, xiii, 22, 3: Ligarianam praeclare vendidisti. Posthac quidquid scripsero, tibi praeconium deferam.
- 36, 24. book. Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*, p. 356, 1. As the result of an experiment I estimate 450 hexameters in 2 hours.
- 36, 38. *Pucelle*. Taine, *Origines de la France contemporaine*, i, 319.
- 36, 39. Ferdinand. Baumgarten, *Gesch. Spaniens*, iii, 52.
- 37, 2. Seven. Braun-Wiesbaden, *Die Gebrüder Grimm*, in *Augsburg. Allg. Ztg.*, 1881, 5. February, suppl.
- 37, 2. Kossuth. Helfert, *Gesch. Österreichs vom Ausgange des Wiener Octoberaufstandes*, vol. iv.
- 37, 12. reached. Cic., *Pro Sulla*, 15, 42 sq.
- 37, 13. Varro. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxv, 11.
- 37, 25. desert. Sulpic. Sever., *Dial.*, i, 23.
- 37, 37. 33d. Martial, i, 118, 67; xiii, 3. Géraud, p. 180: Ces prix paraissaient inférieurs à ceux qui ont cours aujourd'hui (1840). The estimates in Schmidt's *Gesch. der Denkfreiheit*, p. 136 f. are too low.
- 38, 2. 6d. Statius, *S.*, iv, 9, 7: Noster purpureus novusque charta Et binis decoratus umbilicis Praeter me mihi constitit decussi (edd. *decussis*). Hultsch, *Metrol.* 317.
- 38, 6. fish. Géraud, p. 144 s.
- 38, 15. existence. Vol. i, p. 14.
- 38, 23. Varro's. Pliny, *N. h.*, vii, 115.
- 38, 25. general. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii², 615. Horace, *S.*, i, 4, 21: beatus Fannius ultro Delatis capsis et imagine. *C.*, i, 1, 29: doctarum hederæ præmia frontium. Juv., 7., 129: ut dignus venias hederis et imagine macra. Pers., *Prol.*, 5, with Jahn's note. Vilic(us) hermar(um) bybliothec(ae) Grae(cae): Henzen, 6282.
- 38, 27. library. Apoll. Sidon., *Epist.*, ix, 16.
- 39, 10. reading. Rohde, *Griech. Roman*, p. 304 f.
- 39, 10. Pollio. Gierig, *Plin. Epp.* (1802), ii, p. 538. Exc. i. Géraud, pp. 186–194. *Lehrs, Populäre Aufsätze*. M. Hertz, *Schriftsteller und Publicum*.
- 39, 29. Celer. Martial, i, 63.
- 40, 28. poets. Horace, *A. P.*, 472–476; Seneca, *Epp.*, 95, 2. Petron., *Sat.*, 90, 91, 115; Martial, iii, 44 sqq.; ix, 83; Juv., 3, 19; i, 1 sqq.
- 41, 3. actor. Quintilian, xi, 3, 14; cf. i, 10 and 11.
- 41, 11. Suetonius. Pliny, *Epp.*, ix, 34.
- 41, 17. solfaing. Persius, i, 15–18, 98 with Jahn's note.
- 41, 20. silence. Martial, vi, 41; cf. iii, 18; xiv, 142.
- 42, 8. hands. Géraud, pp. 190, 193; Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 14.
- 42, 13. August. Pliny, *ib.*, viii, 21; Juv., 3, 9.
- 42, 40. audience. Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 13; *Lehrs, op. cit.*, p. 370.
- 43, 6. friend. Pliny, *Epp.*, vi, 17.
- 43, 10. offence. Epict., *Manuale*, 33, 11.

- 43, 20. success. Hertz, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
 43, 27. Claudius. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 41.
 43, 30. theatre. Apparently theatres were commonly used for recitations in other cities as well as Rome. Petron., c. 90: immo quoties theatrum, ut recitarem aliquid intravi, hac me adventicia excipere frequentia solet. Recitation by an *Enniasta* in the theatre at Puteoli, Gell., xviii, 5, 2. Mau doubtfully explains the alleged *auditorium* of Maecenas (neither an *Auditorium* nor a theatre) as a greenhouse. *BdI*, 1875, p. 89 sqq. Richter, *Topogr. v. Rom* and Iwan Müller's *Handb.*, iii, 901.
 43, 32. Capitol. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 10.
 43, 32. Domitian. Sueton., *Domitian*, c. 2.
 43, 35. Athenaeum. The site of the building is unknown. Jordan, *Topogr.*, ii, 1, 61; 62a.
 43, 36. purpose. Apoll. Sidon., ii, 9; ix, 14.
 43, 36. Pertinax. *H. A., Vit. Pertin.*, c. 11.
 43, 38. Severus. *Vit. Alex. Sever.*, c. 34.
 44, 9. Sévigné. Mayor, *Juv.*, 3, 9, ed. 2, p. 181.
 44, 18. kind. Krause, *StRE*¹, Augustalia.
 44, 19. dress. Dio, lx, 6.
 44, 22. judges. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 11.
 44, 23. corn. Stat., *Silv.*, ii, 2, 6; v, 3, 225 sq. (*Chalcidicae Cerealia dona coronae*).
 44, 28. *agon*. Vol. ii, p. 120.
 45, 8. competition. Martial, ix, 35, 90.
 45, 8. 94. Cf. Appendix lvi.
 45, 13. name. M. Hertz, *De Scaevo Memore poeta trag.* (Vratisl. ind. 1., Easter, 1869).
 45, 30. Muses. C. L. Visconti, *Il sepolcro del fanciullo Q. Sulpicio Massimo*, Roma, 1871. Henzen, *BdI*, 1871, pp. 98–115. Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, no. 618.
 45, 31. noticed. Vol. iii, p. 10.
 46, 2. custom. Lumbroso, *L'Egitto nel t. dei Greci e dei Romani*, p. 153.
 46, 24. apostles. Gregorovius, *Gesch. d. St. Rom*, iv, 207–216. Koerting, *Petrarcas Leben und Werke*, p. 155 f.
 46, 31. competitions. Sueton., *Domit.*, c. 4.
 46, 32. olive. Stat., *Silv.*, iii, 5, 28 (where Kerckhoff, *Duae quaest. Papinianae*, p. 28 sq. writes rightly *Tu* for *Ter*); iv, 2, 65; v, 3, 227. Cf. Martial, ix, 23 to a certain Carus crowned there, who had crowned a bust of Domitian with his wreath:—
 Albae livere potest pia quercus olivae,
 cinxerit invictum quod prior illa caput.
 47, 2. deserve it. Petron., c. 83.
 47, 4. town. *CIL*, ix, 1663: C. Concordius Syriacus, eq. R. comm(entariensis) rei. p. Benevent. numerarius bidui, poeta Latinus, coronatus in mun(ere) patriae suae et (the name of another place is lost).
 47, 6. Carthage. Appendix xlv.
 47, 8. proconsul. Augustine, *Conf.*, iv, 1, 1 mentions *contentiosa*

- carmina et agonem coronarum foenearum, in which he participated. He refused the offer of a *haruspex* to procure him victory in this 'theatricum certamen', but he consulted an astrologer. He won the prize through the proconsul, qui manu sua coronam illam agonisticam imposuerat non sano capiti meo (*ib.*, iv, 2 and 3).
- 47, 16. protected. Géraud, *S. les livres*, pp. 194–200. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii^a, 829, 2.
- 47, 19. Philip. *Cod.*, x, lii (liii) 3 Imp. Philippus A. Ulpiano: poetae nulla immunitatis praerogativa juvantur.
- 47, 20. Lucan. *Juv.*, 7, 97 sq.
- 47, 22. Silius. Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 7; Martial, vii, 63, 11: Emeritos Musis et Phoebō tradidit annos.
- 47, 37. Homer. Ovid, *Trist.*, iv, 10, 21.
- 48, 2. idleness. *Id.*, A. a., iii, 403 sqq.
- 48, 14. ground. Tac., *Dial.*, c. 12 sq.
- 38, 37. reputation. *Id. ib.*, c. 9 sq.
- 48, 37. Eumolpus. Petron., c. 83. Cf. vol. iii, p. 47.
- 49, 9. repudiate him. Martial, i, 76; iii, 38; v, 56; x, 76.
- 50, 14. Saturnalia. *Juv.*, 7, 16–97. Cf. Appendix lviii.
- 50, 16. philosopher. Jahn, on Pers., i, 24.
- 50, 17. Oppian. Martial, vii, 4.
- 50, 40. Martial. Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 21.
- 51, 11. poet. Cic., *Pro Archia*, p. 9, 20; 11, 28 sqq.
- 51, 32. sung. Pliny, *Paneg.*, 54.
- 51, 39. equipped. Stat., *Theb.*, i, 17–33; *Silv.*, iv, 4, 95; *Achill.*, i, 19.
- 52, 1. wars. Cf. vol. iii, p. 46; also Appendix xi.
- 52, 3. explanations. Haube, *De carminibus epicis saeculi Augusti* (Vratisl., 1870), p. 4 sq.; cf. also Jahn on Pers., 5, 4 and p. lxviii.
- 52, 11. Carus. Nemesian., *Cyneg.*, 63 sqq.
- 52, 16. deeds. Julian, *Orat.*, i, 1, and 2 D.
- 52, 31. continue. Horace, *Epp.*, ii, 1, 226–228.
- 53, 7. sesterces. Macrobi., *Saturn.*, ii, 4 sq.
- 53, 10. honour. Horace, *l. c.*
- 53, 11. *Thyestes*. Schneidewin, *Rh. Mus.*, 1842, p. 107.
- 53, 16. sesterces. Vergil, ed. Ribbeck, p. xxx.
- 53, 20. heir. Sueton., *Vit. Horat.*
- 53, 25. panegyrics. *H. A.*, *Vit. Alex. Severi*, c. 35: poetae panegyricos dicentes. *Gallieni*, c. 11: cum omnes poetae Graeci Latinique epithalamia dixissent, idque per dies plurimos.
- 54, 7. amphitheatre. Haupt, *De carm. bucol. Calpurnii et Nemesiani* (1854), pp. 16–26. Calpurn, *Eccl.*, i (94), iv and vii. Cf. the panegyric on Nero, *Anth. Lat.*, ed. Riese, ii, 189 sqq. (Bücheler, *N. Rh. Mus.*, 1871, pp. 235, 491).
- 54, 17. *lèse-majesté*. Tac., *A.*, iii, 49 sq. Dio, lvii, 20. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 42 does not refer to the matter.
- 54, 17. Claudius. Seneca, *Apocol.*, 12, 13, v. 56.
- 54, 19. epigram. Lucilius, according to *cod. Vat.* and *Med.* author of the epigram Leonid. Tarent., 23. Jacobs, *Animadv. ad Anthol. Gr.*, ix, 98.
- 54, 23. Bassus. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 17 sq.; Tac., *Dial.*, c. 9.

- 54, 31. talent. Juv., 7, 1-21; cf. Appendix lviii.
 54, 31. Oppian. Suid., s. Ὀππιάδης. Bernhardt, *RLG*, ii, 2, 659;
 Clinton, *Fasti Rom.*, ad an. 171.
 55, 2. Mercury. Horace, *C.*, ii, 17, 29.
 55, 10. poets. Tac., *A.*, iii, 30; xiv, 52, 54.
 55, 22. any one else. Horace, *S.*, i, 9, 23 sq.
 55, 28. another. *Id. ib.*, 48-52.
 55, 40. time. *Id. ib.*, i, 6, 50 sqq.; cf. i, 5, 40 sqq.
 55, 41. needed. *Id.*, *Epod.*, i, 31 sq.
 56, 8. anger. *Id.*, *Epp.*, i, 7.
 56, 9. Augustus. Sueton., *Vit. Horat.*
 56, 27. floors. Becker, *Topographie*, i, 540 f.
 56, 31. Fronto. Hertz, *Renaissance und Rococo*, n. 4.
 57, 20. Aetna. Tibullus, iv, 1-8, 16 sq., 177 sqq.
 57, 26. poets. Cf. vol. i, p. 115.
 57, 28. master. Cf. vol. ii, p. 361.
 58, 38. Lucan. Martial, iv, 40.
 59, 1. queen. *Id.*, x, 64; vii, 21-23. She married later another
 poet. Apoll. Sidon., *Carm.*, 23, 165: quid quos duplicibus
 jugata taedis Argentaria Polla dat poetas? At the time when
 Martial sang of her, apparently she was still single.
 59, 3. Regulus. Martial, xii, 36, 8 sq. with my note.
 59, 10. Domitian. *Id.*, i, 101 (on a slave who died at the age of
 19).

Illa manus quondam studiorum fida meorum
 et felix domino notaque Caesaribus,

i.e. probably Titus and Domitian. They are also referred to
 in iii, 95, 5:—

Praemia laudato tribuit mihi Caesar uterque,
 notorumque dedit jura paterna trium.

Also ix, 97, 5: tribuit quod Caesar uterque Jus mihi natorum.
 He asks confirmation from Domitian, ii, 91, 5: Permite videri,
 Natorum genitor credat ut esse trium. Cf. introd. to my ed.,
 i, 6. Mommsen, *StR*, ii³, 2, 888, 44, takes a different view.

- 59, 11. tribune. Vol. i, p. 142.
 59, 12. claimants. Martial, iii, 95, 11.
 59, 14. table. *Id.*, ix, 93.
 59, 15. sesterces. *Id.*, vi, 10.
 59, 20. aqueduct. Imhof, *Domitian*, p. 138. Martial, xi, 18.
 59, 23. approval. *Id.*, iv, 27; v, 6; vi, 64, 14; vii, 12.
 59, 29. Crispinus. Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 223.
 59, 37. homage. Martial, iv, 15.
 59, 40. Sicily. *Id.*, vii, 44 sq. (Seneca, *Epp.*, 87, 2), ix, 52 sq., x,
 44 (on a journey of Ovid's to Britain when he was already old).
 He was Martial's neighbour at Nomentum: vii, 93; cf. i, 105;
 ix, 98; xiii, 119. For the double form of the gentile name of
 Maximus see Nipperdey on Tac., *A.*, xv, 71.
 60, 3. sons. Mart., iv, 14 (perhaps the introductory poem). vi,
 64, 10; vii, 63; viii, 66; ix, 86; xi, 48 sq.
 60, 5. Nerva. Vol. iii, p. 33, and Martial, v, 28, 4.

- 60, 6. Regulus. *Id.*, i, 12, 82, 111; ii, 74, 93; iv, 16; v, 10, 63; vi, 38; vii, 16, 21; cf. v, 28, 6.
- 60, 8. Lucanus. *Id.*, i, 36; iii, 20; ix, 51 (Lucanus; Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 18, Tullus). Cf. v, 28, 3 and the notes to this passage in my edition.
- 60, 9. library. *Id.*, ix, Praef., x, 96. Henzen-Or., 6446.
- 60, 10. Frontinus. Mart., x, 48, 20, 58. Mommsen, *Ind. Plin.*; Teuffel, *RLG*⁴, 327.
- 60, 11. Pliny. Mart. x, 19. Mommsen, *Zur Lebensg. d. j. Plinius*, in *Hermes*, iii, 108. The Caecilius Secundus of vii, 84 is another: Mommsen, p. 79, 1. But the 'doctus Secundus' of v, 80, 7 is perhaps Pliny.
- 60, 12. Stella. Cf. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 125 and intr. to my edition. Martial, i, 7, 44; iv, 6; vii, 11, 59; vi, 21, 47; vii, 14, 36; viii, 78; ix, 42, 55, 89; x, 48, 5; xi, 52; xii, 3, 11.
- 60, 14. Saturninus. *Id.*, ix, 74; Orelli, 772; Mommsen, *Ind. Plin.*
- 60, 14. Sura. Mart., vi, 64, 13; vii, 47.
- 60, 16. Tolosa. Mart., x, 23.
- 60, 16. others. Cf. introd. to my edition, p. 7 f.
- 60, 18. knights. Mart., iv, 40, 3.
- 60, 20. Caelius. *Id.*, ii, 69; iv, 54, 8; vi, 28 sq.; viii, 38. Stat., *Silv.*, iii, 3, 1. Cf. also my introd., p. 3.
- 60, 25. centurions. Cf. vol. i, p. 143.
- 60, 30. divinity. Stat., *Silv.*, iii, *praef.*
- 60, 32. table. Cf. vol. i, p. 94 f.
- 60, 34. Alba. Stat., *Silv.*, iii, 2, 61 sqq.
- 60, 37. Abascantus. Cf. vol. i, p. 53 f.
- 60, 40. readings. Stat., *Silv.*, v, 2, 160.
- 61, 5. Naples. Cf. Appendix lvi.
- 61, 14. cattle. Stat., *Silv.*, iv, 5.
- 61, 16. city. *Id. ib.*, iii, 5, 12.
- 61, 18. Nomentum. Martial already owned his Nomentanum in the year 84 (xiii, 42 and 119; cf. introd. to my edition, i, p. 5). If i, 55 was compared before he owned it, then this is one of his earlier poems included in Book i, and the possession of the Nomentanum was no reason for omitting it. Seneca owned a large vineyard near Nomentum (vol. i, p. 160 f.), and considering that Q. Ovidius (who was a friend of Seneca's most intimate friend Caesonius Maximus, see note on vol. iii, 59, l. 40) had also a vineyard near Nomentum (Mart., i, 105; vii, 93; x, 44) the supposition is plausible, that Seneca's heirs had given parts of the principal estate to both of them.
- 61, 20. lead. Martial, xii, 57; x, 58, 9; xiii, 15; x, 48, 9; x, 94, 4; vii, 91; xiii, 42.
- 61, 22. Stella. *Id.*, vi, 43, 4; vii, 36.
- 61, 25. rest. *Id.*, ii, 38; vi, 43; xii, 57.
- 61, 26. mules. *Id.*, viii, 61.
- 61, 27. Quirinal. First mentioned ix, 97. It was situated like his earlier lodging (i, 117; v, 22; vi, 27) on the Quirinal (x, 58, 10).
- 61, 28. storey. *Id.*, i, 117, 7.
- 61, 29. fifty-seven. *Id.*, x, 24.

- 61, 34. content. *Id.*, xii, 6, 18. A property given by Marcella (xii, 21), xiii, 31.
 62, 2. money. *Martial*, i, 107; v, 16; viii, 56, 73; xi, 108.
 62, 3. like. *Id.*, vi, 82; vii, 36; cf. viii, 28; ix, 49; x, 73.
 62, 6. something. *Id.*, vii, 16.
 62, 10. taken me in. *Id.*, v, 36.
 62, 12. amuses me. *Id.*, v, 15.
 62, 17. immortality. *Pliny, Epp.*, iii, 21.
 62, 24. subjects. *Martial*, xi, 42.
 62, 47. carousals. *Id.*, v, 16:—

Seria cum possim, quod delectantia malo
 scribere, tu causa es, lector amice, mihi etc.

At nunc conviva est commissatorque libellus etc.

Cf. ii, 1, 9; 6, 8.

- 63, 11. spirits. *Stat., Silv.*, ii, 1, 30 sq.; v, 5, 38. Epithalamium (for Stella) i, 2 = *Mart.*, vi, 21. On the births of sons: iv, 7 and 8 (for Maximus Junius and Julius Menecrates). *Consolationes*: ii, 1 (Glaucias Atedii Melioris = *Mart.*, vi, 28 sq.); iii, 3 (Lacrinae Claudii Etrusci = *Mart.*, vii, 40); ii, 6 (Cons. ad Flavium Ursum de amissione pueri delicati); v, 1 (Abascanti in Priscillam pietas).
 63, 16. lion. *Stat., Silv.*, ii, 4 and 5.
 63, 22. Syria. *Stat., Silv.*, i, 4; iv, 11; iii, 2.
 63, 24. festivals. *Id. ib.*, i, 6 (Kalendae Decembres).
 63, 25. buildings. *Id. ib.*, iv, 3 (Vita Domitiana).
 63, 27. Forum. *Id. ib.*, i, 1 and i, *praef.*
 63, 30. journalism. So also Renan, *L'antechrist*, p. 131, 2: Les epigrammes de Martial—représentent en beaucoup d'égards les petits journaux du temps.
 63, 33. valuables. *Stat., Silv.*, i, 3 (Villa Tiburtina Manilii Vopisci); i, 5 (Balneum Claudii Etrusci = *Mart.*, vi, 42); ii, 2 (Villa Surrentina Pollii Felicis); ii, 3 (Arbor Atedii Melioris); iii, 1 (Hercules Surrentinus Pollii Felicis); iv, 6 (Hercules Epitrapezios Novii Vindicis = *Mart.*, ix, 43 sq.).
 63, 37. dine. *Mart.*, ix, 19.
 63, 39. do so. *Stat., Silv.*, iv, 4 (Epistula ad Vitor. Marcellum); iv, 5 (Carmen lyr. ad Septimium Severum); v, 2 (Protrepticon ad Crispinum). *Martial*, iv, 31:—

Quod cupis in nostris dicique legique libellis
 et nonnullus honos creditur iste tibi etc.

- 64, 5. Gallienus. *H. A., Vit. Gallieni*, c. 11.
 64, 13. honoraria. *Mém. sur Napoléon et Marie-Louise*. Par la générale Durand, 1886, p. 66 f.
 64, 20. love. *Stat., S.*, i, 2, 248 sqq. In Lucian, *Lapithae*, 21 a Stoic, prevented from appearing at the wedding feast, sends a letter asking for it to be read to the guests: Φιλ. Ἦπρου, ὁ Λυκῖνε, τῆς νύμφης ἐγκώμιον ἢ ἐπιθαλάμιον, οἷα πολλὰ ποιούσιν; Λυκ. ἀμέλεις καὶ ἡμεῖς τοιοῦτον ψήθημεν. After that a grammarian who was present read a ridiculous elegiac epithalamium.

- 64, 38. Martial. Genethliacon Lucani, Stat., *Silv.*, ii, 7 = Martial, vii, 21-23. Capilli Flavii Earini, Stat., *Silv.*, iii, 4 = Martial, iv, 11-13, 16, 36. For the other parallel poems of the two see notes on iii, p. 63, lines 11 and 33.
- 65, 30. many others. Martial, iv, 49 (where, however, as in v, 53, tragedies may also be meant); viii, 3; ix, 50; x, 4. Cf. also xiv, 1. The epigrams date from the years 88 to 97. The *Thebais*, on which Statius worked 12 years, was still incomplete in 89/90 (S., i, 5, 8) but already published at the beginning of 92 (S., i, *præf.*). This fact is wrongly contested by Kerckhoff, *Duae quaest. Papinianae*, Berol. 1884, pp. 25-27. For it is impossible to understand the words 'pro Thebaide mea, quamvis me reliquerit, timeo' to refer to a complete, but unpublished poem (K., p. 27) nor is there any reason to be found why Statius should have postponed the publication of the completed poem for three years (on p. 26 K. says that it was not completed till the end of 94). In the passage iv, 4, 87 sqq. written in the summer of 95, Statius informs Vitorius Marcellus that he has begun the *Achilleis*; and adds that the *Thebais* is already safe in harbour, and that he has made a thank-offering, no doubt for its good reception by the public. He is not speaking of its completion but of its success. Cf. Nohl, *Quaest. Statianae*, p. 23 sq. and Appendix lvi. For a correction of Martial in Statius see note on vol. ii, p. 190, 8. In the other parallel passages of the two poets, mentioned by E. Wagner, *De Martiale poet. Aug. aetat. imitatore* (Regim. 1880), p. 38, 1, and by H. Nohl (in the *Philol. Rundschau*, i, no. 20, p. 632 f.), the similarity is only based on the fact that it is not possible to avoid certain poetical expressions and reminiscences, while the divergences (Martial, i, 41, 4 = Stat., i, 6, 73; Mart., iv, 75 = Stat., ii, 2, 145) rather betray the intention to avoid or to surpass the expressions of the other.
- 65, 39. brilliancy. Stat., *Silv.*, *præf.*, ii and iv; *Theb.*, xii, 819.
- 66, 9. benevolent. Martial, i, 3.
- 66, 11. epigrams. *Id.*, xi, 20.
- 66, 13. case. *Id.*, viii, 69 (to Regulus, who probably made the same complaint); v, 10.
- 66, 15. works. *Id.*, xi, 24.
- 66, 17. cooks. *Id.*, ix, 81.
- 66, 20. competence. Martial, ix, 97; viii, 6; vi, 61.
- 66, 22. plundered. *Id.*, xi, 94.
- 66, 25. theft. *Id.*, i, 29, 38, 52, 53, 66, 72. Cf. xii, 63.
- 66, 30. rank. *Id.*, vii, 12, 72; x, 3, 5, 33. For 'rank' read 'blameless life'.
- 66, 35. view. Cf. also i, *præf.*
- 66, 37. poets. *Id.*, iii, 20; iv, 61.
- 66, 38. Quirinus. *Id.*, xi, 1.
- 67, 23. fleece. Juv., i, 1 sqq.
- 67, 23. Varro. Martial, v, 30.
- 67, 25. Rufus. *Id.*, iii, 20, 5:—

An aemulatur improbi jocos Phaedri ?
Lascivus elegis an severus herois ?
An in cothurnis horridus Sophocleis ?

See on him i, 61; iii, 64.

- 67, 26. Vopiscus. Stat., *Silv.*, 13, 100 sqq.
67, 27. Felix. *Id. ib.*, ii, 2, 144 sq.
67, 30. mimiambus. Pliny, *Epp.*, vi, 21 (Vergilius Romanus).
67, 31. Greek. So Brutianus, Martial, iv, 23 (epigrams); Arrius Antoninus, Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 3 (epigrams); Vestricius Spurinna (lyrics); viii, 4, Caninius Rufus (epic on the Dacian war).
67, 33. considerable. Quintilian, x, i, 94: Sunt et clari hodie, et qui olim nominabuntur. 96: (Caesius Bassus) longe praece-
dunt ingenia viventium. 98 (tragic poets): eorum, quos vide-
rim, longe princeps (Pomponius Bassus). Lyric poets besides
the above are Septimius Severus, Stat., *Silv.*, iv, 5, 60 and Pas-
sennus Paulus, Pliny, *Epp.*, ix, 22, 2. Of satiric poets only
Turnus is mentioned.
68, 3. Hylas. Juv., i, 162-164.
68, 17. rainbow. Horace, *A. P.*, 15.
68, 18. sunset. Seneca, *Apocol.*, c. 2 with Bücheler's note.
68, 20. Mars. Juv., i, 7 sqq.
68, 26. Ariadne. Lucil., *Aetna*, 8 sqq.
68, 31. legends. Nemesian., *Cyneg.*, 12-47. Of the deeds of Her-
cules sang, or intended to sing, Novius Vindex, Stat., *Silv.*,
iv, 6, 100 sqq.
68, 38. poetically. Teuffel, *RLG*⁴, 293, 5.
68, 40. Virgil. Martial, xi, 52, 7.
68, 41. Albinus. *H. A.*, *Clod. Albin.*, c. 11.
69, 3. life. Cornel. Nepos, *Atticus*, 18, 5: attigit quoque poeti-
cam: credimus ne expers esset ejus suavitatis.
69, 27. metre. Pliny, *Epp.*, viii, 9, 8-15.
70, 6. kind. A. Zingerle, *Zu spätern lateinischen Dichtern*, p. 100 ff.
70, 7. poets. Wilmanns, *Ex Inscr.*, 2480, 2481.
70, 16. temple. Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 7.
70, 19. awe. Stat., *Theb.*, xii, 816 sqq.
70, 27. fidelity. Pliny, *Epp.*, ix, 22; cf. vi, 15.
70, 29. odds and ends. *Ibid.*, iv, 14, 9: proinde sive epigrammata
sive idyllia sive eclogas sive ut multi poematia—vocare mal-
ueris etc. Of the versatile amateur says Martial, ii, 7, 3:
componis belle mimos, epigrammata belle. Epigrammatic
poets: Cosconius (without obscenities), iii, 69. Cerrinius,
viii, 18. Arrius Antoninus, Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 3, 18; v, 15 (Greek
epigrams and iambs). *Poematia* in the style of Catullus's
Sentius Augurinus, Pliny, iv, 27; ix, 8. Also the poems of
Proculus (Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 15) and Faustinus (Martial, i, 25)
belong to the lesser kinds (*libelli*).
70, 35. Virgil. Martial, iv, 14. Cf. introd. to my edition.
70, 37. number. Martial, i, 109. *Hermes*, i, 68. *CIL*, xiv, 3565
is also in the style of Catullus.
70, 40. sparrow. Martial, i, 7.
70, 40. Unicus. *Id.*, xii, 44.
71, 6. Calvus. Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 16.

- 71, 19. predecessors. *Id. ib.*, iv, 27; ix, 8.
 71, 23. song. Mommsen, *Hermes*, iii, 105 f.
 72, 13. hint. Pliny, *Epp.*, vii, 4.
 72, 36. thinking. *Ibid.*
 72, 38. metres. *Id.*, *ib.*, viii, 21.
 73, 2. friends. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 106, 3.
 73, 16. birth. Pliny, *Epp.*, v, 17.
 73, 23. Gallicus. Stat., *Silv.*, i, 4, 29 sq. *CIL*, ix, 1571 sq. (Beneventi); M. Caecilio Novatiliano c. v. praetori et poetae illustri allecto inter consulares etc.
 73, 30. excellent. Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 1. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 39 f.
 73, 35. men. Pliny, *ib.*, i, 17; viii, 72. Mommsen, *Ind. Plin.*; vol. i, p. 55 and Appendix viii.
 73, 39. poetry. Martial, xii, 11. Cf. vol. i, p. 57 f.
 74, 9. education. Petron., *Sat.*, cc. 34, 41, 55.
 74, 14. verses. Martial, ii, 20:—

Carmina Paullus emit : recitat sua carmina Paullus.
 Nam quod emas, possis jure vocare tuum.

xii, 46:—

Vendunt carmina Gallus et Lupercus.
 Sanos, Classice, nunc nega poetas.

cf. i, 29, 66; xii, 63; vii, 77.

- 74, 30. world. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman*, pp. 311, 314. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 335–337. Cf. Aristid., *Or.*, xxvii, ed. Dindorf, i, 542.
 75, 1. mannerism. Rohde, *op. cit.*, p. 290.
 75, 7. Attic. Lehrs, *Popul. Aufs.*, p. 373 ff. Bernhardt, *GrLG*, i², 519 ff.
 75, 12. easy. Philostrate., *Vitt. Soph.*, i, 25, 7.
 75, 20. family. *Id. ib.*, i, 25, 6.
 77, 2. repeated. Lehrs, *op. cit.*, p. 374 f.
 77, 3. Proaeresius. Eunap., *Vitt. Sophist.*, 165.
 77, 22. story. The above I take mostly *verbalim* from Rohde, *D. griech. Roman*, pp. 332–336.
 77, 38. teachers. Gell., xvii, 20, 1: Taurus mihi: heus, inquit, tu rhetorisce—sic enim me in principio recens in diatriben acceptum appellitavat, existimans eloquentiae unius extundendae gratia Athenas venisse.
 78, 4. distinctions. Occupants of this chair were: the Cilician Philager, Philostrate., *V. soph.*, ii, 8, ed. K., p. 251s: the Phoenician Hadrianos, ii, 10, p. 256: the Cappadocian Pausanias of Caesarea, ii, 13, p. 258: the Smyrnaean Euhodianos, ii, 16, p. 200: Aspasios of Ravenna, ii, 33, p. 274.
 78, 8. presumptive. *H. A.*, *Vit. Antonini*, c. 2. *Verus*, c. 2 (Herodes Atticus). Philostrate., *ib.*, ii, 24, 2 (Antipater).
 78, 21. talent. *Vit. Hadriani*, c. 16. Philostrate., *Vitt. soph.*, i, 8, 22, 3.
 78, 37. Polemo. Philostrate., *Vitt. soph.*, i, 24, 3.
 79, 8. tears. *Id. ib.*, ii, 9, 2.
 79, 17. Isaeus. *Juv.*, 3, 74.

- 80, 3. rhetorician. Pliny, *Epp.*, ii, 3; in Lehrs, *Pop. Aufs.*, p. 372 f.
- 80, 10. Greek. Philostrate., *Vitt. soph.*, i, 8; ii, 10, 5.
- 80, 34. collections. Gell., ix, 2, 1. Keil, *Atticus*, in *StRE*, i³, 2100.
- 80, 35. Polemo. Fronto, *Epp. ad M. Caes.*, ii, 10 (Polemonis tui quoniam meministi) cf. Verus' letter about him, ii, 5, ed. N.
- 80, 37. style. Fronto, *De fer. Als.*, p. 228, ed. N., and p. 237, ed. N. (Arion).
- 81, 6. Greek. This is rightly noted by Kretschmann, *De latinitate Apuleji*, p. 7.
- 81, 38. riddles. Apulej., *Florid.*, i, 9, 37.
- 82, 23. enemies. Raumer, *Gesch. der Pädagogik*, i⁴, 101. Strauss, *Ulrich v. Hutten*, i, 49 ff. G. Voigt, *Enea Silvio*, i, 219; ii, 266. *Id.*, *Wiederbelebung des Class. Alterth.*, ii³, 399. Fr. Haase, *Philologie*, in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclop.*, p. 379, 17. Melancthon (*Declam.*, t. i, p. 409) in defending Latin poetry specially points out the fact, that, as in Roman times contempt of poetry was followed by general ignorance and extreme *infantia*, so in Germany the reconciliation with *meliores litterae* only set in, after the most educated men ceased to be shy of making *versiculos*.
- 82, 28. practice. *Corp. Reform.*, i, 783 in Paulsen, *Gesch. d. gelehrten Unterrichts*, p. 239; cf. p. 240: the belief that the art of poetry may be learnt 'is one of the fundamental ideas of humanism, it dominates the whole of poetical literature until the so-called 'Sturm und Drang' period, which regarded from this standpoint appears as the revolt against the aesthetic views of humanism.

II. RELIGION.

- 85, 10. satisfaction. Gibbon, *History*, ch. xv. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 22: cupidine ingenii humani libentius obscura credendi (of Otho's belief in astrology).
- 85, 17. indifference. Marquardt, *StV*, iii³, 70 f.
- 85, 19. creed. Horace, *C.*, 134, 2.
- 85, 32. gods. Cic., *De har. resp.*, c. 9; cf. on Cicero's attitude towards religion Gaston Boissier, *La religion romaine d'Auguste aux Antonins* (1874), i, 61ss.
- 85, 38. stories. Strabo, i, 2, p. 19 C.
- 86, 3. crime. Epictet., *Diss.*, ii, 20, 32-35.
- 86, 3. statesmen. Maecenas in Dio, lii, 36.
- 86, 12. assistance. Lucret., iii, 48-58.
- 86, 14. Sulla. Plutarch, *Sulla*, c. 29.
- 86, 18. believers. Boissier, i, 67ss.
- 86, 18. Juvenal. *Juv.*, 6, 342.
- 86, 38. prompt. Lucret., i, 62-101.
- 87, 10. fathers. Zeller, *Philosophie d. Griechen*, iii³, 1, 398, 2.
- 87, 11. Sextus. *Ibid.*, iii³, 2, 47, 2.
- 87, 26. Tacitus. I do not, like Nipperdey, recognize in *Hist.*, v, 5, *Germ.*, c. 9 a silent approval of Jewish and German worship, although in other respects I follow his commentary (Tac., *Ann.*, pp. xiv-xvi).

- 87, 31. interfered. Tac., *Hist.*, iv, 78 : nec sine ope divina mutatis repente animis terga victores vertere. *A.*, xiv, 22 : Nero desecrated the *aqua Marcia*, by bathing in it, secutaque anceps valetudo iram deum affirmavit.
- 87, 36. so doing. Babucke, *De Quintiliani doctrina* (Regim. 1866), pp. 11-16.
- 88, 9. due. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxiv, 1 ; xxvii, 8 (with Sillig's note) : xxxvii, 205 ; ii, 12-27. In xxxvii, 60 he asks how it was possible to discover that the blood of a he-goat softens diamonds, and answers : numinum profecto muneris talis inventio est nec quaerenda ratio in ulla parte naturae, sed voluntas.
- 89, footnote. So Sillig.
- 90, 5. theology. Zeller, iii^a, 1, 288-323.
- 90, 11. demons. *Ibid.*, 667.
- 90, 13. interpretations. The 'salubres interpretationes' of the tradition 'de vita deorum moribusque' which Augustine (*cp. St V*, iii^a, 10, 4) are obviously such allegorical interpretations.
- 90, 18. Marcus. Zeller, iii^a, 1, 679.
- 90, 20. reason. Réville, *La religion à Rome sous les Sévères*, p. 118.
- 91, 8. account. Zeller, iii^a, 2, 122.
- 91, 14. Plutarch. *Id.*, iii^a, 1, 157 f.
- 91, 20. matter. Plutarch, *Def. oracc.*, 10.
- 91, 25. gods. *Id.*, *Romul.*, c. 29, 18 ; *Def. oracc.*, *ib.* ; *Is. et Osir.*, c. 30.
- 91, 30. overseers. *Id.*, *De fato*, c. 9.
- 91, 37. Penelope. *Id.*, *Def. oracc.*, c. 17.
- 92, 1. demons. *Id. ib.*, c. 15 ; *Is. et Osir.*, c. 25.
- 92, 4. name. *Id.*, *Def. oracc.*, c. 25.
- 92, 9. blessings. *Id.*, *Is. et Osir.*, c. 26 (Plato, *Sympos.*, c. 23).
- 92, 16. bodies. *Id.*, *De fac. in orbe lunae*, c. 30.
- 92, 19. former. Apulei., *De deo Socratis*, cc. 6-13.
- 93, 2. Tyre. Zeller, iii^a, 1, 187 f. ; Max. Tyr., *Diss.*, xvii, 5 and 11.
- 93, 15. sovereignty. Max. Tyr., *Diss.*, xiv, 8.
- 93, 25. body. *Id. ib.*, xv, 6, 7. Sir Walter Scott also believed that the souls of good men act as guardian spirits : Eberty, *Leben W. Scotts*, ii, 149.
- 93, 36. belief. Orig., *C. Cels.*, v, 4 sq., p. 233. Philo, *De gigant.*, p. 221 : οὗς ἄλλοι φιλόσοφοι δαίμονας, ἀγγέλους Μωσῆς ἐῶθεν ὀνομάζειν· ψυχὰς δ' εἰσὶ κατὰ τὸν αἶρα πετόμεναι.
- 94, 14. Juvenal. Cf. especially Juv., 10, 346 sqq.
- 94, 14. Pliny. Pliny, *Epp.*, vii, 26, says that illness makes people better : tunc deos, tunc hominem esse se meminit.
- 94, 19. Helvina. Mommsen, *IRN*, 4312 = *CIL*, x, 5382. Cf. also Juv., 12, 87 sq.
- 94, 20. Pliny. Vol. i, p. 116.
- 94, 25. Gellius. Cf. *Praef.*, 22 (deum voluntate diis bene juvantibus) ; see Appendix ix.
- 94, 28. Fronto. Fronto, *Ad M. Caes.*, v, 25 (40), *Ad Verum*, ii, 6, ed. Naber, p. 83.
- 94, 41. Galen. Zeller, *G. d. gr. Ph.*, iii^a, 1, 738.
- 95, 3. torches. Galen, xviii^b, 19.

- 95, 8. creatures. Zeller, iii², 1, 732. Dio Chrys., *Or.*, xxxix, p. 485 sq. M.
- 95, 9. Epictetus. Zeller, iii², 1, 666 f.
- 95, 10. Arrian. Arrian, *Pont. Euxin.*, 32-34, says that Achilles helped the navigators near his island, as the Dioscuri did everywhere, *καὶ μοι δοκεῖ οὐκ ἄπιστα εἶναι*.
- 95, 16. endangered. Plutarch, *Amator.*, xiii, 2 and 3 (where Volkmann, *Leben, Schriften u. Philosophie des Plutarch*, ii, 53 reads *πᾶσα* instead of (*ἐπισφαλὴς γίνεται*) *πᾶσι*).
- 95, 23. man. Plutarch, *Camill.*, c. 6, 3 and 4; *Coriolanus*, c. 38. Cf. *Marcell.*, c. 5, 6. Herodian, Π. μιν. λεξ., *praef.*, ed. Lehrs, p. 13: *καὶ πρῶτος ἡμῖν θεὸς παρέστω. δίκαιον γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ποιήσασθαι, ὥς καὶ ὁ Σολεὺς ἀρχόμενος ἔφη ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθαι*.
- 96, 11. Trajan. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 52.
- 96, 14. Hadrian. Pausan., i, 5, 5. Ammian., xxv, 4, 17; *prae-sagiorum sciscitationi nimiae deditus* (like Julian).
- 96, 16. Pius. *Antonin.* P., c. 11. Pausan., xiii, 43, 3: *τοῦτον Εὐσεβὴ τὸν βασιλέα ἐκάλεσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, διότι ἐς τὸ θεῖον μάλιστα ἐφαίνετο χρώμενος*.
- 96, 20. religion. Orelli, 844 = *CIL*, vi, 1001.
- 96, 20. Marcus. Marc. Anton., *Comment.*, vi, 30. *H. A., Vit. M. A.*, c. 13.
- 96, 29. rites. *M. Antonin.*, c. 13.
- 96, 30. lions. Lucian, *Alexander*, 48.
- 96, 33. lost. Ammian., xxv, 4, 17.
- 96, 38. Praeneste. He mentions the death of Verus, *fr.* 206, ed. Hercher, ii, 259.
- 97, 2. children. Aelian, *fr.* 29.
- 97, 9. myth. *Id.*, *fr.* 31.
- 97, 12. accursed. *Id.*, *fr.* 33.
- 97, 31. others. *Id.*, *fr.* 89.
- 98, 4. better. *Id.*, *fr.*, 101.
- 98, 19. creation. *Id.*, *fr.*, 98.
- 98, 24. died. *Id.*, *fr.*, 43.
- 98, 30. body. *Id.*, *fr.*, 10.
- 98, 32. lice. *Id.*, *fr.*, 53.
- 98, 37. profit. *Id.*, *fr.*, 62.
- 98, 40. example. Lehrs, *Pop. Aufs.*, p. 220. Cf. also Plutarch in Jacobs, *Aelian.*, pp. xlv-xlviii (Ambros., *Hexaem.*, v, 10, p. 34: Animals err less, because they 'inspiratione naturae [utuntur], quae vera magistra est').
- 98, 41. Elephants. *Hist. an.*, vii, 44.
- 99, 9. gods. *Ibid.*, vi, 40.
- 99, 13. Diagoras. *Var. hist.*, ii, 31.
- 99, 20. Aristides. *StRE*, i², 340: Welcker, *Kl. Schr.*, iii, 89-156 (Incubation: Aristides the rhetor.). The dates from observations of Baumgart, *Aelius Aristides* (1874), p. 10 f. against Waddington, *Chronologie de la vie du rhéteur Ael. Aristide, Mémoires de l'Institut*, xxvi (1867), p. 203 ss.
- 100, 3. dictated. Welcker, *op. cit.*, 139 f.
- 100, 7. weaker. *Ibid.*, p. 153.
- 100, 13. understand. Aristid., *Or.*, xxiv, p. 298 Jebb.

- 100, 20. God. *Ibid.*, p. 269; Welcker, p. 146.
 100, 24. commiserated. Aristid., *Or.*, xxiv, p. 304.
 100, 26. pride. Cf. Baumgart, *op. cit.*, pp. 66 and 71.
 100, 40. will. Aristides, *Or.*, xxvi, p. 333. Baumgart called my attention to Welcker's mistake in the translation (εἰ instead of εἰς).
 101, 4. mankind. *Id.*, *Or.*, xlii, p. 520.
 101, 10. this or that. Welcker, *op. cit.*, p. 133.
 101, 11. Smyrna. *Ibid.*, p. 129.
 101, 16. illness. Aristid., *Or.*, xxiii, p. 290.
 101, 19. soul. *Ibid.*, xxvii, p. 351 (where l. 5 συντρόφου should be read for τροφῶν) and p. 352.
 101, 22. epidemic. Waddington, p. 249s.
 101, 23. Verus. See vol. i, p. 28.
 101, 26. Athene. Aristid., *Or.*, xxvi, p. 323.
 101, 32. done. *Ibid.*, xxiv, p. 300.
 101, 36. fancies. Welcker, p. 116, 35.
 102, 8. general. Grimm, *Mém. inéd.*, vol. ii, p. 381: 'Much has been said, and rightly, about the great influence of Voltaire, Rousseau and the Encyclopaedists, but the people themselves did not read them much'. P. Lacroix, *XVIII siècle*, p. 359s.: On voit par cet aveu de Mercier (en 1782) que le peuple de Paris affluait dans les églises tous les dimanches et les jours de fête. Taine, *Origines de la France contemp.*, *Revolution*. T. ii, p. 390: À cette date (1792) le petit peuple, même à Paris, est encore très religieux, bien plus religieux qu'aujourd'hui.
 104, 5. entertained. Ammon, who was known to the Greeks earlier than any other barbarian god, Adonis and Cybele perhaps excepted, had a temple at Thebes, at least from Pindar's time, who dedicated to him a statue of Kalamis (Pausan., ix, 16, 1). E. Plew, *Die Griechen in ihrem Verhältniss zu den Gottheiten fremder Völker*, pp. 16 and 21. A list of the shrines at the Piraeus in G. Hirschfeld, *Die Peiraeusstadt, in Berichte der Sächs. Ges.*, 1878, notes 46^a and 46, p. 27 f.
 104, 22. proselytes. I give a few examples. *CIL*, vii, p. 97 (Corstopitum—Corbridge)—a: Ἀσάτρης βαμὼν μ' ἑσπράς, Ποῦλχερ μ' ἀνέθηκεν; b: Ἡρακλεῖ Τυρίῳ Διοδώρα ἀρχιέρεια. *CIL*, iii, 3414 s. (Aquincum): Deo Arimanio. *Id.*, 4300 (Brigetio): Deo Sol. Alagabal. Ammudati (Commodian., *Instr.*, i, 18) mil(ites) leg. i. adj. *Ephem. epigr.*, ii, p. 376, n. 675 (ex Buda vetere): Balti diae divinae et Diasuriae (deae Syriae); *ib.*, p. 390, 722 (Pannon. inf.): Dis patriis Manalpo et Theandrio etc. *CIL*, viii, 2627, 2628 (Lambaesis): Jovi O. M. Heliopolitano. An idol representing the Syro-phoenician sun-god at Carnuntum in *Osterr. Mitth.*, p. 61 ff.
 104, 30. Esquiline. F. Hettner, *De Jove Dolicheno* Bonn, 1877. Marquardt, *StV*, iii², 84, 2.
 104, 40. city. Schaafhausen, *Ueber den römischen Isisdienst am Rhein*, in *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxvi, 1883, p. 31 ff. with pl. i. Arnoldi, *Römischer Isiscult an der Mosel* (finds at Bertrich), *ibid.*, lxxxvii, 1889, p. 33 ff.
 105, 5. significance. Wiedemann, *Die ägypt. Denkmäler d. Prov.*

- Mus. zu Bonn u. d. Mus. Wallraff-Richartz zu Köln, ibid.*, lxxviii, 1884, p. 88 ff. *Ibid.*, lxxxiii, 1887, p. 247 (Egyptian statuettes from Württemberg).
- 105, 4. represented. In the acts of the three martyrs of Nonsberg (*Acta SS.*, xxix Mai, p. 44) the valley of the Anauni is called 'plena Isidis amentia, Serapis fuga'. Jung, *Römer und Romanen*, p. 121, 3.
- 105, 25. Serapis. Marquardt, *StV*, iii^a, 77.
- 105, 27. superstition. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 49.
- 105, 29. unpunished. Sueton., *Domit.*, c. 8.
- 105, 30. temples. Martial, ix, 80, 5.
- 105, 32. divinities. Sueton., *Dom.*, c. 15. Dio, lxvii, 1.
- 106, 4. Capital. Read 'Capitol'. *CIL*, i, 1034 (sac. Isid. Capitolin.).
- 106, 6. Tiberius. Marquardt, *StV*, iii^a, 18 ff. Preller, *RM*, ii^a, 378 f.
- 106, 10. Roman. Minuc. Felix, *Octav.*, 21. Cf. Lafaye, *Hist. des cultes des divinités d'Alexandrie—hors de l'Égypte depuis les origines jusqu'à la naissance de l'école néoplatonicienne* (1884), pp. 262-264.
- 106, 21. pirates. Plutarch, *Pompei.*, c. 24.
- 106, 23. Antonines. Preller, *Röm. Myth.*, ii^a, 412. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 84 f. Cf. also De Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, 1870, pp. 153-168 (*Mithraeum* under the basilica of Clement); *Bull. comun.*, 1873, p. 112 (under the Palazzo Caffarelli).
- 106, 31. comparison. Orig., *C. Cels.*, vi, 23 (αἰδέσθως ἀσημαντότης).
- 107, 2. temples. Plutarch, *De superst.*, 3 and 12.
- 107, 11. contempt. Sueton., *August.*, c. 93.
- 107, 13. Livia. Joseph., *B. J.*, v, 13, 6. Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.*, 23, 40.
- 107, 15. bull. Philo, *ib.*; Schürer, *Neut. Zeitgesch.*, ii^a, 245-248.
- 107, 17. Rome. Schürer, *Neut. Zeitg.*, i, p. 393 f.
- 107, 20. professed. Réville (*La religion à Rome sous les Sévères*, p. 126) referring to the respect in which Egyptian cults were held, remarks that this factor could be neutralized by others; but it must have had some importance.
- 107, 30. goddess. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxiii, 83.
- 107, 38. cults. *Vit. Hadriani*, c. 22.
- 108, 2. ceremonies. *Vit. M. Antonini*, c. 13.
- 108, 5. gods. Juv., *Sat.*, xiii, 46.
- 108, 11. moon-god. Lucian, *Jup. tragoed.*, 7.
- 108, 15. Corybantes. *Id.*, *Icaromenipp.*, 27.
- 108, 39. so forth. *Id.*, *Deor. concil.*
- 109, 17. Apollo. Plutarch, *Qu. conv.*, vii, 2, 2, 1. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands unter den Römern*, ii, 166.
- 109, 23. peoples. Plutarch, *De Is.*, 67.
- 109, 26. names. *Id. ib.*, 66.
- 109, 28. Typhon. *Id. ib.*, 57.
- 109, 35. truth. *Id. ib.*, 31-45.
- 110, 2. truth. *Id. ib.*, 9.
- 110, 3. sphinxes. *Id. ib.*, 11.
- 110, 10. legends. *Id. ib.*, 55.
- 110, 11. worship. *Id. ib.*, 71-75.

- 110, 12. lamentation. *Id. ib.*, 69.
- 110, 14. *sistrum*. *Id. ib.*, 63.
- 110, 35. tragedies. Pausan., i, 3, 2.
- 111, 8. Zeus. *Vit. Alex. Sev.*, c. 17: ο Μάρνα, ο Ιούπας, δι' ἀθανάτων ἐκ. Apparently both apostrophes are meant for the same god.
- 111, 9. Dionysus. Schürer, *Neut. Zeitgesch.*, pp. 378–385, and ii¹, 20. On the cult of Dusaris cf. Lebas-Waddington, p. 478s. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 481; cf. n. on *CIL*, x, 1566. Julian, *Orat.*, 4, p. 150 C.: οἱ τὴν Ἑδέσσαν οἰκοῦντες (Ἑλλήες) Μόμιον καὶ Ἀρτίον συγκαθεδρεύουσιν—Μόμιος μὲν Ἑρμῆς, Ἀρτίος δὲ Ἀρῆς. Cf. p. 154 B. Also the Tyche worshipped in Arabia and Syria, L.-Wadd., 2413 F. must be a Hellenized goddess of the country.
- 111, 13. children. Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, ii, 27, p. 149 sq. ed. Rhoer. Tertullian, *Apol.*, c. 9: Infantes penes Africam immolabantur palam usque ad proconsulatum Tiberii, qui ipsos sacerdotes in eisdem arboribus templi sui obumbraticibus scelerum votivis crucibus exposuit, teste militia patriae nostrae, quae id ipsum munus illi proconsuli functa est. Sed et nunc in occulto perseverat hoc sacrum facinus. Apparently Tiberius (?) had been proconsul shortly before, and the soldiers who took part in the crucifixion of the priests were still alive at the time of Tertullian. Borghesi puts him in the year 657 = 97, because of the SC ne homo immolaretur (in magic rites, cf. Sillig's note), a law which referred only to Rome and Italy. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxx, 12; Tissot, *Fastes des prov. Afric.* (*Bullet. trimestr. des antiq. Afric.*, Juli, 1882, p. 81), agrees with Borghesi.
- 111, 15. god. Henzen, *Inscr. dell' Algeria*, AdI, 1860, p. 83 sq. *CIL*, viii, 4583: Deo frugum Saturno frugifero Aug.; cf. 2666. H., 840 Plutoni Aug. frugifero. 8826 Deo sanc(to) frug(ifero) Aug. Cf. *Eph. ep.*, v, no. 572; 815. It is very unlikely that the 'Saturnus Aug. Achaiae' of *Eph. ep.*, vii, no. 86 ought to be distinguished on account of this designation from the Punic one, considering the slight veneration of Κρόνος in Greece.
- 111, 28. Provence. Seneca, v, 17. Thierry, *H. d. Gaulois*, iii, 289; cf. ii, c. 1.
- 111, 33. preservers. *Eph. ep.*, vii, n. 530: Dis patriis et Mauris conservatoribus.
- 111, 37. Grannus. Dio, lxxvii, 15. Inscription from the city of Rome, *CIL*, vi, 36: Apollini Granno et Sanctae Sironae sacrum.
- 112, 4. Romans. Especially Oriental cults; cf. vol. iii, p. 104. Marucchi, *Il culto delle divinità peregrine nelle nuove iscrizioni degli equites singulares* (northern and eastern), in *Bull. com. d. R.*, 1886, pp. 124–147.
- 112, 7. Medaurus. *CIL*, viii, 2581; cf. iii, p. 285.
- 112, 9. Noreia. *CIL*, viii, 4882.
- 112, 15. Zimidrenus. Mommsen, *CIL*, vi, p. 720, Tituli sacri a praetorianis dedicati: 2797 ss. For the Thracian Heron or Heros cf. O. Hirschfeld, *Epigr. Nachl. zu CIL iv* (1874), p. 41 f. (first Latin stone, at Bucharest). Mommsen, *Add. ad CIL iii*. *Eph. epigr.*, ii, 300, 368. Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, no. 841 (epigram of the year 149 A.D.).

- 112, 17. Camulus. *CIL*, vi, 46: Arduinne Camulo Jovi Mercurio Herculi NN. Remus miles coh. vij.
- 112, 26. people. M. Ihm, *Der Mütter- oder Matronencultus und seine Denkmäler*. *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxxiii, 1887, pp. 1-200, pp. 37, 60-63, 70.
- 112, 30. Suleviae. Siebourg, *De Sulevis Campestribus Fatis*, Bonn, 1886; Ihm, p. 78 ff.
- 112, 32. honours. Henzen, *AdI*, 1860, p. 82. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 622, 2.
- 112, 34. Aulisua. Henzen, *ib.*, p. 82. Inscriptions of Bacax, *CIL*, viii, 5504-5518. Tertullian, *Apol.*, c. 24: Unicuique etiam provinciae et civitati suus deus est, ut Syriae Atergatis, ut Arabiae Dusares, ut Noricis Belenus, ut Africae Caelestis, ut Mauretaniae Reguli sui.
- 112, 36. Harmogius. *CIL*, iii, 4014, 5097s., 5320 (Marti Latobio Harmogio), 5672.
- 113, 2. Jupiter. Caesar, *BG*, vii, 17. Of the deities Mercury and Rosmerta who were so often worshipped together (Ch. Robert, *Epigraphie de la Moselle*, p. 65ss.), the former is apparently always called by the Roman name, the latter never. Cf. also Boissier, *Rel. Rom.*, i, 381s. Desjardins, *Géogr. de la Gaule*, ii, 505, 513. O. Hirschfeld, *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Narbonens. Provinz*, in *Westd. Zeitschr.*, viii, 1889, p. 17 ff. Isis Noreia in Noricum, *CIL*, iii, 4806ss.
- 113, 6. Mars. Hirschfeld, *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Narbonens. Provinz*, in *Westd. Zeitschr.*, 1889, p. 19 (worshipped not only as war-god, but also as protecting genius).
- 113, 7. Proserpina. Huebner, *CIL*, ii, 462.
- 113, 26. Douro. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 68.
- 113, 34. Celtic. *ib.*, 94. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 17 ff.
- 113, 40. Reims. Hettner, *Zur Cultur von Germania u. Gallia Belgica*, in *Westd. Zeitschr.*, ii, 1883, p. 8. Mommsen, *loc. cit.*, p. 94 f. Hirschfeld, *Gallische Studien* (1884), p. 48 f.
- 114, 10. empire. Preller, *Röm. Mythol.*, ii³, 258 f. Representations also in Gruter, 81, 10. Cf. Marquardt, *StV*, ii³, 128, 4.
- 114, 25. bakers. Orelli, 1810 = *CIL*, vi, 22.
- 114, 28. Rome. Mommsen, *CIL*, viii, p. 684.
- 114, 30. city. Renier, *IdA*, 2174 = *CIL*, viii, 7970. Preller, *op. cit.* Hirschfeld, *Philolog.*, xxix, 75, 113. Cf. *CIL*, viii, 7959 (Rusicade): Gen. col. Put. Aug. sac.
- 114, 39. snake. The jinn were also imagined as snakes: Kremer, *Culturgesch. d. Orients*, ii, 257.
- 114, 41. unions. De Rossi, *Bull. com. d. R.*, p. 348: Il genio degli equites singulares è barbato e di tipo peregrino, come coloro il cui munus esso personificava.
- 115, 4. beings. Dis cultoribus hujus loci Ju(lius) Victor. trib. Habitancium (Risingham), *CIL*, vii, 980.
- 115, 4. deserts. Genio devii (Moguntiae), Henzen, 6823.
- 115, 7. goddess. Preller, *op. cit.*, ii³, 195 ff.
- 115, 10. trade. *CIL*, iii, 1351 (vol. i, p. 312).
- 115, 11. paths. Deo qui vias et semitas commentus est. *CIL*, vii, 271.

- 115, 14. lamp. Jerome (d. 420) on Isaiah, c. lvii. Vol. iv, 672 Vallars. In Marquardt, *StV*, iii², 126, 1. *Pril.*, i², 240, 5.
- 115, 17. Christian. *Cod. Theodos.*, xvi, 10, 12 (392): Nullus omnino—secretiore piaculo Larem igne, mero Genium, Penates odore veneratus, accendat lumina, imponat tura, sarta suspendat. Marquardt, *StV*, iii², 126, 2.
- 115, 29. Augustus. Marquardt, *ibid.*, p. 206, 2; cf. p. 463 ff.
- 115, 39. West. Mommsen, *StR*, ii², 2, 755–760. Hirschfeld, *Zur Gesch. d. Röm. Kaisercultus*, in *Sitzungsberichte d. Berliner Acad.*, xxxv, 1888, pp. 833–862.
- 115, 41. demi-gods. C. Keil, *De mortuis publice pro heroibus vel dis ap. Graecos cultis epilogus*, *Anall. epigr. et onomatol.*, pp. 39–63, Lehrs, *Pop. Aufsätze*², p. 320 ff. Marquardt, *StV*, iii², 58, 4.
- 116, 6. god. Plutarch, *Lycurg.*, 31. Keil, p. 46.
- 116, 13. Augustus. Keil, p. 63. Cf. vol. i, p. 83.
- 116, 16. Tyana. Lactant., *Inst. d. v.*, v, 3: cum eum (Apollonium) dicas et adoratum esse a quibusdam sicut deum, et simulacrum ejus sub Herculis Alexicaci nomine constitutum ab Epheisiis etiam nunc honorari.
- 116, 21. Tullia. Lehrs, *op. cit.*, p. 352 ff.
- 116, 25. Epiphanes. Gieseler, *Lehrb. d. Kirchengesch.*⁴, i, 1, 190. According to inscriptions on a tombstone at Ostia, *ann.* 203. (*CIL*, xiv, 324: NN. fil. dulcissimo NN. pater; in latere dextro: NN. pontif. Volk. et aedium sacrar., statuum poni in campo Martis deum infantilem permisi), and *CIA*, iii, 2, 1460 (epitaph on a 5 year old boy: *καὶ ὁ πατήρ με ἀνέστησε ἥρωα συγγενέας*) apparently the souls of deceased children were sometimes worshipped by their relatives.
- 116, 30. paeans. Keil, *op. cit.*, p. 61s.
- 116, 38. Marius. Plutarch, *Mar.*, c. 27.
- 117, 3. impostor. Strabo, vii, pp. 298, 304; xvi, p. 762. Cf. Ihm, *Der Mütter- oder Matronencult.*, *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxxiii, p. 102.
- 117, 3. Mariccus. Tac., *Hist.*, ii, 61. Cf. on Sostratus Lucian, *Demonax*, c. 1; Philostr., *Vitt. soph.*, ii, 1, 12–16.
- 117, 36. subjects. The above follows Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, mostly verbally.
- 117, 40. gods. Veget., *R. m.*, ii, 5: imperatori tamquam praesenti et corporali deo etc.
- 118, 6. comet. Sueton., *C. Jul.*, c. 88.
- 118, 14. visions. *Vit. M. Antonini*, c. 17.
- 118, 21. worshipped. *Vit. Alex. Sev.*, c. 29.
- 118, 27. power. Pausan., viii, 2, 2.
- 118, 28. Antinous. Hegesipp., *apud Euseb.*, *H. e.*, iv, 20.
- 118, 29. Belesticha. Plutarch, *Amator.*, 9, 9.
- 118, 36. Athenagoras. Athenag., *Leg. pro Christo*, 30: *καὶ Ἀντίνους φιλανθρωπία τῶν ὑμετέρων προγόνων πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἐτυχε νομίσσασθαι θεός· οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτοὺς ὀβασανίστως παρεδέξαντο.*
- 118, 40. temple. Orig., *C. Cels.*, iii, 36, p. 132.
- 119, 30. Napoleon. Boissier, *Rel. rom.*, i, 207. Bossuet: 'il faut obéir aux princes comme à la justice même: ils sont des dieux et participent en quelque façon à l'indépendance divine'.

Of the dedication of an equestrian statue in the Place Vendôme Saint Simon says : ' Le duc de Gesvres, gouverneur de Paris, à cheval, à la tête des corps de la ville, y fit les tours, les révérences et autres cérémonies tirées et imitées de la consécration des empereurs romains. Il n'y eut à la vérité ni encens ni victimes : il fallut bien donner quelque chose au titre de roi très-chrétien '. Cf. Döllinger, *Academ. Vortrage*, i, 275. At a feast given by the city of Paris a few years after Napoleon's coronation, over the throne was the inscription in golden letters, ' Ego sum qui sum ', and nobody took offence. *Mém. de Mme. de Rémusat*, ii, 80.

- 120, 14. astray. Orig., *C. Cels.*, iii, 38; iv, 92; v, 2; vii, 69; viii, 31, 62. Justin Martyr, *Apol.*, i, 14. Commodianus, *Instr.*, 13; Lactant., *Div. Inst.*, ii, 14 sqq.; Augustine, *C. D.*, xviii, 8, 2; Gibbon, *History*, ch. xv; Champagny, *Les Antonins*, ii, 290, 1; Soldan-Hoppe, *Gesch. d. Hexenproc-esse* (1880), i, 88-89.
- 121, 7. Lystra. *Acts Apost.*, xiv, 11-18. Hausrath, *Neut. Zeitgesch.*, ii, 545 f., believes the narrative is fictitious. I have proved (*De narratione in Actis Apost.*, loc. cit., *Index Regim. aest.*, 1875) that his reasons are quite invalid. To my mind the narrative bears all the marks of truth.
- 121, 22. Athene. Herodot., i, 60.
- 121, 27. benefactress. Ruffini who has introduced a similar scene in his *Doctor Antonio*, remarks (ed. 1890, p. 187): ' We beg the reader to believe that this is no picture drawn from fancy, but a real sketch from nature. Had not such a scene as we have described, with all the particulars related, come to pass under our own eyes, we should never have ventured to put it on paper.
- 121, 31. Paphlagonia. Lucian, *Alexander*, 9.
- 121, 40. faith. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 7; Dio, lxvi, 8; Tac., *H.*, iv, 81 sq.
- 122, 27. Tyana. Baur, *Apollonius v. Tyana and Christus*, pp. 124, 132, 141. Aubé, *Hist. d. perséc. de l'église*, ii, 462ss. The theory of an intentional contrast is contested by Réville, *Religion à Rome sous les Sévères*, p. 227ss. See also Apollinar. Sidon., *Epp.*, viii, 3, in Teuffel, *RLG*⁴, 428, 1. Lactant., *Instit. div.*, v, 2 and 3.
- 123, 17. victory. Dio, lxxi, 9.
- 123, 28. meant. All the passages in Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, vol. ii, Appendix, p. 23ss. Renan, *Marc Aurèle*, p. 273, 1. Themist., *Or.*, xv, p. 191 B: εἶδον ἐγὼ ἐν γραφῇ εἰκόνα τοῦ ἔργου, τὸν μὲν αὐτοκράτορα προσευχόμενον ἐν τῇ φάλαγγι, τοὺς στρατιώτας δὲ τὰ κράνη τῷ θυμῷ ὑποτιθέοντας κ.τ.λ.
- 123, 30. Jupiter. Themist., *Or.*, xxxiv, c. 21; Claudian, *IV Cons. Honor.*, 342; *Vit. M. Antonini*, c. 24; *Orac. Sibyll.*, xii, 196 ss.; Aubé, i², 365.
- 123, 34. Hermes. Dio, loc. cit.
- 123, 36. legion. Euseb., *H. e.*, v, 5.
- 123, 37. Tertullian. Tertullian, *Apol.*, c. 5. Cf. *Ad Scapulam*, c. 4.
- 123, 40. Celsus. Orig., *C. Cels.*, viii, 45. Cf. Minuc. Felix, *Octav.*, c. 7.

- 125, 8. gift. Zeller, *G. d. Ph.*, iii³, I, 315.
 125, 13. Livy. Livy, xliii, 13.
 125, 29. 51. Nipperdey, *Tacit.*, i³; *Einleitung*, xv.
 125, 33. Bedriacum. *Hist.*, ii, 50.
 126, 25. Augustus. Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 92-97.
 127, 5. happened. Cic., *Div.*, ii, 24; cf. i, 26.
 127, 12. Tiberius. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 63.
 127, 18. employment. Tac., *A.*, xi, 15. The 'ordo haruspicum Augustorum' (in which were men of equestrian rank) probably owed its formation to Claudius. Cf. Marquardt, *St V.*, iii², 410 ff. Dio, lii, 36 (speech of Maecenas) πάντως τινὰς καὶ λεπύττας καὶ ὀλυνιστὰς ἀπ'δείξον, οἷς οἱ βουλόμενοι τι κοινώσασθαι, ἐνέεσσονται.
 127, 20. entrails. Pliny, *N. h.*, viii, 102.
 127, 25. undertaking. Tac., *H.*, i, 27.
 127, 39. concerned. Epictet., *Diss.*, ii, 7; cf. i, 1, 17; iii, 1, 37; iv, 4, 5.
 128, 2. divination. Herodian, viii, 3, 7.
 128, 7. birds. Artemidor., *Onirocr.*, ii, 69.
 128, 13. trial. Pliny, *Epp.*, vi, 2, 2; cf. ii, 20, 4.
 128, 16. feet. Juv., 6, 385-397.
 128, 16. Gordian. Victor, *Caesares*, 26.
 128, 17. Diocletian. *De mort. persec.*, c. 10 sq.
 128, 26. immemorial. Ammian., xxi, 1, 62, 4; cf. xxiii, 5, 10-13; xxv, 6, 1.
 128, 28. multiplied. *Vit. Sept. Sev.*, c. 24; *V. Floriani*, c. 2; *Cod. Theodos.*, xvi, 1, 2, 4, 6; Firmic. Matern., *Math.*, ii, 33: Scire enim te convenit, quod haruspices quotiescumque a privatis interrogati de statu Imperatoris fuerint et quaerenti respondere voluerint, exta semper quae ad hoc fuerint destinata ac venarum ordines, involuta confusione conturbent. Prudent., *C. Symmach.*, ii, 892. Augustine, *C. D.*, iv, 2, 3 (a *haruspex* offers to procure him the prize at a poetic *agon* through witchcraft). Inscriptions, *CIL*, vi, 2161-2168; v, 1, 99; v, 2, 5598, 5704; *Ephem. epigr.*, iv, 111; Brambach, *CIRh*, 769 (haruspices publ., Trèves); 1002 = Henzen, 6024. Cf. Marquardt, *op. cit.*
 128, 35. excludes. Firm. Matern., *Math.*, i, 3: Nos enim timeri deum nos coli facimus.
 128, 37. Panaetius. Zeller, iii, 1, 317, 2.
 128, 41. astrology. Tac., *A.*, vi, 22; cf. iv, 20; *H.*, i, 18.
 129, 5. divinity. Pliny, *N. h.*, ii, 22; cf. vol. iii, p. 89.
 129, 9. fate. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 69.
 129, 27. signs. Strabo, xvii, 1, 43, p. 843 E. Gustav Wolff, *De novissima oraculorum aetate*, p. 1.
 129, 39. distress. Minuc. Felix, *Octav.*, c. 7.
 130, 2. dumb. Arnob., *Adv. Genes.*, i, 1; Euseb., *Praep. evang.*, v, 1; Prudent., *Apotheos.*, 435 sqq.
 130, 7. false ones. Tertullian, *De anima*, c. 46.
 130, 10. intentions. Lactant., *Inst. div.*, ii, 16.
 130, 10. Petrarch. Körting, *Petrarcas Leben und Werke*, p. 613, 1.
 130, 25. Colophon. E. Hübner, *Bericht über eine epigraphische Reise nach England*, in *Monatsber. d. Berl. Acad.*, 1866, p. 791 f.; *CIL*, vii, 633.

- 130, 28. oracle. *CIL*, iii, 2880; viii, 8351. An Oriental at Vasio, who erected there an altar to Bel, τῶν ἐν Ἀραμελᾷ μετοικούντων λαγύων (*CIL*, xii, 1277), probably received the oracle before his immigration.
- 130, 39. repute. G. Wolff, *loc. cit.*
- 131, 15. Mopsus. Plutarch, *De def. oracc.*, c. 45.
- 131, 22. Paphlagonia. Cf. Clinton, *F. Rom.*, ad an. 182. A. v. Sallet, *Ein Lügenpfaffe des Alterthums*, in *Im Neuen Reich*, 1874, p. 292. Ed. Zeller, *Alexander u. Peregrinus, ein Betrüger u. ein Schwärmer*, in *Deutsche Rundschau*, Jan. 1877, p. 62. Fr. Cumont, *Alexandre d'Abonotichos* (*Extr. du T. xl des Mémoires de l'Acad. royale de Belgique*), 1887.
- 131, 23. c. 175. Cumont, p. 528.
- 132, 20. existence. If the catastrophe of P. Aelius Severianus Maximus was brought about by his foolish confidence in the oracle of Alexander, this must have been very much respected (161 A.D.: Napp, *De rebb. imp. M. Aurel. Antonino in oriente gestis* (Bonn, 1879), pp. 15-18). In the passage of Lucian Gutschmid suggests the emendation Ὀσρέου for (ὄνδ τοῦ) Ὀθρυάδου [B. Ὀθρύου] (κατακορεῖς). Mommsen ascribes gross ignorance to Lucian's authority (*RG*, v, 406).
- 133, 9. Rutilianus. Lebas-Waddington, *Voyage en Asie mineure*, p. 734s. *Fastes des provinces Asiatiques*, no. 153. *CIL*, xiv, 3601 (172, p. 40), 4244. Cumont without sufficient reason puts Rutilianus' consulate after 161 (p. 48).
- 133, 16. Victorinus. *Marc. Antonin.*, c. 14. Lebas-Waddington, *op. cit.*; cf. vol. iii, p. 96.
- 133, 19. Avitus. Pausan., x, 36, 1; Mommsen, *RG*, v, 314, 2.
- 133, 21. Rutilianus. Lucian, *Alexand.*, 57, where for αὐτός and ἀνεκτός, the readings of the *codd.*, Ἀούειρος should be read. The inscription *CIG*, 4152d, p. 1113 (Amastris) contains according to the revisions of the elder Mordtmann and G. Hirschfeld and a later copy by Capt. von Diest, the name of the *legat. pr. pr.* Δολλιαῖος Ἀούειρος (*sic*) and the date ἐν τῷ ἔκτῳ ἔτει (229 of the Pompeian era) = 165/6 A.D., as G. Hirschfeld has shown (*Inscriptionen aus dem Norden Kleinasien*, in *Sitzungsber. der Berliner Acad.*, xxxv, 1888, p. 875 f.). In the year 169 Avitus was no longer governor of Bithynia. Cumont, p. 50, 4.
- 133, 22. epidemic. Vol. i, p. 28.
- 133, 31. oracles. Athenagoras (wrote between 177 and 180), c. 26.
- 133, 39. Abonuteichos. Eckhel, *D. N.*, ii, 383. Cumont, p. 53. (The last coins with the name Abonuteichos and the portrait of Antoninus Pius, the first with Ionopolis and the portrait of L. Verus.)
- 133, 40. Ineboli. Renan, *L'église chrétienne*, p. 429, 5.
- 134, 3. penetrated. Cumont, p. 428.
- 134, 5. Africa. *Eph. ep.*, v, 545, 1247 (Thubursicum Bure): Draconi Aug. sacrum. *Ib.*, viii, n. 741 (Mascula): numini- (bus ny)mpharum et Draconis. Quite enigmatical is *CIL*, viii, 9326 (Caesarea): Deo manu (? numini?) | Draconis | M. Iunius (Asclepia) | des | v. s. l. m. Does this refer to the serpent of Aesculapius?

- 134, 7. command. *CIL*, iii, 1021, 1022.
- 134, 9. Alexander. Mommsen, *Ephem. epigr.*, ii, p. 331, no. 493. Cf. also *CIL*, vi, 112 (*CIL*, vi, 143 = Orelli, 1797: 'Sanctis draconibus' is unconnected; cf. note).
- 134, 11. Lucian. Amulets on which the figure of Glycon is to be recognized with more or less probability in Cumont, pp. 43-45.
- 134, 19. serpents. Dio, lxxii, 7; cf. vol. ii, p. 275.
- 134, 24. Aristotle. Zeller, ii², 2, 424 and 625.
- 134, 24. Democritus. *Ib.*, i², 644.
- 134, 29. undecided. Pliny, *N. h.*, x, 211.
- 134, 29. later. *Id. ib.*, xxv, 17.
- 134, 41. divinity. Vol. iii, p. 87 f.
- 135, 9. Origen. Orig., *C. Cels.*, i, 48.
- 135, 15. Felix. Minuc. Fel., *Octav.*, c. 7.
- 135, 24. impure. Tertullian, *De anima*, c. 46 sqq.
- 135, 35. mathematics. Galen, ed. K., ii, 812.
- 135, 36. Germany. Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 5.
- 135, 39. profession. Sprengel, *Gesch. d. Medicin*, ii, 136; cf. 145a, Galen, vi, 833; Daremberg, *La médecine, histoire et doctrine*, p. 948.
- 136, 3. of itself. Galen, ed. K., xvi, 222.
- 136, 4. birds. *Id. ib.*, xv, 443 sqq.
- 136, 10. own. Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 18.
- 136, 15. coins. Sueton., *August.*, c. 91. (Dio doubts it.)
- 136, 18. blood-spitting. Marc. Antonin., *Commentat.*, i, 17.
- 136, 21. bronze. Herodian, ii, 9.
- 136, 22. graciously. Dio, lxxii, 23.
- 136, 25. ear. *Id.*, lxxiv, 3; cf. *Vit. Severi*, c. 3.
- 136, 30. immortality. Dio, lxxii, 23.
- 136, 32. literature. Tertullian, *De anima*, c. 46. Artemidorus, *Onicror.*, ed. Reiff., i, pp. 441-446.
- 136, 41. famous man. Artemidorus, iii, 66 sq.
- 137, 4. descent. Aristid., *Ad Capitonem*, p. 315 Jebb, ed. Dindorf, ii, 415. Artemidor., ii, 70 sq. Cf. *Progr. Acad. Alb.*, 1868, v, p. 4. O. Hirschfeld's supposition in his preface to the translation of Artemidorus by S. Kraus (Vienna, 1881), that Cassius Maximus is identical with the philosopher Maximus of Tyre, is in my opinion not plausible (Gomperz, *Zeitschr. f. österr. Gymnas.*, 1881, p. 501).
- 137, 6. palmistry. Cf. Diels, *Atacta*, in *Hermes*, xxiii, 1888, p. 287 f. (Galen, xv, 444 K; 'Ἀρτεμιδώρου τοῦ Φωκᾶ ἄλλων τε τινῶν οὐκ οἰκιστῶν ἐνδόξων βιβλίου).
- 137, 15. thanksgiving. Artemidor., iv, 2, ed. Reiff., p. 318 sq. and i, *prooem.*, *init.*
- 137, 28. language. Artemidor., i, *prooem.*; ii, 60 and 70.
- 137, 32. dreams. *Id.*, iv, 63 and 23.
- 137, 39. degree. *Id.*, ii, *prooem.*
- 138, 12. Isis. Α λιχνάπτρια καὶ ονειροκρίτης apparently of Isis, *CIA*, iii, 162.
- 138, 19. cure. Aristid., *Or.*, xviii, ed. Dind., i, p. 413.
- 138, 31. heal. Orig., *C. Cels.*, iii, 24.
- 138, 33. places. Arist., *Or.*, vii, ed. Dind., i, p. 78.

- 138, 36. daylight. Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 802 (where, however, *πᾶσι γὰρ [ἐν τεκέ]εσσιν ἐμοῖς ἀνα[φ]ανδὸν ἐπέστης* gives no sense).
- 139, 5. prescriptions. Artemidor., iv, 22.
- 139, 39. letters. Aristid., *Or.*, vi, p. 39 J. Cf. Baumgart, *Aristides*, pp. 50-55.
- 140, 3. used. Galen, ed. K., vi, 41; *ib.*, 869: ἀλλὰ τοῦτον μὲν ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς ἰάσατο.
- 140, 6. fortnight. Vol. i, p. 174.
- 140, 10. emperor. Galen, Π. τ. ἰδίων βιβλίων, c. ii, xix, 19.
- 140, 12. Greece. B. Schmidt, *Volksleben der Griechen*, p. 77 f.
- 141, 10. departed. Καββαδίας, *Ἐφημερίς ἀρχαιολ.*, 1883, p. 197; 1885, p. 1. K. Zacher, *Zu den Heilurkunden von Epidaurus*, in *Hermes*, xxi, 473. Wilamovitz, *Hippys von Rhegion*, in *Hermes*, xix, 441. *Id.*, *Isyllos von Epidaurus*, in *Philol. Untersuch.*, ix, 1886, pp. 116-124. Diels, *Antike Heilwunder*, in *Nord und Süd*, Jan. 1888, p. 29 ff. That Apellas was a sophist is not proved by his φιλολογεῖν. An inscription of a ΤΙ. Κλαύδιος Σεουήρος, in *Ἐφημ. ἀρχ.*, 1883, p. 237; an inscription of the temple of Aesculapius on the Tiber island, *CIG*, 5980.
- 141, 27. ear. P. Bortolotti, *Iscriz. votive a Minerva Cabardiacense*, in *BdI*, 1867, p. 219ss. (3, 4), 237ss. (6, 8), *CIL*, xi, 1, 1292-1309.
- 141, 31. vault. Gatti, *Trovamenti risguardanti la topografia e la epigrafia urbana*, in *Bull. com. d. R.*, 1887, p. 154ss., and *Visconti, Trovamenti di oggetti d'arti etc.*, *ibid.*, p. 192 (1-36 list of votive offerings). Cicero, *De Divinat.*, ii, 59, 123, had already said: Et sine medico medicinam dabit Minerva; Musae scribendi legendi ceterarum artium scientiam somniantibus non dabunt?
- 141, 38. lady. Orelli, 1518 = *CIL*, iv, 68; cf. Wilmanns, 71 (Bonae deae oclatae: similarly Ἀρτεμὶς Θερμὰ εὐάκοος in Lesbos, *Hermes*, vii, 411). Μητρὶ θεῶν εὐαντήτῃ λατρεῖν εὐχάν, *CIA*, 134; cf. 137.
- 142, 5. worshipped. Lehrs, *Pop. Aufs.*, p. 158 ff.
- 142, 13. Asclepius. Aristid., *Or.*, vi, in *Aesculap.*, ed. Dind., i, p. 68.
- 142, 18. Pan. Lebas-Waddington, 1891-94.
- 142, 18. Leto. *Id.*, 1273.
- 142, 19. Carthage. Cf. e.g. *Eph. ep.*, v, p. 457, no. 948 (inscription of Ausia in Mauretania).
- 142, 27. deserve. Pausan., viii, 37, 8.
- 142, 35. erected. Lebas-Waddington, 519s. The temple of Zeus Panamaros with 400 inscriptions was discovered by Deschamps and Cousin, *Inscr. du temple de Z. P.*, in *Bull. de corr. Hellén.*, xi, 1887, pp. 373-391.
- 142, 37. observed. Cf. vol. iii, p. 116.
- 143, 2. Antinous. Cf. vol. iii, p. 118.
- 143, 5. physician. G. Hirschfeld, *Zwei athenische Inschriften welche den ἥπως λατρός angehn*, in *Hermes*, viii, 350 ff. Cf. A. Michaelis, in *Archäol. Zeitg.*, N. F., viii, 48 f.
- 143, 8. fever. Lucian, *Scytha*, 2.
- 143, 11. panegyric. Plutarch, *Flaminin.*, c. 16.

- 143, 13. Alexandria. For the priest of Alexander at that place cf. Wilcken, in *Hermas*, xxiii, 1888, p. 602 f.
- 143, 13. places. Lebas-Waddington, 57, 58 (Erythrae), 490 (Bargylia), 496, 57: *ἑπτά θεῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου*—T. Φλ. *Ἀδρήλιον* Ἀλέξανδρου. *Vit. Alex. Sev.*, c. 5: in templo dicato apud Arce-nam urbem Alexandro Magno natus—die festo Alexan-dri.
- 143, 17. Virgin. Procop., *De aediff.*, vi, 2; ed. D., iii, 333.
- 143, 21. sicknesses. Pausan., vi, 11, 2.
- 143, 29. garlands. Athenagoras, c. 26 (Lobeck., *Aglaopham.*, p. 1171). Lebas-Waddington, p. 703.
- 143, 34. gifts. For 'were . . . put to death' read 'perished miserably'. Lucian, *Philopseud.*, 18–22.
- 144, 26. good. Zeller, iii^a, i, 290 f.
- 144, 30. body. Juv., 10, 346 sqq.
- 144, 33. temples. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 3.
- 144, 40. protection. Fronto, *Ad M. Caes. et inv.*, v, 25, Naber 83: Pro Faustina mane cotidie deos appello: scio enim me pro tua salute optare et precari.
- 145, 7. Martial. Martial, viii, 24, 5, 6.
- 145, 19. sail. Plutarch, *De superst.*, c. 8.
- 145, 33. alike. Lebas-Waddington, 686 (Gordus): . . . Ἐλπίς Ἀρδανίου εὐχαμένη ὡς τοῦ ἡμῶν ἐρχέσθαι. *CIL*, viii, 2232–2236 (Mascula): Saturno Aug. de pecoribus (i.e. ob pecora) v.s.l.a.
- 146, 13. chapel. Orelli, 1523 = *CIL*, xiv, 3530 (88 A.D.).
- 146, 13. frequently. Mommsen, *Eph. epigr.*, iv, 1881, p. 260, no. 723^a: Bona dea inter deas eodem fere loco est, quem inter deos obtinet genius loci et ad aedificia potissimum refertur (cf. the inscriptions quoted and Preller, *RM*, i^a, 404 f.).
- 146, 18. divinity. Weisbrodt, *Griech. und latein. Inschr. v. d. Untermosel, in Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxvii, 1884, p. 48.
- 146, 24. Meles. *CIG*, 3165.
- 146, 27. power. *Eph. ep.*, v, 443, no. 900 (civitas Celtianensium); also Appendix liv, p. 294.
- 146, 33. condition. Brambach, *CIRh*, 43 = Orelli, 2029; cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii^a, 635, 4.
- 146, 39. prayer. Orelli, 1613 = *CIL*, xii, 103 (where Hirschfeld explains l. 2 differently). Cf. *CIL*, ix, 2164 (Silvano—quotæ et suos incolumes habet).
- 146, 39. Silvanus. Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldculte*, ii, 121.
- 147, 9. inscriptions. Mone, *Gesch. d. Heidentums im nördl. Europa*, p. 416 ff. Mommsen, on *CIL*, v, i, 732; numen proprie Carnicum, non Noricum. *CIL*, v, i, 1827 (Julium Carnicum): restoration of his temple.
- 147, 18. credible. Herodian, vii, 3, 3; *Vit. Maximini*, c. 22.
- 147, 31. essences. Apulei., *Florida*, i, 1.
- 147, 34. adoration. Vol. i, p. 380 ff.
- 147, 37. kind. Orelli, 1650; cf. 1651, 469.
- 147, 40. gods. *CIL*, i, 623.
- 148, 2. Urbssalvia. Orelli, 1870.
- 148, 5. Nemausus. Herzog, *Gallia Narb.*, App. 240 = *CIL*, xii, 3072.

- 148, 14. Nile. Vol. i, p. 362 ff. Franz, *Elem. epigr.*, 336 sqq.; *CIG*, 4832 sqq.
- 148, 18. temple. *CIG*, iii, 5042 sq.; cf. 5039. Greek and Latin *Proskynemata* at the temple of Baal Markod in Phoenicia at the time of Severus: Lebas-Waddington, 1855-1863a.
- 148, 22. Julia. Orelli, 1580.
- 148, 31. nitre-springs. *CIL*, x, 6786, p. 679; Preller, *RM*, ii³, 145, 5. *CIL*, iii, 1396 sq. (Thermae of Zazwaros); *Devotio* to the *Nymphae* of the *aquae serventes* (found in the spring of Poggio Bagnoli) Wilmanns, *E. I.*, 2749 = *CIL*, xi, 1, 1823.
- 148, 34. others. Ihm, *Mütter- oder Matronencultus*, in *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxxiii, 94 f.
- 148, 36. fire. Henzen, 5689.
- 148, 39. springs. Orelli, 1560 sq.
- 149, 3. Lymfa. *IRN*, 7146 (aliena).
- 149, 7. spring. Orelli, 1632, 1634, 1637; *CIL*, v, 1, 3106; *ib.*, iii, 3047 (Nymphis Aug.—pro salute municipii balneo effecto).
- 149, 9. Lambaesis. Henzen, 5758a.
- 149, 12. storms. *CIL*, viii, 9180.
- 149, 17. Numidian. Read 'Nimidian'. Herzog, *Gall. Narb.*, App., 283 (Henzen, *Bull.*, 1862, p. 142s.). Hirschfeld, *VG*, p. 73, 3.
- 149, 20. boar. Orelli, 1603 = *CIL*, vii, 451.
- 149, 22. timber-merchants. Orelli, 4278 = *CIL*, v, 1, 815: Silvano sacrum sectorēs materiarum Aquileienses. *CIL*, xi, 1, 363 (Arimini): Silvano Aug. sacrum NN. negotians materiar. d.d. In rocky Dalmatia Silvanus appears as Pan; the votive-reliefs of Pan and the nymphs are specially characteristic of Dalmatia, Schneider, *Oesterreich. Mith.*, ix (1885), pp. 36-47.
- 149, 29. skin. *CIL*, ii, 2660.
- 149, 33. shirt. *CIL*, ii, 462.
- 149, 38. temple. Hübner, *Das Heiligthum des Nodon*, in *Bonner Jahrb.*, lvii (1879), p. 29 ff.
- 150, 4. grant. Chthonic deities invoked in curses: Lebas-Waddington, 1499.
- 150, 10. angels. Tertullian, *De anima*, c. 37: nos officia divina angelos (*l. angelis*) credimus.
- 150, 16. Statina. *Id. ib.*, c. 39.
- 150, 19. Celtic. Jordan, *De Genii et Eponas picturis Pompei.*, in *AdI*, 1872, p. 49ss.
- 150, 24. existence. Preller, *RM*, ii³, 227 f. Cf. Ihm, *Mütter- und Matronencultus*, in *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxxiii, 1887, p. 56, 2. The continuance of the cult of Epona (and Cloacina) is attested by Prudent., *Apoth.*, 197.
- 150, 26. Mefitis. Preller, *ibid.*, p. 144 f. 'Quartana' in a votive inscription of Nemausus, *CIL*, xii, 3129 (Quartane votum reddet (*sic*) libens merito Byrria Severilla) Hirschfeld believes to be the goddess of the quantan age.
- 150, 37. Mars. *E.g.* Orelli, 1348.
- 150, 37. Neptune. *Id.*, 1336.
- 150, 39. profits. *Id.*, 1404; *CIL*, ix, 3307 (erection of a statue of Mercury in an *atrium auctionarium*).
- 150, 40. Minerva. The very numerous monuments dedicated to

- Minerva along the whole *limes* are only exceeded in number by those of Mercury: Keller, *Vicus Aureli*, p. 25.
- 150, 40. Ceres. Horace, *S.*, ii, 2, 124.
- 150, 41. Lucina. Tertullian, *De anima*, c. 39.
- 151, 5. Eros. Plutarch, *Amator.*, c. 2, 1.
- 151, 10. sickness. Lobeck., *Aglaoph.*, p. 1172.
- 151, 12. god. Henzen-Orelli, Index, p. 31 sq.
- 151, 15. rain. Petron., *Sat.*, 44; Preller, *RM*, i², 194, 2.
- 151, 20. Poeninus. Livy, xxi, 38 sq.
- 151, 25. Jovis. Saussure, *Voy. d. l. Alpes*, iv, 189ss.
- 151, 27. passes. Nissen, *Ital. Landeskunde*, p. 160.
- 151, 30. travellers. Ex Galliae parte septentrionali Germaniisque Raetiaque: Mommsen, *CIL*, v, 2, 761. Cf. H. Meyer, *Die röm. Alpenstrassen in der Schweiz*, in *Mitth. d. antiq. Ges. zu Zürich*, xiii, 19 ff.
- 151, 32. return. Promis, *Antichità d'Aosta*, p. 61 ss.; *CIL*, v, 2, 6865-6895.
- 151, 34. destinies. Orelli, 1269 = *CIL*, iii, 1, 1090.
- 151, 36. danger. Lebas-Waddington, 2573 (Palmyra): *Δὲ Ὑψίστῳ* (husband and wife) — *εὐξάμενοι καὶ ἐπακονοθέντες*. *CIL*, iii, 1918 (Novae in Dalmatia): J.O.M. NN. centurio—hoc in loco majestate et numine ejus servatus etc.
- 151, 41. health. Orelli, 1267.
- 152, 3. Brescia. Henzen-Orelli, 5619 = *CIL*, v, 1, 4241 (224 A.D.).
- 152, 7. Troceni. Lebas-Waddington, 1192 = Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 793 (apparently 163 A.D.).
- 152, 11. Dacia. *CIL*, iii, 1, 1504.
- 152, 22. preserver. Orelli, 3726.
- 153, 10. events. Juv., 13, 86.
- 153, 14. intelligence. Philo, T. i, p. 262 Pfeiff.
- 153, 17. Providence. Tac., *A.*, vi, 22.
- 153, 32. superstition. Plutarch, *De superstitione*, c. 13.
- 153, 35. Tyre. See vol. iii, p. 93.
- 154, 4. godlessness. Apulei., *De deo Socrat.*, ed. Oudendorp, ii, 122.
- 154, 18. barbarians. Lucian, *Jup. Tragoed.*, in f.
- 155, 11. gifts. Minuc. Fel., c. 7.
- 155, 34. unintelligible. Quintilian, i, 6, 40.
- 156, 2. 382. Marquardt, *StV*, iii², 433, 1.
- 156, 6. Rome. Mommsen, *CIL*, i, 362.
- 156, 9. cross. Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldculte*, ii, p. xxxvii.
- 156, 13. spring. *Ibid.*, p. 265 ff.
- 156, 16. contended. *Ibid.*, ii, p. 315. Cf. *id.*, *Mythol. Forschungen*, in *Nachlass*, pp. 159 f., 192-197.
- 156, 20. Mary. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, 446, 1.
- 156, 24. association. The following chiefly (in part verbally) from Mommsen, *Ueber die römischen Ackerbrüder*, in *Grenzboten*, 1870, i, p. 161 ff.
- 156, 38. metal. Henzen, *Acta fr. Arval.*, p. 132; Marquardt, *StV*, iii², 447 ff.; Jordan, *Topographie*, i, 396.
- 157, 36. Celtic. *CIL*, v, 1, 725 (Aerecura), 763, 1809, 4935 (Cautus Pates), 4297 (Alus), 4200ss. (Bergimus) etc.
- 157, 36. Raetian. *Ib.*, p. 390 (Cuslanus, Jupiter Feluennis).

- 157, 38. Bolsena. *CIL*, xi, 1, 2686 (Volsinii), Dis deabusq. Primitivus deae Nort. ser. act. ex voto.
- 157, 39. Sejanus. Preller, *RM*, i³, 189, 2; Juv., 10, 74.
- 158, 1. Nortia. Teuffel, *RLG*⁴, 420, 1.
- 158, 4. Feronia. Marquardt, *StV*, iii³, 33, 6.
- 158, 5. Italy. Preller, *ibid.*, i³, 426 ff.; Henzen-Orelli, *Ind.*, p. 27; Lanciani, *BdI*, 1870, p. 26ss.; *CIL*, i, 776; vi, 1468.
- 158, 10. Veline lake. Preller, i³, 408; Horace, *Epp.*, i, 10, 49; *CIL*, ix, 4636, 4751.
- 158, 16. Sutrium. Tertullian, *Apol.*, 24; *Ad Nation.*, ii, 8.
- 158, 18. Hadrian. Preller, *ibid.*, 280; *CIL*, ix, 2594 = Orelli, 1852. Cf. in the same work, p. 502, Mommsen on the name of the city.
- 158, 19. quarters. Feast of Juno at Falerii, *ibid.*, 280; of Diana at Nemi, 316.
- 158, 25. slaves. Pausan., ii, 27, 4; Preller, 315.
- 158, 33. ground. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands u. d. Herrschaft der Römer*, ii, 477 ff.
- 159, 6. animals. Pausan., vii, 18, 7.
- 159, 20. Dionysus. *Id.*, vii, 19, 20.
- 159, 28. lot. *Id.*, vii, 25, 8.
- 159, 40. Medea. *Id.*, ii, 11, 6; 12, 1.
- 160, 10. temple. *Id.*, ii, 31, 5; 32, 1.
- 160, 23. blows. *Id.*, iii, 16; Plutarch, *Lycurg.*, c. 18, 2.
- 160, 25. altar. Lebas-Waddington, ii, 175b (Sparta): ἡ πόλις τὸν ἀξιολογώτατον καὶ εὐγενέστατον καὶ ἀνδρείωτατον Μ. Αἰῶ. Κλεώνυμον τὸν καὶ Ὑμνον Βωμονεῖκην ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα.
- 160, 27. flogged. Pausan., viii, 23, 1.
- 160, 37. election. Plutarch, *Qu. Gr.*, 38; Hertzberg, *op. cit.*, p. 259.
- 160, 38. Cyprus. Lactant., *Inst. div.*, i, 21 *init.*
- 161, 2. Rome. Cf. also *Confessio S. Cypriani* (bishop of Antioch, who is said to have suffered martyrdom under Claudius or Diocletian) concerning the mysteries and different kinds of divination of that time. Preller, *Beitrag z. Religionsg. d. Alterth.*, in *Philologus*, i, 349. For the survival of old cults in the fourth century, see Hertzberg, *op. cit.*, iii, 310 f.
- 161, 8. times. Cf. vol. iii, p. 102 f.
- 161, 12. islands. Hertzberg, *op. cit.*, ii, 267 ff., 485. Isis worship already in Athens c. 350, iii, 120 (Köhler, *Hermes*, v, 371 ff.).
- 161, 13. Atergatis. G. Hirschfeld, *Delos (Deutsche Rundschau)*, xli, October 1884, p. 113).
- 161, 16. Thera. Preller, *RM*, ii³, 411, 3.
- 161, 23. ascendancy. I cannot agree with Mommsen's opinion, *RG*, v, 257, that this age had long lost the old national religion, which 'became more and more the special possession of the learned class', nor can I find any support for this view in the passage he quotes from Plutarch, *Praec. ger. reip.*, 30.
- 161, 28. Demonax. Lucian, *Demonax*, 11.
- 162, 2. garlands. Apulei., *Apol.*, ed. Oudend., ii, p. 518 sq.
- 162, 11. wish. Martial, x, 92.
- 162, 20. prayers. Prudent., *C. Symmach.*, i, 188 sqq.
- 162, 25. senator. Vol. i, p. 131 f.

- 162, 30. return. Seneca, *Beneff.*, iii, 27.
 162, 32. mentioned. Vol. iii, p. 96.
 162, 38. gift. On the *stipes* cf. Marquardt, *StV*, iii², 143, 3; 369, 5; 385, 3; 456, 2; *CIL*, iv, 7; Allmer et Terrebasse, *Inscr. de Vienne*, iii, 533 = *CIL*, xii, 2388: *Matris Aug. ex stipe annua don. xxxv et. d.*
 162, 41. Minor. Mommsen, *StR.*, ii², 66 f.; Dionys. Halic., *Ant. Rom.*, ii, 24; Tertullian, *Ad nat.*, i, 10; *Apol.*, 13, 42; Lebas-Waddington, ii, p. 124 ad 243 (Gythion). Lehmann, *Quaestiones sacerdotales*, P. i., *De titulis ad sacerdotiorum apud Graecos venditionem pertinentibus* (Regimonti, 1888). Sale of the priesthood, *μυστῶν θεῶν τῶν ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ—χρυσῶν ἐπὶ χαλκῶν ἐξήκοντα*. Tocilescu, *Inscriften aus d. Dobrudscha, in Oesterreich. Mittheilungen*, vi, 1882, p. 8.
 163, 1. Ptolemies. Wilcken, *Kaisersl. Tempelverwaltung in Aegypten*, in *Hermes*, xxiii, p. 592 ff.
 163, 2. existence. Henzen, 6113 = *CIL*, vi, 820.
 163, 11. Christians. Pliny, *Ad Tr.*, 96, 10; Mommsen, in *Hermes*, iii, 50, 3.
 163, 15. months. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 14.
 163, 17. oxen. Prudent., *C. Symmach.*, i, 215 sqq. List of eight animals sacrificed by two priests of Saturn to eight gods: *CIL*, viii, 8246 sq.
 163, 28. visitors. Lucret., v, 1161–1168.
 163, 33. individuals. Marquardt, *StV*, iii², 67.
 163, 35. eighty-two. *RGDA*², p. 86 (nullo praetermisso quod eo tempore refici debebat). Under Tiberius another restoration was necessary. Tac., *A.*, ii, 49.
 164, 5. dream. *E.g.* Orelli, 1344, 1790.
 164, 9. building. *E.g.* 100,000 HS for a temple of the *Dea Calva* (Gerolstein in the district of Trier) 124 A.D. Henzen, 5681 = Brambach, *CIRh*, 853. For a temple at Gabii A.D. 140 in tutela et orationibus (sic) 5000 sest.; *CIL*, xiv, 2795.
 164, 13. Aricia. Appian, *B. C.*, v, 24: *ἐν αἷς μάλιστα πόλεσι καὶ νῦν εἰσι θησαυροὶ χρημάτων ἱερῶν θαυλεῖς*. *CIL*, xiv, 3679, 3679a = Dessau, *Dus Inscr. Tiburtine*, AdI, 1882, p. 116 sqq. (sub thes-[auro] Herculis et Augus[torum]).
 164, 16. towns. Orelli, 781 (*Ummidia Quadratilla*), vol. i, p. 116 (Pliny); vol. i, p. 46 (Cleander etc.); cf. vol. ii, p. 249.
 164, 22. Tiber. Mommsen, *Tituli Ostienses P. Lucilii Gamalae*, in *Ephem. epigr.*, iii, 319ss.; *CIL*, xiv, 375, 376.
 164, 24. Sassina. Martial, ix, 58.
 164, 27. Apollo. Henzen-Or., 6124, 6126. Other examples *CIL*, xiv, 2795; viii, 1574 (Mustis, prov. proc. 164 A.D., a temple for 70,000 S.); 993 (col. Julia Karpis): a temple praised by a 'flaminica divae Plotinae'; maritus et filius (aedem) suo sumptu a solo aedificatam d.d. marmoribus et museis (cf. *ib.*, 2657, 209/211 A.D. marmoribus et musaeo) et statua Pudicitiae et thorace Caelestis Augustae ornaverunt.
 164, 30. estates. Vol. i, p. 116.
 164, 31. sanctuaries. *E.g.* Orelli, 1515; Henzen, 5669 etc.
 164, 33. kitchens. *IRN*, 5435 = *CIL*, ix 3075 (Sulmo); *ib.*, xiv,

- 3543 = Or., 2006 (Tibur) Herculi Saxano sacr.—aedem zothecam culinam; *ib.*, viii, 1267 (Chisiduo):—aram et ollam aer. caldar. et urceum et lucernam.
- 164, 33. capitals. Lebas-Waddington, 1881 = Orelli, 1951 (Helio-polis): capita columnarum duo aerea auro inluminata).
- 164, 39. Felicitas. *IRN*, 1092 = *CIL*, ix, 1154.
- 165, 1. accessories. *IRN*, 4093 = *CIL*, x, 6102.
- 165, 7. Scaevola. *D.*, xxxiv, 3, 38, § 2.
- 165, 12. Vienne. See Appendix liii, p. 287.
- 165, 15. beard. *Pers.*, 2, 55, ed. Jahn, p. 134.
- 165, 15. Corfinium. *IRN*, 534 = *CIL*, ix, 3146. Cf. *Lucian, Philops.*, 19. Partial gilding and silvering of a sacred picture in modern Greece: B. Schmidt, *Volksleben der Neugriechen*, p. 72 f.
- 165, 21. clothing. Gatti, *Iscr. di Segni*, in *BdI*, 1883, pp. 190–192: (A)urunceia Sp. f. Acte mag(istra sc. collegii Bonae deae) Bone (sic) deae tunicas duas et palliolum raras Calleinas (Calenas?) et lucerna aerea (sic) d.d.
- 165, 31. gifts. Sueton., *Galba*, c. 4 and 18.
- 165, 35. expense. *IRN*, 6314 = *CIL*, x, 1599.
- 165, 38. weight. Orelli, 1484 = *CIL*, xi, 1, 358. Cf. note.
- 166, 6. tablet. Orelli, 1572 = *CIL*, xii, 354.
- 166, 14. shoes. Orelli, 2510 = *CIL*, ii, 3386.
- 166, 16. temples. E.g. Pliny, *Ep.*, iii, 6; Letronne, *Sur l'usage des anciens de consacrer la statue d'un dieu à un autre dieu*, in *Rev. archéol.*, i, 439ss. Allmer et Terrebasce, *Inscr. ant. de Vienne*, iii, 355: Castori et Polluci—Apollin(em) ex stipe dupla.
- 166, 22. pictures. *IRN*, 5 = *CIL*, x, 6. Cf. the interesting catalogue of offerings in two temples of Isis and Bubastis (in the enclosure of the temple of Diana at Nemi): Henzen, *Scavi di Nemi*, *BdI*, 1871, p. 53ss. = *CIL*, xiv, 2215.
- 166, 25. mentioned. *CIL*, xiv, 3, 8, 21, 34, 35, 36, 69, 71, 72 (clupeum argent. cum imagine aurea) 119 (offerings of 1 to 15 pounds of silver, all at Ostia). *Ib.*, 2861 (11½ pounds, a votive offering, for the Fortuna at Praeneste).
- 166, 28. sesterces. *RGDA*³, p. 88.
- 166, 31. silver. *CIL*, xiv, 2088 = Orelli, 2503.
- 166, 32. considerations. Figures of Artemis and her stags in gold and silver, weighing 3 to 7 pounds were given by Salutaris, 104 A.D.; Wood, *Ephesus*, in Newton-Imelmann, *Die Griechischen Inschriften*, pp. 41, 50. Silver Victories at Olbia etc., see n. on vol. ii, p. 263, 20. Synopsis (inventory) of 'res sacrae Cirtensium': *CIL*, viii, 6981–6984 (among them 'argenteum in Kapitolio ex HS CCCXII'). *CIL*, ix, 4512 = *IRN*, 5751 (ager Amiterninus: 100 pounds of silver bequeathed by will by the mother of C. Brutius Praesens, consul in 180).
- 166, 38. posts. Tertullian, *Apol. adv. gentes*, c. 29; *De corona*, c. 11; *Arnob.*, vi, 20. In Clemens Rom., *Homil.*, x, 8: θεοῦς—ὑπὸ κυνῶν φρουρούμενους, ὑπ' ὀχλῶν φυλασσόμενους P. de Lagarde (*Clementina*, pp. 102, 127) rightly emends to ὑπὸ μόχλων. Cf. *Recognit.*, v, 15: sicque et a furibus canum vigiliis et claus-trorum munitionibus conservantur.

- 167, 4. Smyrna. For 'the Mother of the Gods from Sipylus at Smyrna' read 'the Nemesis at Smyrna'. Jahn's emendation: *Matrem Deorum Sipylenen, Nemesim, quae Smyrnae colitur*, has been rightly adopted by P. Krüger (*Coll. libr. jur. Antejustiniani*, ed. Krüger, Mommsen, Studemund, ii, pp. 24, 26).
- 167, 5. Carthage. Ulpian, *Fragm.*, xxii, 6 (Huschke, *Jurisprud. Antejustin.*⁵, p. 597).
- 167, 11. annually. *D.*, xxxiii, 1, 20, § 1.
- 167, 16. face. Zeller, iii^a, 1, 292.
- 167, 26. God. Max. Tyr., *Diss.*, viii.
- 167, 32. Panagias. B. Schmidt, *Volkst. d. Neugriechen*, p. 49; Welcker, *Gr. Götterlehre*, ii, 121; Grimm, *D. Mythol.*, *Vorr.*, xxxiii.
- 167, 41. agriculture. B. Schmidt, *Demeter in Eleusis*, and Fr. Lenormant, *N. Rhein. Mus.*, 1876, p. 278 f.; Cic., *Verr.*, iv, 51, 114. For the veneration of the images of Greek deities in the Middle Ages cf. Sathas, *Docum. inéd. relat. à l'hist. de la Grèce au moyen âge*, i. Série, T. i (1880), p. xiv.
- 168, 2. devout. Lucret., i, 316 with Munro's note (where Cic., *Verr.*, iv, 43, 94 is quoted). Eunap., *Vitt. sophist.*, 148: καὶ τὰ στέφρα τοῦ σοφιστοῦ περιλιχυσάμενοι καθάπερ ἀγάλματος ἐνθού πάντες αἱ παρόντες, αἱ μὲν πόδας αἱ δὲ χεῖρας προσεκύνουν, αἱ δὲ θεὸν ἔφασαν, αἱ δὲ Ἑρμοῦ λογίου τύπον.
- 168, 4. hearing. Seneca, *Epp.*, 41, 1.
- 168, 5. secret. Jahn, on Pers., 2, 4 sqq.
- 168, 8. desires. Intpp. on Juv., 10, 55 and on Apulei., *Apol.*, 515, Oudend.
- 168, 10. saints. Rückert, *Culturgesch. des deutschen Volkes*, iii, 196 f.
- 168, 14. abuse. Paul. Nolan., *Carm.*, 18, 220-465.
- 168, 16. Jupiter. Epictet., *D.*, iii, 4, 7.
- 168, 23. Pan. Theocrit., 7, 107. Cf. also the fable in Babrius, 119, where some one in a rage breaks his wooden Hermes to pieces and finds a treasure inside.
- 168, 25. idols. Peschel, *Völkerkunde*, p. 528 f.
- 168, 28. water. Mayer, *Neapel und die Neapolitaner*; Meiners, *Gesch. aller Religionen*, i, 128; Schömann, *Gr. All.*, ii, 167.
- 168, 29. cease. Schlicht, *Bairisch Land u. bairisch Volk*, 1875.
- 168, 30. Sicily. Schneegans's tale, *Die Schicksale des h. Pancrarius von Evolo (D. Rundschau*, March 1883) is founded on a true occurrence, as the author informs me.
- 168, 34. march. Treitschke, *Deutsche Geschichte*, i, 357.
- 168, 37. arms. Bernhardi, *Reiseerinnerungen aus Spanien*, p. 476.
- 169, 10. streets. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 5 sq.
- 169, 17. Capitol. Seneca, in Augustine, *C. D.*, vi, 10; ed. Haase, iii, p. 426; cf. Preller, *RM.*, i³, 144, 1. 'Alius nomina' (so Haase for *numina*) 'deo subicit' means perhaps as Hertz supposes: 'announces the names of the supplicants'.
- 169, 23. day. Cf. Marquardt, *Prl.*, i³, 256, 4.
- 169, 34. offices. On coins of Byzantium certain divinities (Demeter, Dionysos, Nike, Tyche, Diva Faustina) are indicated as officials of the city by a prefixed *ἐπι*, and hold the office for

- the second, third, or even seventh time ; a thing which no doubt happened elsewhere. So in Samothrake : Regibus Jov(e et Augusto) | iterum M.' Acilio etc. (124 A.D.). Sallet, *Beitr. z. antiken Münz- und Alterthumsk.*, 1881, p. 10 ff. Cf. Hirschfeld, in *Oesterreich. Mitth.*, 1881, p. 224 f. and Dürr, *ibid.*, 1886, p. 119 f.
- 169, 36. processions. Tertullian, *De idolol.*, c. 18 : cum praeterea ipsis etiam idolis induantur praetextae et trabeae et lati clavi fascesque et virgae praeferantur.
- 169, 41. horses. Bernhardi, *Reiseerinnerungen aus Spanien*, p. 476.
- 170, 3. Hidalgo. Sealsfield, *Der Virey*, note on part i.
- 170, 36. Tacitus. Tac., *H.*, v, 4.
- 170, 39. religion. *Id. ib.*, 13.
- 170, 41. demons. Cf. for the Jewish popular faith and Philo's relations to paganism Zeller, *G. d. Ph.*, iii², 2, 298 ; Selig Cassel, *Juden (Geschichte)*, in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyklopädie*, p. 20 f.
- 171, 10. religion. Lucian, *Alexand.*, 25 and 37. Justin Mart., *Apol.*, i, 6, 13 ; Euseb., *H. e.*, iv, 16.
- 171, 24. Gibbon. Gibbon, *Hist.*, ch. xv. Hillel arranged under eighteen heads the prescriptions of the Torah, which till then were divided into 248 commands according to the number of parts of the human body, and into 365 prohibitions according to the number of the days in the year. Hausrath, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, i 417 ; cf. also Schürer, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, p. 438 ff.
- 171, 38. people. Schürer, ii², 495-513. Cf. 1 *Maccab.*, xv, 16-24 (139/138 B.C.). *Oracc. Sibyll.*, iii, 271 (composed 140 B.C. according to Schürer, ii², 494, and 124 B.C. according to Guttschmid).
- 171, 38. Strabo. Strabo in Joseph., *A. J.*, xiv, 7, 2 ; cf. xv, 13, 1.
- 171, 41. Josephus. Joseph., *B. J.*, ii, 16, 4. Cf. also Philo, *De execrationibus*, §§ 8 and 9, and *De praemiis et poenis*, §§ 15-20 in Schürer, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, pp. 573, 589.
- 172, 6. Arabia. *Acts Apost.*, ii, 5-11.
- 172, 14. Libya. Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.*, p. 587 M.
- 172, 17. idea. Vol. i, p. 313.
- 172, 19. commercial. Herzfeld, *Handelsgeschichte der Juden des Alterthums*, p. 204 f. Babylonian trade of the Jews, *ibid.*, p. 218 f.
- 172, 28. life. Delitzsch, *Handwerkerleben zur Zeit Jesu* (1868), pp. 25 and 36. Slave-trade of the Jews, Herzfeld, p. 128.
- 172, 41. arms. The above nearly verbally from Döllinger, *Die Juden in Europa, Akad. Vorträge*, i, 224 f.
- 173, 6. Parthia. Dio, lxvi, 4.
- 173, 14. government. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 346.
- 173, 16. seats. Schürer, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, ii², 497.
- 172, 19. empire. S. Cassel, *op. cit.*, p. 175 f. Schürer, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, p. 621. Herzfeld, p. 336 f. Burning of a Jewish synagogue at Callinicum (Mesopotamia) by the Christians : Ambrose, *Epp.*, 40.
- 173, 19. Palmyra. A Jewish ἀρχιευροπος 257 A.D. : *CIG*, 4486. Cf. for the Jews at Palmyra, Vogüé, *Inscr. Palmyr.*, nos. 13 and

- 63; Derenbourg, *Essai sur l'hist. et la géogr. de Palest.*, i, 22, 224; Lebas-W., 2619.
- 173, 21. A.D. Vogüé, *Syrie centrale*, p. 47.
- 173, 24. inscription. Landauer, *Ueber eine von Dr. Euting in Palmyra gefundene Inschrift einer Synagoge*, in *Ber. d. Berl. Akad.*, 31 Juli 1884, p. 993 f.
- 183, 28. Egypt. Mommsen in Sallet's *Zeitschr. f. Numismatik*, v, 229-231 (Derenbourg, *Journal Asiat.*, Mars-Avril, 1869, p. 373s. was not accessible to me).
- 173, 29. Arabia. S. Cassel, *op. cit.*, p. 165.
- 173, 36. Asumites. Gutschmid in Sharpe, *Gesch. Aegyptens*, ii, 221 f., 285.
- 173, 38. Justinian. Procop., *B. Pers.*, i, 19, ed. D., i, 99, 7.
- 173, 41. population. M. Flad, *Kurze Schilderung der abessynischen Juden* (Falasha), 1869. Cf. Krapf, *Reisen in Ostafrika*, i, 216.
- 174, 3. Syria. Philo, *In Flacc.*, 582 M.: καθ' ἐκδοτὴν πόλιν παμπληθεὺς Ἀσῶν καὶ Συρίας. Schürer, p. 621.
- 174, 5. contingent. Renan, *Les apôtres*, p. 223.
- 174, 6. magnificence. Schürer, p. 636.
- 174, 10. development. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 465.
- 174, 14. physicians. Usener, *Religionsgesch. Unters.*, i (1889), p. 227 ff.
- 174, 15. war. Schürer, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, ii³, 498, 17 (Jos., *B. J.*, ii, 20, 2; vii, 8, 7).
- 174, 18. Diaspora. Evidence from the time of Aristotle, Mueller, *Fr. Hist. Gr.*, ii, 323; Gutschmid, *Neue Beitr. z. Gesch. d. alten Orients*, p. 77.
- 174, 20. Phrygia. Josephus, *A. J.*, xii, 3, 4.
- 174, 22. Cilicia. *Acts Apost.*, vi, 9.
- 174, 24. privileges. Bernays, *Die Heraklitischen Briefe*, p. 28; *Acts Apost.*, xix, 8-20.
- 174, 26. Smyrna. Πουφεῖρα Ἰουδαία ἀρχιερατικός, Mommsen, *op. cit.*, 490, 1, from Reinach, *Revue des études juives*, 1883, p. 161; *CIG*, 9897.
- 174, 28. honour. Reinach, *Synagogue juive à Phocée*, in *Bull. de corr. Hellen.*, x, 1886, pp. 327-335. (For προεδρία cf. *St. Matth.*, xxiii, 6; James, ii, 2, 3.)
- 174, 38. Apamea. Eckhel, *D.N.*, iii, 132-139.
- 175, 3. Pergamus. Cic., *Pro Flacco*, c. 28.
- 175, 12. Lycaonia. *Acts Apost.*, xiii, 14; xiv, 1.
- 175, 14. Armenia. S. Cassel, *op. cit.*, p. 174. According to Gutschmid there is no value in the testimony of Moses of Chorene, 486 A.D. (Ritter, *Erkunde*, ii, 294.) To him also I owe the information that another historian of Armenia, Faustus of Byzantium, iv, 55 (Langlois, *Collection des historiens de l'Arménie*, i, 274) states, that incredible masses of Jews were carried away by the Persians, when Artaxarta (367) and other Armenian towns were conquered.
- 175, 20. extinct. Tcheng-Ki-Tong [Ch'en Chi-t'ung], *The Chinese Painted by Themselves* [1884], p. 191. Also Richthofen, *China*, i, 513, 1, regards the immigration of Jews from Persia at the time of the Han dynasty as certain.

- 175, 21. Melos. Bursian, *Geogr. v. Griechenland*, ii, 3, 499.
 175, 26. Herod. Joseph., *A. J.*, xvii, 12, 1; *B. J.*, ii, 7, 1.
 175, 28. island. *Id.*, *Vita*, 76.
 175, 29. Delos. *Id.*, *A. J.*, xiv, 10, 8.
 175, 29. Paros. *Ib.*, 7, 2; 10, 15.
 175, 34. again. Dio, xlvi, 32.
 175, 37. Acts. Jewish inscriptions in Aegina, *CIG*, 9894, *Patrae*, 9896, Athens 9900 = *CIA*, iii, 2, 3547, *ibid.*, 3545, 3546. Jewish *proskynemata* in Syra (Grammata), De Rossi, *Atene, suoi monumenti cristiani e giudaici*, in *Bull. crist.*, 1876, p. 116.
 175, 40. injured. *Cod. Theodos.*, xvi, 8, 12 and 21. (S. Cassel, *op. cit.*, p. 121.)
 176, 2. workshops. S. Cassel, p. 53.
 176, 5. Kertch. *CIG*, ii, 2. *Add.*, p. 1005, no. 2114^b and 2114^{bb}. Cf. p. 1006 (2126^b); p. 1008 (2131^b).
 176, 6. Anapa. Stephani, *op. cit.*, p. 244 ff.
 176, 8. Judaism. The Jewish sepulchral inscriptions (*Hebräische Grabsteine aus der Krim*, *Mém. de l'Ac. des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, viii. série, ix [1866], no. 7) edited by Chwolson, are not genuine. Cf. A. Harkavy and H. L. Strack, *Catalog der hebräischen Bibelhandschriften der kais. öff. Bibl. in St. Petersburg*, 1875; Schürer, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, ii³, 499, 22.
 176, 10. population. Philo, *In Flacc.*, p. 523 M.
 176, 12. Alexander. Schürer, ii³, 505, 53.
 176, 15. Ptolemies. Schürer, pp. 621, 623 f.; Gutschmid-Sharpe, i, 226, 267, 269; ii, 3 etc. Cf. index. Προσευχὴ ἀσυλος in Alexandria at the time of Ptolemy Euergetes I or II, *Eph. epigr.*, iv, 26. Cf. vol. iii of this work, p. 173.
 176, 15. Philo's. Schürer, ii³, 501. Later only one? Mommsen, *RG*, v, 524, 1.
 176, 18. trees. Vol. i, p. 357.
 176, 24. Scriptures. Lumbroso, *Recherches*, p. 62 (Ewald, *Gesch. Israels*, iv, 274; Philo, *In Flaccum*, p. 528).
 176, 25. navigation. Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.*, 564 M. Ἐργαστήρια in Alexandria, *id.*, *In Flacc.*, p. 525 M. Herzfeld, *Handelsgeschichte der Juden*, p. 236.
 176, 26. trades. Delitzsch, *Handwerkerleben z. Z. Jesu*, p. 38.
 176, 29. century. Lumbroso, *L'Egitto*, p. 26 (Josephus, *C. Apion.*, ii, 5: fluminis custodiam totiusque custodiae. A Μαλχαῖος under Trajan guardiano e gabellotto del porto di Siene).
 176, 29. Delta. *Bull. d. corresp. Hellén.*, xiii, 1889, p. 178.
 176, 41. hierarchy. Ewald, *op. cit.*, 405.
 177, 1. Cyrene. Josephus, *A. J.*, xvi, 6, 1. Thrige, *Cyrene*, p. 219 sq.
 177, 5. Lucullus. Schürer, p. 623.
 177, 6. Jonathas. Josephus, *Vita*, c. 76.
 177, 9. 13 B.C. *CIG*, 5301 with Böckh's note.
 177, 13. countries. Dio, lxxviii, 32; S. Cassel, p. 13; Euseb., *Chron.*, Ol. 224 (according to which the revolt spread to the Thebaid).
 177, 18. Christianity. Procop., *De aedif.*, vi, 2 (ed. D., iii, 334).

- 177, 19. Carthage. Tertullian, *Adv. Judaeos*.
 177, 22. inscriptions. For 'later' read 'late'. *Eph. Epigr.*, v, pp. 537, 1222. Cf. p. 538 and vii, no. 147.
 177, 23. Sitifi. Henzen-Or., 6145 = *CIL*, viii, 8499 (pater synagogae) and 8423.
 177, 24. Cirta. *Inscr. de l'Alg.*, 2072 = *CIL*, viii, 7155 (Cirta): Pompeio Restuto Judeo etc. Other Jewish inscriptions there, *CIL*, viii, 7150, 7530, 7710.
 177, 27. Valerius. Valer. Max., i, 2, § 3.
 177, 31. Rome. Schürer, ii², 505, 53.
 177, 33. Sabazius. Marquardt, *StV*, iii², 82, 1.
 177, 34. Sabaoth. According to a communication from Schürer, who had formerly wrongly disputed the identification. Cf. my *programm*, *De Judaeorum coloniis*, *Acad. Alb. Regim.*, 1876, ii.
 177, 38. liberty. Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.*, 1014.
 178, 1. allies. Cic., *Pro Flacco*, 28, 1.
 178, 2. Tiber. Philo, *loc. cit.*
 178, 3. synagogue. Inscription of a man twice chief of a synagogue (*Ἰδωὺν δις ἀρχὴν*—as elsewhere, Schürer, ii², 518, 112) found in Trastevere.
 178, 8. Sardinia. Vol. i, p. 257.
 178, 9. Rome. Schürer, p. 625; cf. ii², 505 f.
 178, 12. disturbances. Sueton., *Claud.*, c. 25: Judaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit. On Chrestus=Christus see Schürer, p. 625, 4; cf. ii², 509, 70; Lactant., *Inst. div.*, iv, 7: sed exponenda hujus nominis ratio est propter ignorantiam eorum, qui eum immutata littera Chrestum solent dicere. Cf. Tertullian, *Apol.*, 3 and De Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, 1873, pp. 21 and 62.
 178, 13. extent. Dio, lx, 6. Tillemont, *H. d. E.*, ii, 481.
 178, 14. Paul. *Acts Apost.*, xxviii, 17.
 178, 17. seven. Garrucci, *Cimitero—in vigna Randanini*, p. 38: those of the Campenses (*CIG*, 9905, Orelli, 2522); Augustenses (*CIG*, 9902 sq., *Nuove Epigr. Giud.*, p. 11); Agrippenses (*CIG*, 9907); Siburenses (*ib.*, 6447); a new *ἀρχὴν συνβοηθησίων*, N. Müller, *Le catacombe degli Ebrei presso la via Appia Pignatelli*, in *Bull. d. Ist. Germ.*, i, 1886, pp. 49–56. Cf. Gomperz, *Oesterr. Mitth.*, x, 1886, p. 213 f.); Volumnenses (Orelli, 2522, more correctly Spon, *Misc.*, x, 220. Fabretti, 465, 101); Elaeenses (*CIG*, 9904) and Hebraei (*συναγωγὴ Ἀιβραίων*, *CIG*, 9900). Cf. Schürer, *Die Gemeindeverfassung der Juden in Rom in der Kaiserzeit* (1879), pp. 15–17 and *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, ii², 516 ff. Burning of a synagogue in Rome, Ambrose, *Epp.*, ii, 17. A church in Rome claimed by the Jews as an old synagogue, Cassiodorus, *Var.*, iii, 45. Burning of synagogues, *id.*, *ib.*, iv, 43. The *συναγωγὴ Ἐλαίας* refers to Elaea in Mysia, where now stands a Roman ruin called *Tchisout-Kalessi*, 'Castle of the Jew' (*Ἐβραϊκὸν ὄρτο*, a not uncommon name in Anatolia), Reinach, *Bull. d. corr. Hellén.*, x, p. 330. Derenbourg (Renan, *Marc-Aurèle*, p. 439s.) supposes these Hebraei to be the community of the Samaritans in Rome (mentioned under Theodoric the Great by Cassiodorus, *Var.*, iii, 45; Schürer, ii², 511, 81).

All the synagogues were situated outside the Pomerium. Jordan, in *Hermes*, vi, 319 f.

- 178, 26. post. Schürer, *Gewindeverfassung*, p. 18 ff.
 178, 27. grounds. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
 178, 27. five. Garrucci, p. 3s. (Juv., 3, 17 sqq.). De Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, 1867, p. 16; 1883, p. 79 f. Cf. Schürer, *ib.*, p. 13 f.
 178, 28. inscriptions. Garrucci, p. 63.
 178, 31. language. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 490 f., who believes that the kings imposed the Greek language on the Jewish communities of the Macedonian towns. Latin inscription of a Jew in Rome, *CIL*, vi, 3, 18,532 (Samso Barochio). *Eph. epigr.*, iv, p. 291, 838: Aemilio Va(l)enti eq. Romano metuenti (Bernays, *Comment. Mommsen.*, p. 563 sq.).
 178, 34. soothsayers. Renan, *Apôtres*, p. 289s. A Jewish soothsayer *δοξῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς πολλῇν ἔχων*, Procop., *B. G.*, i, 9. 'Many women, many enchantments,' a saying of Rabbi Hillel. Haus-rath, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, i, 299.
 178, 38. chandelier. Bosio, *Roma sotterr.*, p. 142 sq.
 179, 1. symbolical. Garrucci, *Cimitero*, 65s. *Nuove Epigr.*, 2s.
 179, 2. Portus. De Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, iv, 40.
 179, 5. Italy. J. Derenbourg, *Elazar le Peitan*, in *Mélanges Renier*, pp. 429-441. Four unpublished inscriptions, probably from Portus, among them *παρ. συν. Καρκαρησιων (?)*, p. 438 sqq.
 179, 6. Puteoli. Vol. i, p. 351.
 179, 11. Pliny. *CIL*, iv, 2569; Pliny, *N. h.*, xxxi, 95: (garum) castimoniarum superstitioni etiam sacrisque Judaeis dicatum quod fit e piscibus squama carentibus. Marquardt, *Prl.*, ii³, 440, 80.
 179, 13. Christian. *Bull. d. Inst. archeol.*, 1885, p. 97.
 179, 14. Solomon. *Bull. dell' Inst. archeol.*, 1883, p. 37s. Lum-broso, *Mem. dell' Acad. dei Lincei*, Ser. 3, vol. xi, 3 giugno 1883, connects the picture with the legendary Egyptian King Bocchoris. Overbeck, *Pompeji*⁴, p. 583 f. De Rossi (like Marini) also connects 'princeps libertinorum' in a Pompeian inscription (*CIL*, iv, 117) with a Jewish community, because the Italian or Roman Jews (*Acts Apost.*, vi, 9) were so called: *Bull. crist.*, ii, 69ss. and 92, 5. Cf. Garrucci, *Bull. Nap.*, ii (1854), p. 8.
 179, 17. Capua. *IRN*, 3657 = *CIL*, x, 3905; cf. S. Cassel, *op. cit.*, p. 144.
 179, 18. Venusia. O. Hirschfeld, *BdI*, 1867, p. 149. Ascoli, *Iscr. inedite o mal note Greche Latine Ebraiche di antichi sepolcri Giudaici del Napolitano*, 1880. Out of 47 inscriptions of the *ipogeo di Venosa*, Hebrew words occur in 21; the Hebrew inscriptions above ground are about two centuries later. Cf. Mommsen, *CIL*, ix, p. 660ss., 6195-6241.
 179, 20. physician. *Ib.*, 6213—Ascoli, 55, 10.
 179, 20. Naples. Procop., *B. G.*, i, 8 and 16; *IRN*, 6467 = *CIL*, x, 1971 = Henzen-Orelli, 5302: (Cl)audia Aster Hierosolymitana (ca)ptiva, curam egit (Ti.) Claudius Aug. libertus Masculus etc.
 179, 23. Fundi. *CIL*, ix, 6400-6402; cf. *Not. d. scavi*, 1882, p. 386s. (mediaeval ones at Taranto). *CIL*, x, 6299.

- 179, 27. decree. S. Cassel, p. 141. *Cod. Theod.*, xii, 1, 157 sq.
- 179, 31. Brixia. *CIL*, v, 1, 4411: Coelia Paterna mater synagoges Brixianorum.
- 179, 34. Genoa. Cassiodorus, *Var.*, ii, 27.
- 179, 35. Milan. *Id. ib.*, v, 37.
- 179, 36. Ravenna. Anonym. Valesii, 81.
- 179, 41. Ambrose. Ambrose, *Exhortat. virginital.*, c. 1.
- 180, 1. Pola. Orelli, 2523 = *CIL*, v, 1, 88 (Pola):—Aureliae Soteriae matri pientiss. religioni Judaicae metuenti (?). Two Jewish inscriptions from Mediolanum: Renan and Le Blant, *Rev. archéol.*, 1860, p. 348.
- 180, 3. *gerusiarch*. Garrucci, *Cimitero in vigna Randanini*, p. 62.
- 180, 6. slaves. S. Cassel, p. 147.
- 180, 7. Caecilius. Plutarch, *Cic.*, c. 7 (ἀπελευθερικὸς ἄνθρωπος, ἐνοχος τῷ Ἰουδαίῳ)—Suidas: Καικίλιος Σικελιώτης—ῥήτωρ σοφιστεύσας ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος ἀπὸ δούλων (ex servitute manumissus: Kuester h. l. Perizon. ad Aelian., *Var. hist.*, xii, 1) ὡς τινες ἱστορήκασι, καὶ πρότερον καλούμενος Ἀρχάγαθος, δόξαν δὲ Ἰουδαίος. Following Müller, *Hist. Gr. fr.*, iii, 331, who recalls the Servile wars and the many Syrians in Sicily, I regard as improbable Bernhardt's assumption of a confusion with the quaestor of Verres. A Jewish inscription at Syracuse, *CIG*, 9895.
- 180, 16. taxes. Cassel, p. 141. Zunz, *Z. Gesch. u. Litteratur*, p. 484 f.
- 180, 18. Cagliari. Cassel, p. 147, 65.
- 180, 20. Spain. *Romans*, xv, 23 sq.
- 180, 22. intention. Renan, *L'antechrist*, p. 106, 3; Ranke, *Weltgesch.*, iii, 1, 192, 1 after the letter of Clement, *Opp. patr. apost.*, ed. V. Funk, p. 63: κήρυξ γερόμενος ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ δύσει —ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθών.
- 180, 25. Spain. Josephus, *A. J.*, xviii, 7, 2; *B. J.*, ii, 9, 6.
- 180, 28. Jews. Cassel, p. 55. *Concil. Illib.*, can. 49, 50, 78.
- 180, 31. century. Huebner, *CIL*, ii, 1982: . . . nia Salonula an. I | mens. IIII. die I | Judaea. Cf. also Cassel in Frankel's *Ztschr. f. Wissenschaft d. Judenthums*, 1846, p. 227.
- 180, 32. Minorca. Letter of Severus (or Severinus), bishop of Majorca (Migne, *Patrol.*, xx, 730); Dahn, *Könige der Germanen*, vi, 420.
- 180, 32. Sisebut. Dahn, vi, 421. Le Blant and Renan put the inscription of a Jewess at Tortosa (Dertosa) in three languages (Greek, Latin, Hebrew) in the time before the persecutions of the Jews, about the sixth century; Chwolson, *op. cit.*, p. 83 (on account of the Greek) in the time before the immigration of the Visigoths.
- 180, 36. Archelaus. Josephus, *A. J.*, xvii, 13, 2; Cassel, p. 61.
- 180, 40. Gaul. Cassel, p. 12 f., note 37. According to Derenbourg, *Essai sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Palestine*, p. 418, Akiba is said to have visited the ports of the Mediterranean, Zephyrium in Cappadocia, Nisibis, Iberia or Georgia and other countries.

- 180, 40. Hilary. Aronius, *Regesten zur Gesch. der Juden*, Erste Lief. (1887), 5: quod inter mortales valde videtur difficile esse, tam cautum esse, qui se a Judaeis vel haereticis cibo suspendat.
- 181, 4. decurionate. *Cod. Theodos.*, xvi, 8, 3 and 4. Cassel, p. 64.
- 181, 9. 383. Aronius, *op. cit.* (Simeon a man of Jewish extraction, seventh bishop of Metz).
- 181, 10. Sidonius. Sidon. Apoll., iii, 4; iv, 5 (with Sirmond's note; vi, 11; viii, 13. Jewish epitaph at Narbo of the time of King Egizas (867), *Rev. archéol.*, loc. cit.; *CIL*, p. 929: Tituli Judaici saeculo vii. antiquiores in Gallia Narbonensi adhuc desiderantur.
- 181, 12. Narbo. Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, vi, 21, 33.
- 181, 15. Spain. Stark, *Städteleben in Frankreich*, p. 162.
- 181, 22. Marseilles. Gregor. Tur., *Hist. Francor.*, v, 11; cf. Venant. Fortunat., *Carm.*, v, 4.
- 181, 24. Paris. Gregor., *ib.*, vi, 17.
- 181, 24. Guntram. *Ibid.*, viii, 1 (vol. i of this work, p. 314). Cf. also Gregor., *ib.*, iv, 12 and 35; vi, 5; vii, 23.
- 181, 27. Pannonia. *CIL*, iii, 1, 3688: D. m. Septimae Mariae Judeae vixit an. xviii Actia Sabinilla, mater. Mommsen, *Add. ad CIL III*, no. 593: Deo aeterno pro sal. d. n. Sev. A(lexandri) — Cosmus pr(ae)positus sta(tionis) Spondilla synag. (In other dedications to the *deus aeternus* a Jewish source is not to be assumed: Orelli *ad* 2141.) According to Cumont, *Rev. archéol.*, 1881, p. 184ss., *dei aeterni* are always (?) Syrian gods.
- 181, 31. century. Goldschmidt, *Gesch. d. Juden in England*, i (1886: eleventh and twelfth centuries).
- 181, 34. existence. Cassel, p. 141.
- 181, 36. world. Jerome, *Commentar. in Amos*, 3, 1443. Cassel, p. 24.
- 181, 41. Rhine. Jerome, *ad Isai.*, xv, 66, ed. Vallars., iv, 823s.
- 182, 5. leniently. Cassel, p. 6 f.
- 182, 5. tax. Schürer, *Gemeindeverfassung*, p. 11; cf. Marquardt, *StV*, ii^a, 202.
- 182, 11. superstition. *Digg.*, i, 2, 3, § 2; Mommsen, *RG*, v, 548 f.
- 182, 12. service. Josephus, *A. J.*, xiv, 10, 6.
- 182, 13. later. Schürer, ii^a, 528 f.
- 182, 15. emperors. *Ibid.*, 529 f.
- 182, 15. respects. *Alexander Sever.*, c. 22: Judaeis privilegia reservavit, Christianos esse passus est.
- 182, 20. Sabbath. Josephus, *A. J.*, xvi, 6, 2 and 4.
- 182, 23. day. Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.*, 1015 P.; cf. Schürer, p. 635, 2.
- 182, 26. Mucianus. Josephus, *A. J.*, xii, 3, 1; Schürer, ii^a, 529.
- 182, 27. religion. The decrees granting the free practice of their religion in Schürer, ii^a, 523 ff.
- 182, 29. jurisdiction. *Ibid.*, 526-528.
- 182, 38. Judah. Schürer, *Gemeindeverfassung*, p. 12 f.
- 182, 40. nation. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 548.
- 183, 1. Philo. Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.*, p. 1018.
- 183, 8. Tacitus. Pliny, *N. h.*, xiii, 46; Quintilian, iii, 7, 2; Tac., *H.*, v, 4, 5, 8.

- 183, 15. mankind. Renan, *Apôtres*, 289, 1. Schürer, p. 387 ff.
 183, 19. origin. Gieseler, *Lehrb. d. K. G.*⁴, i, 1, 51, 4. Schürer, p. 388 ff. On these Posidonius also is dependent (= Diodor., xxxiv, 1). Arnold, *Neron. Christenverfolgung* (1888), p. 47 f.
 183, 20. outbursts. Schürer, p. 633.
 183, 23. sisters. Tac., *H.*, v, 5.
 183, 25. Jew. Juv., 14, 98.
 183, 29. Greeks. Josephus, *C. Apion.*, ii, 7.
 183, 39. life. Authorities in Renan, pp. 288–291.
 184, 2. households. Rönisch, *Zu Juvenal* (3, 14; 6, 542). *Neue Jahrb. f. Philol.*, 1881, p. 692 ff.; 1885, p. 552. Schürer, ii³, 486: The regulations of the Rabbis allow food to be kept warm for the Sabbath in dry herbs.
 184, 4. theatres. Hausrath, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, iii, 76.
 184, 12. confidence. Josephus, *C. Apion.*, ii, 39, 41.
 184, 16. philosopher. Schürer, ii³, 553 f.
 184, 27. faith. Vol. i, p. 257. Renan, p. 202s.
 184, 30. conquerors. Seneca, *De superst.*, ed. Haase, iii, p. 427. Inscription of Beturia Paulla—proselita an. xvi nominæ Sara mater synagogarum Campi et Bolumni (cf. note on p. 178, 17) in Rome. Orelli, 2522. Cf. also Schürer, p. 645.
 184, 36. Jerusalem. Horace, *S.*, i, 9, 69 (where Stowasser and Graubart [*Zeitschr. f. Ost. Gymn.*, xl, 1889, pp. 289–295] punctuate 'hodie Tricesima, sabbata' and understand it as the day of the new moon—*Rosh Chodesh*). Ovid, *A. a.*, i, 415; *Rem.*, 210; *Pers.*, 5, 179 sqq. Cf. De Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, v (1867), p. 14; Juv., 14, 97 sqq. Marquardt, *StV*, iii², 82. Fronto, *Ad M. Caes.*, ed. Naber, p. 32: Nec aliter Kal. Sept. expecto, quam superstitiosi stellam qua visa jejunium polluant (Athen., iv, p. 156). Tertullian, *De jejunio*, c. 16: Judaicum certe jejunium ubique celebratur et stellæ auctoritatem demorantis suspirant. *Apologet.*, c. 16: eis qui diem Saturni otio et victui decernunt exorbitantes et ipsi a Judaico more quem ignorant. *Ad nationes*, i, 13: vos . . . ex diebus ipso (die Solis) priorem praelegistis, quo die lavacrum subtrahatis aut in vesperam differatis aut otium et prandium curetis. Quod quidem facitis exorbitantes et ipsi a vestris ad alienas religiones.
 185, 7. world. Joseph., *C. Apion.*, ii, 39.
 185, 13. world. Hausrath, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, i, 164 (Philo, *Vita Mos.*, p. 136 sq. M.).
 185, 24. edict. Josephus, *A. J.*, xix, 5, 3; cf. De Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, 1865, p. 90.
 185, 25. Horace. Horace, *S.*, i, 4, 142: ac veluti te Judaei cogemus in hanc concedere turbam.
 185, 28. proselyte. Cf. Hausrath, *op. cit.*, ii, 116 f.
 185, 32. Israel. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 551 f. Renan, *Évangiles*, p. 98s.
 185, 35. Jews. When Hadrian made the prohibition of castration more stringent, it seems to have been regarded as such. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 549.
 185, 36. force. Gieseler, *Lehrb.*⁴, i, 1, 157 f.
 185, 37. conversions. Orig., *C. Cels.*, ii, 13: οἱ Σικεῖροι διὰ περιστομῆν,

ὡς ἀκρωτηρίαζοντες παρὰ τοὺς καθεστῶτας νόμους καὶ τὰ Ἰουδαίους συγκεχωρημένα μόνοις ἀναιροῦνται· καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀκούσαι δικαστοῦ πυνθανομένου, εἰ κατὰ τήνδε τὴν νομιζομένην θεοσέβειαν ὁ Σικάριος ἀγωνιζόμενος βιοῦν, μεταθέμενος μὲν ἀπολυθήσεται, ἐμμένων δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἀπαχθήσεται. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀρκεῖ δειχθεῖσα ἡ περιτομή πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν τοῦ πεπορθότος αὐτῆν.

- 185, 41. food. Schürer, ii^a, 564-575.
 186, 23. another. Eusebius, *H. e.*, iii, 37.
 186, 25. Origen. Orig., *C. Cels.*, iii, 9, ed. Klotz.
 186, 36. weed. Vol. i, p. 259.
 187, 1. Christians. G. Boissier's assumption of a law against the Christians issued between 64 and 112, is considered very probable by Arnold, *Neronische Christenverfolgung*, 1888, p. 112. But cf. Trajan's answer to Pliny's report (*Ad. Traj.*, 97).
 187, 11. gods. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 522 f., note.
 187, 25. image. See Gieseler, *Lehrb.*⁴, i, 1, 107. Cf. the very cautious and pertinent statement in Aubé, *Histoire des persécutions de l'église jusqu'à la fin des Antonins* (1875), especially i^a, 74-185.
 187, 31. law. Tertullian, *Apol.*, 10: sacrilegii et majestatis rei convenimur. Cf. Renan, *Évangiles*, 401-403. Cf. Le Blant, *Comptes-rendus de l'acad.*, 1866, p. 358; De Rossi, *Bull. cr.*, 1867, p. 28.
 190, 34. denunciations. Pliny, *Ad Traj.*, 96; cf. De Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, 1865, p. 94s.
 193, 4. Commodus. Hippolyt., *Ref.*, ix, 11.
 193, 8. chastisement. See De Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, 1868, p. 17ss.: De' cristiani condannati alle cave di marmi etc. Cyprian, *Epp.*, 76, 2, 79 (letter of the *commorantes apud metallum Siguensem* to Cyprian); Artemidor., *Onirocr.*, i, 21; Cyprian, *Epp.*, 77; Clinton, *F. R.*, ad a. 173, 183; Euseb., *Chron.*, 2185; *H. e.*, iv, 23, 10; Tertullian, *Apol.*, 39; *De pudic.*, 22.
 193, 34. rest. Orig., *C. Cels.*, iii, 8.
 194, 22. Netherlands. Cf. Buckle, *Hist. of Civilisation in England*, 1869, ii, 445 ff.; Niebuhr, *Beitr. über röm. Gesch.*, iii, 295 (*Histor. polit. Vortr.*, i, 3, 295). On the fabulous statements of the numbers of Christian martyrs in the martyrologies cf. Hausrath, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.* iii, 391 f. Kraus, *Roma sotterranea*, 149, 2, alleges 13,825 martyrs in Rome alone.
 194, 36. end. Clem. Al., *Cohort. ad gent.*, c. 10, p. 85; *Stromateis*, iv, 18, p. 827; Tzschirner, *Fall des Heidenthums*, p. 524 f.
 195, 13. master. Keim, *Rom u. d. Christentum*, 1881, p. 360, 1.
 195, 19. unfortunate. Cels., in Orig., *C. C.*, iii, 59.
 195, 26. camp. Rönsch, *Italia u. Vulgata*, p. 1 f.
 195, 40. law. 1 *Corinth.*, xi, 5; xiv, 34; cf. Hausrath, *Paulus*, p. 389 f.
 196, 2. attractive. Vol. iii, p. 184.
 196, 5. afford. Of all the reasons for the spread of Christianity, mentioned by Voltaire, *Hist. de l'établissement du christianisme*, ch. xiii (*Impr. de la société littéraire-typogr.*, 1784, vol. xxxv, *Philosophie*, iv, p. 301) this is the only one which betrays 'a deeper knowledge of human nature and of the nature of Chris-

- tianity than Gibbon's' (J. Bernays, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, ii, 1885, p. 225) Herder says that Gibbon judges Christianity very mildly (*Ideen z. Philos. d. Gesch.*, Th. iv (1820), p. 97).
- 196, 8. Tacitus. Tac., *A.*, i, 22.
- 196, 16. century. Gieseler, *Lehrb.*⁴, i, 1, 225.
- 196, 29. ministers. Iren., *Adv. haeres.*, ii, 32, 4, p. 166 (Euseb., *H. e.*, v, 7). Gibbon, *Hist.*, ch. xv. Other passages in Tzschirner, p. 524 f. Renan, *Marc-Aurèle*, p. 529s. Cf. *Évangiles*, p. 65.
- 196, 37. sick. Arnob., i, 42 sqq.
- 196, 38. heal. Vol. iii, p. 138.
- 197, 6. north. Dehio, *Gesch. d. Erzbisthums Hamburg-Bremen*, i, 83.
- 197, 11. Marnas. Mommsen, *RG*, v, 461 f. (Jerome).
- 197, 26. men. Riese, *Anthol. lat.*, i, 2, 893.
- 197, 39. ceased. Augustine, *Epist.*, 227.
- 198, 9. himself. Tertullian, *Apol.*, 50; Gieseler, i, 70, 21.
- 198, 13. Pliny. Vol. iii, p. 190.
- 198, 24. meal. Pliny, *Ad Tr.*, 96 and 97. Hausrath's opinion, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, iii, 383, that the form of faith in that place was the Essene, is refuted by Arnold, *Studien z. Gesch. d. Plinian. Christenverfolgung*, 1887, p. 56.
- 198, 30. virtue. Gieseler, *op. cit.*, p. 168.
- 198, 35. Crete. Hausrath, *Paulus*, p. 330 f., 410 f.; *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, iii, 542 f. Cf. Heinrici, *Die Christengemeinde Korinths*, in *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.*, xix, 508 ff. On the degeneration of the *agape* (Cyprian, *Epp.*, 65, 3) *id.*, *Die Anfänge paulinischer Gemeinden*, *ibid.*, xx, 129 f.
- 199, 1. lewdness. Gieseler, *op. cit.*, p. 112.
- 199, 4. advantages. People who abandoned their occupation because it was incompatible with the Christian faith (e.g. actors) were supported by the community, Cyprian, *Epp.*, 2 (61), ed. Hartel, p. 467. Hatch-Harnack, *Gesellschaftsverfassung d. christl. Kirche im Alterth.*, 35, 37.
- 199, 10. church. Prudent., *Peristeph.*, ii, 65ss., 77: *Addicta avorum praedia Foedis sub auctionibus Successor exhaeres gemit Sanctis egens parentibus. Haec occuluntur abditis Ecclesiarum in angulis, Et summa pietas creditur Nudare dulces liberos.*
- 199, 10. Paul. *II Cor.*, xi, 13-30; Hausrath, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, ii, 559.
- 199, 14. fraud. Hausrath, *Paulus*, p. 416.
- 200, 9. time. Lucian, *Peregrin.*, 11-13.
- 200, 11. faith. Gieseler, p. 245, 41. Orig., *C. Cels.*, iii, 12.
- 200, 11. Ambrose. Ambrose, *De offic.*, ii, 16.
- 200, 26. Celsus. Gieseler, p. 195 ff.
- 200, 30. 235. Bunsen, *Hippolyt u. seine Zeit.*, p. 101; De Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, 1866, p. 97. *Epilogo sull' autore de' Filosofumemi.*
- 200, 41. follows. *Refut. haeres.*, ix.
- 201, 40. 190. De Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, 1866, p. 7.
- 202, 35. judgment. This has been done in great detail by Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, 1866, no. 1. *Esame archeol. e critico della storia di S. Callisto narrata nel libro nono de' Filosofumemi.* P. ii. *Della dottrina dommatica e della disciplina ecclesiastica.*

- 203, 7. reproach. De Rossi, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
 203, 27. period. Reumont, *Gesch. d. St. Rom.*, i, 550.
 203, 29. other. So Tertullian, *Apol.*, c. 39.
 203, 30. cities. Orig., *C. Cels.*, iii, 30.
 204, 2. assemblies. Cf. Hausrath, *Paulus*, p. 373. See the chapter *Korinthische Wirren* (363-392), and *Neuest. Zeitgesch.*, iii, 537-550 (*Christliche Gemeindeordnungen*).
 204, 7. persons. Clemens Rom., *Ep. ad Corinth.*, c. 47.
 204, 12. drunkenness. G. Heyne, *Quo tempore Hermæ pastor scriptus sit* (Regim. 1872), p. 258.; cf. also the complaints against the clergy, p. 218., and generally Keim, *Rom u. d. Christenthum*, p. 338 f.
 204, 32. usury. Cyprian, *De lapsis*, cc. 5 and 6. At first the bishops were artisans and tradesmen. Hatch-Harnack, *Gesellschafts-verf. d. christl. Kirche*, 1883, p. 152 f.
 204, 35. them. In i. *Epist. ad Timoth. hom.*, x, 3 (xi, 602) in V. Schultze, *Gesch. d. Unterganges des gr. röm. Heidenthums*, p. 315.
 204, 40. acted so. Augustine on *Psalm xxvi* (iv, 116), *ibid.*
 205, 5. another. Ammian. Marcell., xxii, 5, 4; cf. xxvii, 3, 12.
 205, 11. resistance. Zeller, *Röm. u. gr. Urteile über d. Christenthum*, in *Deutsche Rundschau*, April, 1877, p. 66.
 205, 16. Lactantius. Lactant., *Inst. div.*, vii, 1.
 205, 18. socialistic. Schiller, *Nero*, p. 607. Socialistic passages in the Fathers, Baudrillart, *Hist. du luxe*, ii, 404ss. Le Blant, *La richesse et le christianisme à l'âge des persecutions*, in *Rev. arch.*, N. S., xxi, 1880, p. 320ss.
 205, 22. Rome. Baur, *Das Christenthum u. d. christliche Kirche in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (2 Aufl.), p. 62 f.
 205, 23. considerable. Tac., *A.*, xv, 44.
 205, 25. catacombs. De Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, iii, 1865, p. 33ss.; esp. pp. 36 and 41s. (with illustration) and 1875, pp. 12-16 (Insigni scoperte nel cimitero di Domitilla). But according to Renan, *Marc-Aurèle*, 536, 1 'le caractère primitif de ce monument est très incertain'. See also De Rossi, *Roma sotterr.*, 196, 319-321; Reumont, *Gesch. d. St. Rom.*, i, 382 ff.
 205, 29. Pliny. Vol. iii, p. 163.
 205, 35. West. Hirschfeld, *Beiträge z. Geschichte d. Narbonens. Provinz*, in *Westd. Ztschr.*, 1889, pp. 20-22.
 205, 37. Christianity. The passages in Gieseler, i, 1, 159.
 206, 14. population. Tertullian, *Ad Scapul.*, c. 2.
 206, 24. forum. *Id.*, *Apol.*, 37.
 206, 28. world. According to Max Müller (*Essays*) the Christians in 1865 amounted to 30·7 per cent. of the total population of the world. In 1885 there are said to have been 445 million Christians [30·8 per cent.] and 1004 million non-Christians. [The *Blue Book of Missions*, 1907, estimates the Christians at 559 millions (34·4 per cent.) out of a total of 1623 millions. *TRL.*] Chastel, *Hist. de la destruction du paganisme dans l'Orient*, p. 36, estimates the Christians [in the West?] at the time of Constantine at $\frac{1}{4}$, in the East perhaps at $\frac{3}{8}$, on an average at $\frac{1}{2}$ of the population (so also La Bastie); Gibbon at $\frac{1}{3}$; Keim (*Rom. u. d. Christenthum*, p. 419) at $\frac{1}{2}$ (a

- little over 16 millions); and V. Schultze, *Gesch. d. Untergangs d. griechisch-röm. Heidenthums*, p. 22 f. does not think this too high.
- 206, 32. empire. Orig., *C. Cels.*, viii, 69.
- 207, 3. women. Vol. i, p. 257.
- 207, 6. rabble. Jerome, *Epistola ad Galatas*, c. v.
- 207, 9. Eusebius. Euseb., *H. e.*, v, 21.
- 207, 13. Origen. Orig., *C. Cels.*, iii, 9.
- 207, 23. community. Vol. i, p. 258.
- 207, 29. domains. Cyprian, *Epp.*, 80; Clinton, *F. R.*, ad a. 258.
- 208, 5. theatrical. Epictet., *D.*, iv, 7; M. Anton., xi, 3.
- 208, 6. Lucian. Vol. iii, p. 199 f.
- 208, 7. Galen. Cf. vol. iii, p. 198.
- 208, 9. contempt. Galen, ed. K., viii, 579, 657; *ib.*, p. 171.
- 208, 22. writers. Phlegon apparently mentioned the solar eclipse and the earthquake during the crucifixion of Christ without any expression of doubt (13th or 14th book of the *Chronica*), Orig., *C. Cels.*, ii, 33; a prophecy of St. Paul (which was fulfilled) he attributed to Christ, *id. ib.*, ii, 14. With an author who was so full of interest in all sorts of marvels, no conclusion can be drawn from these passages respecting his attitude towards Christianity, or indeed his knowledge of it.
- 208, 24. mob. Minuc. Felix, *Octav.*, c. 13; Fronto, ed. Naber, p. 263.
- 208, 25. Celsus. Cf. Aubé, *Hist. des perséc.*, ii, 196ss., who thinks he can find in Tertullian reminiscences of Celsus, p. 193ss. Keim, *Celsus' wahres Wort, Älteste Streitschrift antiker Weltanschauung gegen das Christenthum vom J. 178* (1873); O. Heine, *Ueber Celsus' ἀληθὴς λόγος* (*Schriften f. M. Herts*, pp. 197-214), who believes Celsus to have been a Greek freedman because of his knowledge of Greek literature.
- 208, 31. shadow. Orig., *C. Cels.*, iii, 1.
- 208, 35. Domitilla. Vol. i, p. 258. Renan, *Évangiles*, pp. 228-233, supposes Clemens and Domitilla to have professed a kind of Jewish Christianity, and the latter at least to have been a real Christian.
- 208, 40. plans. Dio, lxvii, 14. Sueton., *Domitian*, c. 10. It is therefore incomprehensible why De Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, 1865, p. 20, says: Il biografo di Agricola (c. 45) manifestamente allude in especie ai consoli Flavio Clemente ed Acilio Glabrione uccisi, alle due (?) Domitelle ed agli altri ad un tempo dannati per la causa medesima. A paper by him: *Les nouvelles fouilles du cimetière de Priscille, sépulture des Acilii Glabrones* (contained in the *Congrès scientifique international des catholiques tenu à Paris 8-13 Avril, 1888, Tome II, Bureaux des Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, 1888, pp. 261-267 was unfortunately inaccessible to me. De Rossi believes also that the Apollonius who was beheaded as a Christian under Commodus (Euseb., *H. e.*, v, 21: ἄνδρα τῶν τότε πιστῶν ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ βεβηγμένον) was a senator, relying on the untrustworthy statement in Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 42; ed. Vall., ii, 883. For these traditions cf. Aubé, *Les chrétiens dans l'empire Romain de la fin des Antonins au milieu du 3 siècle*, 1881, p. 35ss. In the inscrip-

- tion: εὐμοῦλῳ Οὐρανῷ θυγάτηρ. 'Ηρώδης, De Rossi finds no less a person than Herodes Atticus (*Bull. crist.*, 1872, p. 65 s.). Aubé, *H. des perséc.*, i^a, 161-185, has clearly demonstrated that the tradition of Domitian's persecution is baseless.
- 209, 11. Tertullian. Tertull., *De anima*, c. 20.
- 209, 13. faith. Lactant., vi, 24; cf. v, 22.
- 209, 16. studies. Augustine, *C. D.*, vi, 10 sq.
- 209, 17. hated. Vol. iii, p. 184.
- 209, 18. God. Augustine, *ib.*, 11 (ed. Haase, iii, 427, 43): *mirabatur haec dicens et quid divinitus ageretur ignorans.*
- 209, 21. feelings. Augustine, *C. D.*, vi, 11. Casaubon says: multa Seneca scribit quae intellegi aut credi sine verae pietatis sensu non queunt: quo bono cum ipse caruerit, sequitur ut ea dicamus ab illo scripta non ex certa scientia aut fide, sed veluti μαρτυρούμενον et more poetarum ἐνθουσιάζοντα (Wiese, *Tagebuch des Casaubonus*, in *Zeitschr. f. Gymnasialwesen*, 1851, p. 289).
- 209, 24. forgeries. E. Westerburg, *Der Ursprung der Sage, dass Seneca Christ gewesen sei* (1881), has made it very probable that only letters 10-12 date from the fourth century, and all the others from the Carolinian age, and that the basis of the latter (and of the Pseudo-Linus) was a conciliatory treatise based on Ebionite fables, in which Seneca played the part of mediator between Nero and the apostle. Afterwards, he thinks, anti-Pauline tendencies connected Seneca with the latter. Kreyher's work, *Seneca und seine Beziehungen zum Urchristentum*, 1887, I only know from the review by Gertz (*Berliner philol. Wochenschr.*, 1887, nos. 2 and 3). The author sees in the M. Anneus Paulus Petrus of the inscription in Ostia a son of the philosopher!
- 209, 35. Christians. De Rossi, *Bull. crist.*, v (1867), p. 6. The inscription stands in *CIL*, xiv, 566 among the pagan ones.
- 210, 11. sources. Zeller, *G. d. Phil.*, iii^a, I, 637, 1 and 644 f.
- 210, 22. yourselves. Minuc. Felix, c. 12.
- 210, 37. understanding. Orig., *C. Cels.*, viii, 69-72.
- 210, 41. paganism. Lasaulx, *Untergang des Hellenismus*, p. 51.
- 211, 21. senators. *Ibid.*, p. 99 f. Also in Firmic. Matern. there is evidence of a strong survival of heathen cults, e.g. iii, 6, 9: fabricatores deorum—vel divinorum cultores simulacrorum aut deorum ornatores sive templorum conditores aut hymnologos. Cf. iii, 7, 9; 11, 5 (sacrorum sculptores); 11, 9 (vestitores divinorum simulacrorum—aut divinarum bajulos caerimniarum); 12, 3; 13, 3; 13, 9. According to Augustine, *Epp.*, 91 (202) 'in templis populis congregatis—salubres interpretationes,' i.e. allegorical explanations, were read concerning the obnoxious legends about the gods (recitari—heri et nudius tertius audivimus). Marquardt, *St.*, iii^a, 10, 4.
- 211, 27. only one. V. Schulze, *Untergang des Heidenthums*, i, 316, 1. See vol. iii, p. 197 (dei Magnis qui colitur solus in urbibus).
- 211, 29. persecution. Cf. De Rossi, *Il culto idololatrato nel 394*, and *Il trionfo del cristianesimo in Occidente nel 394*. *Notizie rac-*

- colle da un inedito carme scoperto in Parigi, in *Bull. crist.*, 1868, p. 49 ss. and 61 ss. Morel, *Recherches sur un poème latin du IV siècle*, in *Rev. archéol.*, 1868, Juin, Juillet. Mommsen, *Carmina cod. Parisini* 8084, in *Hermes*, iv, 350 ff.
- 212, 1. Libanius. Lasaulx, p. 101 f.
- 212, 17. rescript. *Id.*, p. 131 f.
- 212, 18. martyrs. *Id.*, p. 140.
- 212, 19. Hypatia. The instigation by bishop Cyril is at least doubtful. V. Schulze, *op. cit.*, p. 348.
- 212, 21. mob. Lasaulx, p. 128 f.
- 212, 29. Christianity. But also Tribonian Ἑλλήν ὑπήρχε καὶ ἄθεος καὶ ἀλλότριος πάντα τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστεως (Suidas s. Τριβωνιανός; the other accusations brought against him there ought therefore to be received with great caution.
- 212, 33. death. Lasaulx, p. 145 f.
- 213, 14. prayers. Sathas, *Monum. inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge*, Série i, T. i, 1880, p. xiv. Cf. also vol. iii, p. 167.
- 213, 26. days. Augustine, *Epp.*, 22, 1; 29; Baur, *Die christliche Kirche vom Anfang d. 4. bis Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts*, p. 274; Grimm, *D. M.*, xxxi; Lasaulx, p. 141 f.; Wachsmuth, *Griechenland im neuen das alte*, p. 22 ff.; Lecky, *History of European Morals*. On the shifting of Christmas to the time of the Saturnalia cf. Mommsen, *CIL*, i, 410 (25 December); and on that of the Purification to the time of the Lupercalia cf. Marquardt, *StV*, iii², 446, 4. The pagan original of Candlemas was the very ancient expiatory procession, called *amburbale*. Usener, *Religionsgesch. Forschungen*, i, 305 ff.
- 213, 37. erroneous. Baur, *op. cit.*, p. 271 ff.
- 214, 7. Maries. Ihm, *Der Mütter- oder Matronencultus*, in *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxxiii, pp. 74 and 162, 385.
- 214, 10. Elijah. Lebas-Waddington, on 2497. Schürer, *Neuest. Zeitgesch.*, ii², 21, 85. On the tendency to substitute for pagan divinities (especially in the Greek Church) the archangel Michael, the healer of the sick, cf. Gothein, *Culturentwicklung Süditaliens*, p. 63.
- 214, 14. Attica. Döllinger, *Hippolyt und Callistus*, p. 55 f.
- 214, 15. Theodoret. Baur, *op. cit.*

III. PHILOSOPHY AS A MORAL EDUCATOR

- 215, 18. fraud. Lactant., *Inst. div.*, v, 10 in f.
- 215, 18. Augustine. Augustine, *C. D.*, ii, 10 and 25.
- 215, 25. sin. Horace, *Carm.*, iii, 7, 9.
- 215, 30. lawful. Dionys. Hal., *Ant. R.*, ii, 20.
- 216, 8. chains. Aristophanes, *Nub.*, 904.
- 216, 19. gods. Clemens Roman., *Homil.*, v, 9-19 (μοιχείας ἐγκώμιον); 21-26 (ἀντίγραφον ἐπιστολῆς πρὸς Ἀπλίωνα ὡς παρ' ἐρωμένους).
- 216, 31. anything. Ovid, *Trist.*, ii, 287-302.
- 216, 34. minds. Seneca, *De vita beata*, 26, 6: quibus nihil aliud actum est, quam ut pudor hominibus peccandi demeretur, si tales deos credidissent.

- 216, 38. interpretations. Both also in Clemens Rom., *Hom.*, v, 23; vi, 2 sqq.
- 216, 40. demons. Cf. what Dionysius of Halicarnassus remarks concerning the story of Mars and Rhea Silvia. *Lehrs, Popul. Aufs.*³, p. 166.
- 217, 3. evidence. Cf. e.g. Nägelsbach, *Nachhomer. Theol.*, p. 27 ff.
- 217, 10. Byblis. For 'They even quote' read 'Appeal is even made to'. Ovid, *Mét.*, ix, 497 sqq. The other passages mentioned by Tzschirner, *Fall des Heidenthums*, p. 26, are Meleagr., *Epigr.*, 10, 14, 40; Terence, *Eunuch.*, iii, 5, 34 (on which see Augustine, *Confess.*, i, 16, 26; C. D., ii, 7) and Martial, xi, 43.
- 217, 14. asserted. As is done by von Seume (*Spaziergang nach Syrakus*).
- 217, 15. apologists. Tzschirner, *op. cit.*, p. 540 f. They solved the most difficult problems of this kind; even Lot and his daughters were exculpated. Ambrose, *De Abraham*, i, 6, 56.
- 217, 31. period. B. Constant, *Du polythéisme Romain* (1833), i, 578.
- 219, 26. Titans. Cf. Lobeck., *Aglaoph.*, 568.
- 219, 37. smiter. Cf. Aristot., *Eth. Eudem.*, iii, 3 (Bekk., 1231^b); *Eth. Nicomach.*, iv, 11 (Bekk., 1126^a).
- 220, 2. man. Plato, *Phaedo*, 67 E.; Cic., *Tusc.*, i, 30.
- 220, 14. life. Seneca, *Epp.*, 111 5.
- 220, 16. nothing. Lucian, *Demonax*, 20.
- 220, 34. state. Zeller, *G. d. Ph.*, ii², i, 586; ii, 2, 574.
- 221, 16. empire. *Ib.*, iii², i, 12.
- 221, 40. initiative. *Ib.*, ii², 572.
- 221, 41. circumstances. *Ib.*, iii², 539.
- 222, 2. freedom. *Ib.*, iii², 284-288; 649; 692.
- 222, 6. mercy. Renan, *L'église chrétienne*, 386s. (on Justin).
- 222, 20. pagans. Paulsen, *Gesch. d. gelehrten Unterrichts*, p. 189. So also Aristotle, pp. 71 and 134. Luther, *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation*, Erlanger Ausg., 21, 345.
- 222, 24. opinion of it. C. Merk, *Clemens Alexandrinus in seiner Abhängigkeit von der griechischen Philosophie dargestellt* (1880), pp. 5-23.
- 222, 29. progress. Teuffel, *RLG*⁴, 50 and 51. G. Boissier, *Religion rom.*, ii, 7.
- 223, 2. Quintilian. Quintilian, x, 1, 123-131.
- 223, 19. science. Tac., *Agric.*, c. 2.
- 223, 19. commendation. *Id.*, *De orat.*, c. 19.
- 223, 23. senator. *Id.*, *Agric.*, c. 4.
- 223, 29. name. *Id.*, *H.*, iv, 5.
- 223, 35. soldiers. *Id. ib.*, iii, 81.
- 224, 2. rules. Quintilian, xi, 1, 35; xii, 2, 6, 7.
- 224, 8. busy. Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 22, 6.
- 224 13. philosophy. V. Avid. Cass., cc. 1, 4, 14.
- 224, 25. sciences. V. *Alex. Sev.*, c. 14.
- 224, 28. Chaeremon. Zeller, *G. d. Ph.*, iii², i, 611.
- 224, 29. rule. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 52.
- 224, 37. philosophers. Dio, lii, 36.
- 225, 7. Seneca. Zeller, iii², i, 611 f.

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- 225, 14. danger. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 57.
 225, 28. liberty. *Id. ib.*, xvi, 22.
 225, 31. Cassius. Juv., 5, 36.
 225, 34. school. Epictet., *Diss.*, i, 2.
 225, 39. Suetonius. Sueton., *Vespas.*, c. 15.
 226, 7. Mucianus. Dio, lxvi, 12 sq.; *Fr. Vat.*, 102.
 226, 24. 75. Clinton, *F. R.*, a. 74.
 226, 27. islands. Dio, lxvi, 13.
 226, 28. banished. Mommsen, *Zur Lebensgeschichte des j. Plinius*, in *Hermes*, iii, 84 f. The passages in Clinton, *F. R.*, a. 90.
 227, 3. Euphrates. Pliny, *Epp.*, i, 10; Mommsen, in *Hermes*, iii, 36 f.
 227, 10. land. Pliny, *Paneg.*, 47.
 227, 13. Trajan. Vales., *Dionis vita* (Dio, ed. Dindorf, i, p. xxxii sq.).
 227, 17. lies. Dio, *Or. de regno*, iii, p. 103 R., ed. Dindorf, i, p. 39.
 227, 19. Rome. Symmach., *Epp.*, 10, 18, writes as urban prefect to Theodosius: inter praecipua negotiorum saepe curatum est, ut erudiendis nobilibus philosophi praeceptores ex Attica poscerentur. Nunc vestri saeculi bonitas ultro optimatam sapientiae Romanis gymnasiis arrogavit. Si quidem Celsus, ortus Archetimo patre, quem memoria litterarum Aristoteli supparem fuisse sentit, juventuti nostrae magisterium bonarum artium pollicetur, nullum quaestum professionis affectans: atque ideo dignus in amplissimum ordinem cooptari, ut animum vitiis avaritiae liberum dignitatis praemio muneremur.
 227, 28. schools. Vol. i, pp. 341, 361. Zeller, iii², i, 608 f. On the exemption of the teachers from taxes cf. Kuhn, *Röm. Verfas.*, i, 119.
 227, 32. show. Dio, lxxi, 35; cf. vol. i, pp. 32, 254.
 227, 41. honour. *Vit. M. Antonini*, c. 3. He was consul for the second time in 162, urban prefect in 167. Borghesi, *Œuvres*, v, 58 ss. Cf. Teuffel, *RLG*⁴, 358, 3 (and 4 on the Stoic Claudius Maximus).
 228, 3. son-in-law. Borghesi, *Œuvres épigr.*, i, 247 (with Renier's note. Zeller, iii², i, 695).
 228, 4. Severus. *V. Sept. Severi*, c. 18; *Gelas*, c. 2.
 228, 8. statues. Tertullian, *Apologet.* (199), c. 46.
 228, 11. philosophers. Vol. i, p. 254.
 228, 22. martyrdom. Martial, i, 61, 10; ii, 5; cf. i, 24 and 39; ii, *prooem.*, 2; i, 8.
 228, 28. ground. Seneca, *Epp.*, 14, 11 sqq.
 229, 8. brought. *Ibid.*, 73.
 229, 28. letter. *Ibid.*, 103, 5.
 229, 35. repeated. *Ibid.*, 5.
 229, 41. sign-board. *Ibid.*, 68.
 230, 19. Dio. Dio, lxvi, 12; *Fr. Vat.*, 102.
 230, 28. Greece. Dio, Chr., *Or.*, lxxii.
 231, 5. Persius. Pers., 1, 126-134.
 231, 11. manner. Vol. i, p. 194.
 231, 17. Greeks. Pers., 5, 189-191.
 231, 28. nostrils. *Id.*, 3, 77-87.

- 231, 33. philosopher. Petron., *Sat.*, 71.
- 232, 11. things. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman*, p. 320, 2.
- 232, 21. two. Quintilian, *Inst.*, vii, 1, 38; 4, 39; Fortunatian., p. 43; Quintilian, *Decl.*, 268.
- 232, 40. Plutarch. In the catalogue of Lamprias, no. 207 (Byzantine according to Diels, *Doxogr. Gr.*, p. 27): πρὸς τοὺς διὰ τὸ βηγορεῖν μὴ φιλοσοφοῦντας.
- 232, 41. Seneca's. Seneca, *Epp.*, 108, 22.
- 233, 1. seriously. *Id.*, *Ad Helv.*, 17, 4. Cf. vol. i, p. 253.
- 233, 19. schools. The passages are in Babucke, *De Quintiliani doctrina et studiis* (Regim. 1866), pp. 1-11.
- 233, 25. Fronto. Fronto, *De eloq.*, fr. 9.
- 234, 6. Fronto. *Id. ib.*, fr. 4, 4.
- 234, 10. renunciation. The treatises which contain unqualified, whole-hearted attacks on philosophy, were composed before *Bis accusatus*, viz. *Hermotimus*, *Icaromenippus*, *Necyomantia*, *Dialogi mortuorum*). Immediately after it were written *Vitarum auctio*, *Piscator*, *Peregrinus*, *Fugitivi*. Ivo Bruns, *Lucians philosoph. Satiren*, in *Rhein. Mus.*, xliii, p. 86 ff.; 161 ff.
- 234, 17. wisdom. Preller, *StRE*, iv, 1173; Zeller, iii^a, 1, 732.
- 235, 5. faces. Lucian, *Hermotim.*, 2, 6, 48-67, 77, 79. Cf. also *Paras.*, 43; *Ver. hist.*, ii, 175; *Dialog. mort.*, 20, 5.
- 235, 18. education. Aristid., *Or.*, xlv, p. 96 Jebb; ed. Dindorf, ii, 128 sq.
- 235, 23. philosophy. Baumgart, *Aelius Aristides*, pp. 25-35.
- 235, 28. time. Aristid., *Or.*, xlvi, p. 307 sqq. Jebb; ed. D., ii, 397 sqq.
- 235, 36. practise. *Id.*, *Or.*, xlvi, p. 307 J.; ed. D., ii, 397 sq. (on p. 398 instead of the meaningless τελών, a word like *ὀνειδίζοντων* or *λοιδορουμένων* is required). Jebb's mistake in referring the whole passage to the Christians instead of the philosophers needs no refutation. He is, however, followed by A. Haas, *Quibus fontibus Aristides in componenda declaratione ὑπὲρ τεττάρων usus sit* (Greifswald, 1884), pp. 58 and 64. Cf. Baumgart, p. 26, 19. Choricus, *Apol. mimor.* (ed. Graux, *Rev. de philol.*, i, 222), 6, 27, understood the passage right: ὁ γ' Ἀριστείδης, οὗς λοιδορεῖ φιλοσόφους καὶ πλείστη φησὶν ἀκολασία συζῆν, τοῖς Σοφοκλέους ἀπεικάζει σατύροις (p. 307 J.). Perhaps Aristides was thinking here especially of the Cynics, but certainly not of them alone, as Bernays supposes (*Lucian und die Cyniker*, pp. 38 f. and 100 ff.). This is shown by the excuse of consideration for wife and children, which Aristides mentions, not merely as if it were an exceptional thing (Bernays, p. 103).
- 236, 21. wise. Aristid., *ib.*, p. 309 sq. J.; D., 404 sq. (p. 405, 6 instead of ὥσπερ οὐ καὶ τοὺς δούλους perhaps we should read ὥσπερ ἴδαμεν καὶ τοὺς δούλους, and p. 407, 2 instead of εἶδον δ' ἐγώ γε καὶ ἐν ψαλμῳδίᾳ θεράποντας: ἐν κωμῳδίᾳ). Minuc. Felix, *Octav.*, 38, 5 and Lactant., *Inst. div.*, iii, 15 take the same view, which is perhaps partly to be explained by their rhetorical training.
- 237, 5. Epictetus. Epictet., *D.*, iv, 8, 4 sq.

- 237, 23. pale. Gell., xix, 1.
 237, 30. employment. Diggs., *L.*, 13, 1, § 4.
 238, 9. Cato. Seneca, *Ad Gallionem de vita beata*, c. 17-25.
 238, 16. Seneca. Seneca, *Ep.*, 29, 5.
 238, 25. cloak. Tac., *A.*, xvi, 32.
 239, 1. courageous. Martial, xi, 56.
 239, 12. ignore. Appian, *B. Mithridat.*, c. 28.
 239, 20. infamies. Babucke, *loc. cit.*
 239, 33. Vespasian. Schol. Juv., 4, 53 (cf. Mathias, *De schol. Juv.*, p. 14). Dio, lxviii, 1: ἐν οἷς καὶ Σέρας (read Σύρας) ἦν ὁ φιλόσοφος.
 239, 34. beards. Martial, xi, 84, 7.
 240, 6. necks. *Id.*, ix, 47. On the other hand, Martial perhaps acknowledges Fronto (xiv, 106), who was evidently very well known, as a real Stoic. Juv., 2, 1-43.
 240, 15. civilization. Julian, *Orat.*, 3, p. 119C.: οὐκ οὐδὲ ἐξ Ἑλλήνων παντελῶς οὐχεται φιλοσοφία, οὐδὲ ἐπῆλυε τὰς Ἀθήνας οὐδὲ τὴν Κόρινθον ἡκιστα δὲ ἐστὶ (τούτων) τῶν πηγῶν ἔκρητι τὸ Ἄργος πολυδίψιον κ.τ.λ.
 240, 21. wisdom. Vol. iii, p. 230. *Or.*, 72, 383 R., 388 R.
 240, 25. reality. Gell., xvii, 19.
 240, 29. perfection. Epictet., *D.*, iv, 8, 9 sqq.
 240, 36. themselves. Gell., xiii, 8, 4 and 5.
 241, 4. Cynics. Apulei., *Florida*, i, 7.
 241, 5. Platonists. Apulei., *Apol.*, c. 39: Utrum igitur putas philosopho non secundum Cynicam temeritatem rudi et indocto, sed qui se Platonicae scholae (esse) meminert, utrum ei putas turpe scire ista an nescire etc.
 241, 9. Cynics. Lucian, *Bis accus.*, 6. Cf. vol. i, p. 32.
 241, 12. philosophers. Epictet., *loc. cit.* Taurus in Gell., vii, 10.
 241, 21. cocks. Lucian, *Piscator*, 34 sqq.
 241, 25. vices. *Id.*, *Hermotim.*, 16 sqq.
 241, 27. another. *Id.*, *Lapithae*, 32 sqq.
 241, 30. Laws. *Id.*, *Fugitivi*, 18 (cf. vol. i, p. 254 f.); Gell., xv, 2.
 241, 32. thinking. Lucian, *Lapithae*, 34.
 241, 36. vices. Aristid., *Or.*, xlvi, 309 J.; ed. D., ii, 398 sqq. Cf. above, vol. iii, p. 235 f.
 242, 3. joke. Meineke, *Com. Gr.* iv, 308 (352).
 243, 11. era. Zeller, iii⁸, 1, 684 ff.
 243, 23. pestle. Lucian, *Demonax*, 19, 48.
 243, 27. philosopher. Epictet., *D.*, iv, 11.
 243, 36. authors. Apparently the decision to declare war to the knife against Cynicism, was made about the time when Lucian published his *Auction of Philosophers*. Bernays, *Lucian und die Cyniker*, p. 48.
 243, 38. money. Petron., c. 14.
 244, 2. shoulders. Epictet., *D.*, iii, 22, 80 (οὐδὲν μμποῦνται ἐκείνους ἢ εἰ ἀρα οὐκ ὀρθῶντες γίνονται).
 244, 3. Atticus. Gell., ix, 2.
 244, 25. luxury. Lucian, *Piscator*, 45; *Fugitivi*, 12 sqq.
 244, 38. him. Cic., *Tusc.*, iii, 1-3.
 245, 14. justice. Quintilian, *Inst.*, xii, *prooem.*, 3, c. 2, 1-28.

- 245, 29. minimum. Tac., *Agricola*, c. 4.
 245, 39. gods. Seneca, *Epp.*, 53, 8-11. Cf. Haupt, *Varia*, lxi; *Hermes*, v, 32.
 246, 6. philosophy. Seneca, *Epp.*, 16, 3.
 246, 13. cases. *Id.*, *ib.*, 94, 95.
 246, 35. mind. *Id.*, *ib.*, 15, 1.
 246, 36. living. *Id.*, *ib.*, 90, 27.
 246, 38. virtue. *Id.*, *ib.*, 89, 8.
 246, 41. 64. *Id.*, *Nat. qu.*, vii, 32; cf. Clinton, *F. R.*, ad a. 63 A.D.
 247, 4. empty. Seneca, *Epp.*, 95, 23.
 247, 9. young. Tac., *A.*, xv, 71.
 247, 11. classes. Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 11, 5.
 247, 16. Massilia. Strabo, iv, 1, 5; p. 181.
 247, 17. Greeks. Zeller, iii^a, 1, 491. Bücheler (*Conjectanea de Silio, Juvenale* etc., in *N. Rh. Mus.*, xxxv, 1880, p. 390 ff.) plausibly supposes the Roman philosopher Italicus (ὁ μάλιστα δοκῶν αὐτῶν φιλόσοφος εἶναι: Epictet., *D.*, iii, 8, 7) to be the poet Silius Italicus. That he was a Stoic is as good as proved by Bücheler's arguments.
 247, 28. Sextii. Zeller, iii^a, 1, 599 ff.
 248, 14. sentiments. Seneca, *Epp.*, 100, 12; 52, 11.
 248, 27. school. Inscriptions of Stoic philosophers in Rome, *CIL*, vi, 9783 (viro magno philosopho primo) 9784, 9785.
 248, 30. empire. Zeller, iii^a, 1, 348, 3, 353. To those mentioned there add the author of *Ciris*, v, 3s. On Lucilius Junior cf. Teuffel, *RLG*^a, 307, 3. Petron., c. 132, calls Epicurus 'pater veri'. Inscription of an Epicurean philosopher from Rhodes at Brundisium, *CIG*, iii, 5873 = *CIL*, ix, 48. Οἱ Ἀθηναῖων Ἐπικούρειοι φιλόσοφοι, *CIG*, 4315 n. (*Add.*, p. 1148) Epicureans (πολλοὶ δὲ ἦσαν) as antagonists of Alexander of Abonoteichos, in particular at Amastris. Lucian, *Alexander*, c. 25. Survival of the Epicurean doctrine in the fourth century according to expressions of Hilary of Poitiers: A. Zingerle, *Studien z. H. v. P. Psalmenkommentar*, in *Sitzungsb. d. Wien. Akad.*, *Philol. histor. kl.*, 1884, p. 969. Assertions concerning its extinction made by opponents like Julian and Augustine (Usener, *Epicurea*, p. lxxv sq.) must be regarded with caution.
 249, 2. city. Plutarch, *De curios.*, 15. Cf. on Plutarch's Roman friends Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands unter d. Römern*, ii, 179.
 249, 4. Florus. Plutarch, *Otho*, c. 14; cf. *Quaest. Conviv.*, i, 9, 1; iii, 4; v, 7; vii, 4 and 6; Asbach, *Consularfasten von 68-96*, in *Bonner Jahrb.*, lxxix, 1885, pp. 107, 128.
 249, 6. *Lives*. Cf. Plutarch, *Qu. conv.*, i, 1.
 249, 6. Musonius. *Id.*, *De ira cohib.*, 2; *De tranq. an.*, 1.
 249, 8. patron. *Id.*, *De def. oracc.*
 249, 8. others. Paccius (Juv., 7, 12 ?): *De tranq. an.* Saturninus (Pompeius Saturninus? Teuffel, *RLG*^a, 341, 1): *Adv. Coloten. Sulla*; *De cohib. ira*, *De fac. in orbe Lunae*. Chenevière's treatise *De Plutarchi familiaribus* (Paris, 1886) contains nothing relevant.
 249, 12. lectures. Gell., i, 2, 1; xviii, 2, 2.

- 249, 14. Crescens. Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, ed. Vall., ii, 865. Clinton, *F. Rom.*, ad a. 153.
- 249, 18. Proteus. Lucian, *Peregrin.*, 4 sqq. Bernays, *Lucian und die Cyniker*, p. 14 ff.
- 249, 28. servants. Galen, *Method. med.*, xiii, 15, ed. K., x, p. 909 sqq. (written after 165).
- 249, 29. 162. Clinton, *F. R.*, ad a. 162.
- 249, 30. Eudemus. Galen, *De praenot.*, c. 2 sqq., ed. K., xiv, p. 605 sqq.
- 249, 33. praefect. Clinton, *F. R.*, ad a. 175. Lebas-Waddington, p. 731.
- 249, 34. behaviour. Galen, ed. K., ii, 218.
- 249, 37. Aristotelian. *Id.*, xiv, 612 sq.; cf. xix, 13.
- 250, 1. Athens. Clinton, *loc. cit.*
- 250, 3. teacher. Galen, xiv, 627.
- 250, 6. rank. Philostrat., *Vitt. soph.*, i, 8; *Gell.*, xii, 1, 1-3.
- 250, 9. Rome. *Gell.*, xviii, 1.
- 250, 11. Tibur. *Id.*, xix, 5.
- 250, 15. Africa. *CIL*, viii, 117 (Municip. Aelium Avitta, 159 A.D.): Q. Egrilio (sic) Plariano leg. pr. (pr.).
- 250, 12. Aquilinus. Fronto, *Ad amicos*, i, 4, p. 176 Naber; cf. Joseph Klein, *Zu Fronto*, in *N. Rh. Mus.*, 1876, p. 639 f. Cf. below, vol. iii, p. 261.
- 250, 18. original. Apulei, *Apol.*, c. 64.
- 250, 23. philosophy. Zeller, iii^a, i, 610 n. Clinton, *F. R.*, ad a. 200.
- 250, 25. Virgil. *Gordiani*, c. 7:—(Ἀπολλώνιος (Π)ρωτάρχου σοφὸς περικαρ(ητικὸς) (Rome, bad writing. *Bull. comun.*, v, 1877, p. 32).
- 250, 28. statements. Cf. Teuffel, *RLG*⁴, 358.
- 250, 30. guests. Vol. i, p. 218.
- 250, 35. century. Porphyry, *Vit. Plotini*, 7-9. Seeck, *Die Inschrift des Caejonius Rufius Albinus* (336/337), in *Hermes*, xix, 186 ff. C. R. A. v. c. cons. — — philosophum. Apollinar. Sidon., *Epp.*, iii, 6 (to Eutropius, praef. praet. Galliarum, an adherent of Plotinus); iv, 1 (Probo): Tu sub Eusebio nostro inter Aristotelicas categorias artifex dialecticus atticissabas; iv, 11 (Claudianus): qui indesinenter salva religione philosopharetur; et licet crinem barbamque non pasceret, pallium et clavam nunc irrideret, nunc etiam execraretur, a collegio tamen Complatonicorum solo habitu ac fide dissociabatur. But Augustine, *Conf.*, iv, 16, 28, says that the Categories of Aristotle were hardly understood by the 'magistris eruditissimis—multa in pulvere depingentibus'.
- 250, 38. studies. Quintilian, xii, *prooem.*, 3: orator a dicendi magistris dimissus—majora sibi auxilia ex ipsis sapientiae penetralibus petit. Paulus Aegin., i, 14, designates the years from 14 to 21 as the time for instruction in mathematics and philosophy.
- 250, 38. Gellius. Cf. Appendix lx, p. 324.
- 250, 40. Aurelius. *Vit. M. Antonini*, c. 2.
- 251, 3. word. Seneca, *Epp.*, 4, 2.
- 251, 10. Cornutus. *Vit. Persii Sat.*, 5, 30.

- 251, 12. Sotion. Seneca, *Epp.*, 49, 2 (puer); 108, 17 (juvenis).
 251, 18. youth. Plutarch, *De audiendo*, cc. 1 and 2.
 251, 23. importance. *Id.*, *Cupid. divit.*, c. 7.
 251, 25. school. Plutarch relates e.g. that Arulenus Rusticus during one of his lectures in Rome received a despatch from the emperor. *Id.*, *De curiosit.*, cc. 15.
 251, 33. idlers. Seneca, *Epp.*, 76, 1-4.
 252, 1. globes. Lucian, *Nigrin.*, 2.
 252, 3. questions. Plutarch, *De audiendo*, c. 10. Cf., *Conj. praec.*, c. 18. *De adulat. et amico*, c. 7: *ἀν δὲ ὁ κόλαξ θηρεύει φιλόλογον καὶ φιλομαθὴ νέον, αὐθις ἐν βιβλίοις ἐστὶ, καὶ πῶγων ποδῆρης καθεῖται, καὶ τριβωνοφορία τὸ χρῆμα, καὶ ἀδιαφορία, καὶ διὰ στόματος ὅτε ἀριθμοὶ καὶ τὰ ὀρθογώνια καὶ τρίγωνα Πλάτωνος.* Cf. also Pers., 1, 131 sqq. The mathematical reminiscences in Gell., i, 20, i; xvi, 18, 6 are not derived, as I formerly thought, from the teaching of Taurus, but, as M. Hertz remarks, from Varro (Ritschl, *Quaest. Varron.*, 30s., 38s.).
 252, 5. dialectic. Epictet., *D.*, i, 17, 6.
 252, 6. subjects. Zeller, iii^a, i, 65 f.
 252, 7. philosophers. Seneca, *Epp.*, 71, 6.
 257, 10. superfluous. Marcus Aurelius' opinion: Zeller, iii^a, i, 676.
 252, 11. Rufus. Epictet., *D.*, i, 7, 32.
 252, 11. Epictetus. *Id. ib.*, i, 17, 1-12; ii, 25.
 252, 14. discussions. Zeller, iii^a, i, 664.
 252, 17. education. Quintilian, xii, *prooem.*
 252, 28. Sirens. Gell., xvi, 8, 16 sq. Cf. Epictet., *D.*, ii, 23, 41.
 252, 34. life. Seneca, *Epp.*, iii, 5.
 252, 41. the like. Zeller, ii^a, i, 188 f.
 253, 11. sophistic. Plutarch, *De prof. in virtute*, 7.
 253, 16. philology. Seneca, *Epp.*, 108, 23.
 253, 18. living. *Id. ib.*, 88, 42.
 253, 22. thereby. Gell., ii, 8.
 253, 26. success. Epictet., *D.*, iii, 6, 3.
 253, 33. morsels. *Id. ib.*, 26, 16; Plutarch, *De prof. in virt.*, 8.
 254, 1. conclusion. Vol. i, p. 227.
 254, 3. Gellius. Gell., i, 2.
 254, 27. universe. Quintilian, xii, 2, 20.
 254, 34. Epictetus. Zeller, iii^a, i, 664 f.
 255, 2. trammels. *Id.*, iii^a, i, 622 f.
 255, 6. health. Seneca, *Epp.*, 117, 29.
 255, 18. existence. Prop., iv (iii), 5, 23-46.
 255, 22. life. Wendland, *Quaest. Musonianae* (Beroj., 1886), p. 12, 2.
 255, 26. Boys. Plutarch, *De educ. puer.*, c. 10.
 256, 2. passage. *Ib.*, c. 7.
 256, 31. field. Plutarch, *De vitioso pudore*, c. 2.
 256, 34. iron. Suid., s. Μαρκιανός. Cf. vol. i, p. 14.
 257, 4. legacy. *Vita Persii.*
 257, 13. studies. Pers., 5, 22 sq., 36-51.
 257, 28. society. Pliny, *Epp.*, iii, 11.
 257, 32. lesson. Gell., i, 26.
 257, 35. dish. *Id.*, xvii, 8.

- 258, 1. considered. *Id.*, vii, 13.
 258, 1. ill. *Id.*, xviii, 10.
 258, 8. day. *Id.*, xx, 4.
 258, 16. uprightness. *Id.*, x, 19.
 258, 18. Crete. *Id.*, ii, 2.
 258, 28. with it. Seneca, *Epp.*, 108, 3 sq.
 258, 36. so forth. Volkmann, *Leben und Schriften Plutarchs*, i, 64 ff.
 259, 4. Gellius. Gell., xiii, 22.
 259, 11. impression. Seneca, *Epp.*, 108, 23.
 259, 15. reject. Epictet., *D.*, i, 16, 9.
 259, 21. pupil. *Id. ib.*, iii, 1.
 259, 28. pig. *Id. ib.*, iv, 11.
 260, 1. *Noctes*. Gell., xii, 1.
 260, 8. judge. *Id.*, xiv, 2.
 260, 15. derived. Epictet., *D.*, iii, 9.
 261, 1. children. A certain T. Φλάουιος Μάξιμος Κρης Γορτύνιος φιλόσοφος (J. Schmidt, *Add. ad CIL viii, Eph. Epigr.*, v, p. 314, no. 439) buried in the burial-place of the imperial servants in Carthage, may have belonged (as tutor) to the imperial household, just as well as the *medici* and *paedagogi* also buried there.
 261, 10. give. Dio, lxii, 26; Tac., *A.*, xvi, 32; *H.*, iv, 10 and 40; Juvenal, 3, 166. Cf. vol. iii, p. 238.
 251, 15. province. Orelli, 5600 = Brambach, *CIRh*, 449. Cf. Ulrichs, *Rhein. Jahrbh.*, lxiv (1878), p. 14. Enaretus probably obtained civic rights through Q. Aegrilius Plarianus. Cf. vol. iii, p. 250.
 261, 21. death. Seneca, *Epp.*, 77, 5-10.
 261, 22. Petronius. Tac., *A.*, xvi, 18.
 261, 30. soul. Seneca, *Tranq. an.*, c. 14.
 261, 30. Plautus. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 59.
 261, 39. body. *Id. ib.*, xvi, 34.
 261, 40. Julian. Ammian., xxv, 3, 23.
 262, 11. employees. *Id. ib.*, xvi, 32: P. Egnatius—cliens Sorani (vol. iii, p. 261).
 262, 16. family. Lucian, *De merc. cond.*, 2 and 4.
 262, 23. cloak. *Id. ib.*, 25.
 262, 33. practices. *Id. ib.* 11, 12, 40.
 263, 5. money. *Id. ib.*, 19.
 263, 14. Greeks. *Id. ib.*, 24 and 40.
 263, 17. destitute. *Id. ib.*, 39.
 263, 22. tavern. Seneca, *Epp.*, 29, 5.
 264, 2. assistance. Plutarch, *C. princip. philosoph. esse*, c. 2, 12-14, etc.
 264, 5. Domna. Vol. i, p. 254.
 264, 6. Elagabalus. *Vit. Elagab.*, ii; cf. c. 10.
 264, 13. hireling. Lucian, *Parasit.*, 52 (for αἰχμάλωτος read αἰχμοφόρος, and for μισθοφορεῖ read δορυφορεῖ).
 264, 23. minds. Seneca, *Ad Marc.*, 4. Vol. i, p. 82 f.
 264, 26. birthplace. According to Julian, *Ep. ad Themist.*, 265 B, he offered him (ὡς φασί) the prefecture of Egypt.
 264, 28. wrangle. Tac., *A.*, xiv, 16.

- 264, 38. throne. Vol. i, p. 67 f.
- 265, 2. income. Artemidor., *Onirocn.*, v, 83: *ἔδοξε τις ἄρτων ἀποβάπτων εἰς μέλι ἐσθλεῖν ἐπὶ λόγους φιλοσοφικοὺς ὀρμήσας καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς σοφίαν ἐπορίσαστο καὶ περιεβάλλετο χρήματα πολλὰ. ἐσθμαυε γὰρ τὸ μέλι τὴν εὐπέειαν τῆς σοφίας, ὡς εἰκός, τὸν πορισμὸν δὲ ὁ ἄρτος.* Cf. *Vit. Anton. Pii*, c. 10.
- 265, 6. wares. Lucian, *Nigrin.*, 25.
- 265, 36. Seneca. Seneca, *Épp.*, 108, 6-8.
- 266, 7. Musonius. Gell., v, 1, 3.
- 266, 14. Epictetus. Epictet., *D.*, iii, 23, 29. The mutilated beginning of the passage: *εἰ εὐσχολεῖτε ἐπαυέσαι με* shows that Epictetus refers to the remark quoted by Gellius (*animus audientis—otium laudandi non habet*) or to a similar saying.
- 266, 27. bandages. Plutarch, *De audiendo*, 9, 12, 16.
- 266, 31. nothing. *Id. ib.*, 17.
- 266, 41. society. Gell., i, 9, 8-10.
- 267, 6. pupils. *Id.*, vii, 10.
- 267, 6. Epictetus. Epictet., *D.*, ii, 21, 8-23.
- 268, 1. Plutarch. Plutarch, *De audiendo*, 7.
- 268, 32. rejoinder. Epictet., *D.*, iii, 9, 6.
- 268, 34. discourse. *Id. ib.*, ii, 23.
- 268, 37. philosophers. Seneca, *De brev. vit.*, 10, 1: *Fabianus non ex his cathedrariis philosophis, sed ex veris et antiquis.*
- 268, 37. age. Epictet., *D.*, iii, 23.
- 269, 2. spear. *Id. ib.*, i, 21.
- 270, 37. flute. Gell., v, 1.
- 270, 40. encored. Plutarch, *De aud.*, 15 sq.
- 271, 17. avoided. *Id. ib.*, 13-15.
- 272, 3. Cynics. Epictet., *D.*, iii, 22.
- 273, 36. Romans. Cic., *Off.*, i, 41, 148. Lucill., *Epigr.*, 30, 47 (*Anthol. Palat.*, xi, 153-155); Martial, iii, 93, 13; iv, 53; vii, 64, 8; xi, 84, 7, show that in the first century Cynics were not at all uncommon in Rome.
- 274, 26. reproach. Zeller, iii², 1, 686 ff.; Seneca, *Beneff.*, vii, 11; Epictet., *D.*, i, 25, 22; Sueton., *Vespas.*, c, 13 (vol. iii of this work, p. 226); Seneca, *Beneff.*, vii, 1, 3; *Épp.*, 62, 20, 9; *Beneff.*, vii, 8. Cf. Jonas, *De ord. libr. Senecae*, p. 50.
- 274, 27. treatise. Bekker and Bernays (*Lucian und die Cyniker*, p. 104 f.) deny that the treatise is Lucian's. Cf. also Croiset, *Vie et œuvres de Lucien*, p. 32, 3; 81.
- 274, 39. cheerfulness. Epictet., *D.*, iii, 22, 86 sqq. Zeller, iii², 1, 691-693. Lucian, *Demonax*.
- 275, 28. Proteus. Zeller, *Alexander u. Peregrinus, ein Betrüger und ein Schwärmer*, in *Deutsche Rundschau*, Jan. 1877 (pp. 74-83). J. Bernays, *Lucian und die Cyniker*, 1879 (where on p. 89 the name Proteus is discussed).
- 276, 16. Greece. Probably, as Bernays supposes (p. 30) the revolt mentioned in *Vit. Antonini P.*, c. 5 (in Achaia atque etiam Aegypto rebelliones repressit).
- 276, 28. required. Zeller, p. 76.
- 276, 37. Origen. Bernays, *Lucian und die Cyniker*, p. 93 f. Origen, *Contra Celsum*, iii, 50.

- 277, 11. monks. Julian, *Oraf.*, vii, 224 B: ἀποτακτιστάς τινας ὁνομάζουσιν οἱ δυσσεβεῖς Γαλιλαῖοι κ.τ.λ. Du Cange, *Gloss. med. et inf. Graecitatis*: Ἀποτάττεσθαι Renuntiare—Item renuntiare saeculo et vitam monachicam amplecti. Cf. ἀποτακτικός.
- 277, 17. Demonax. Lucian, *Δημόναξ*, 21. Cf. also Philostrat., *Vitt. soph.*, ii, 1, 13, p. 563.
- 277, 29. ill-doing. Gell., xii, 11; cf. viii, 3.
- 277, 35. Calanus. Syncell., p. 352 B:—ταῦτον ἐνέπηρσε μιμούμενος Κάλανόν,
- 278, 3. statue. Athenag., c. 26.
- 278, 5. philosopher. Ammian., xxix, 1, 39.
- 278, 10. numerous. Cf. besides the passages quoted by Bernays, p. 99 f. Macrobi., i, 7, 3 (Teuffel, *RLG*⁴, 430, 5). Prudent., *Hamartig.*, 401: Hinc gerit Herculeam vilis sapientia clavam Ostentatque suos vicatim gymnosophistas. Augustine, *C. D.*, xiv, 20, 5: Et nunc videmus adhuc esse philosophos Cynicos; hi enim sunt, qui non solum amiciuntur pallio, verum etiam clavam gerunt. Also in the rescript on the *colluvio* of the false philosophers in the year 369, *Cod. Theod.*, xiii, 3, 7 (with Gothofred's commentary) the Cynics seem to be chiefly meant. Cf. Zeller, iii^a, 1, 775 f.
- 278, 28. friendship. Zeller, who had doubted the assertion in *Vit. Hadrian.*, c. 16 (iii^a, 1, 660^a, 4), admits (iii^a, 1, 738, 3) the possibility that Hadrian, when he went to Greece (125/6, 129/30) visited Epictetus, who was 20 years old when Musonius was exiled from Rome, A.D. 65.
- 278, 37. concerned. Seneca, *Epp.*, 44, 1 and 2.
- 279, 19. influences. Epictet., *D.*, iv, 7, 6; M. Antonin., xi, 7. I see no reason for Renan's assertion (*Les Apôtres*, ch. 13) that *Sicarii* and Zealots are meant here, and in the second passage (where the text has οἱ Χριστιανοί) it seems to me quite impossible.
- 279, 27. influences. Boissier, *La religion rom.*, ii, 426. Cf. vol. iii of the present work, p. 222.
- 279, 30. antiquity. Cf. Zeller, iii^a, 1, 267 f. etc.
- 279, 37. benefits. *Id.*, iii^a, 1, 278 (Seneca); 660 (Musonius); 675 (Epictetus); 683 f. (Marcus Aurelius). Goethe could only have thought of these when he called the Stoics 'Christians among the heathen' (Riemer, *Briefe von und an Goethe*, p. 315).
- 280, 8. fellow-slaves. Zeller, ii^a, 1, 571 (Plato); 2, 537 f. (Aristotle); iii^a, 1, 278–80 (Stoics).
- 280, 14. Epictetus. Orig., *C. Cels.*, vi, 2. An interesting testimony to the repute in which the doctrine of Epictetus was held is furnished by an inscription (of about the second half of the second century) in a sanctuary of Apollo in Pisidia. The author of this inscription was also a man of servile descent, trained in the Stoic school. Kaibel, in *Hermes*, xxiii, 1883, p. 541 ff.
- 281, 14. guilt. Seneca, *Beneff.*, i, 10; *Epp.*, 97.
- 281, 17. events. Tac., *A.*, iii, 55; *H.*, i, 3; Non tamen adeo virtutem sterile saeculum, ut non et bona exempla prodiderit.
- 281, 19. each. M. Antonin., *Comm.*, vii, 1; vi, 48.

IV. BELIEF IN THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL

- 282, 4. assumed. Cf. Lehrs, *Vorstellungen der Griechen über das Fortleben nach dem Tode*, *Populäre Aufsätze* (2nd ed. 1875), pp. 303-362.
- 283, 17. future. Pliny, *N. H.*, vii, 188-191 (on the omitted passage cf. Zeller, i^a, 620, 1).
- 283, 25. stars. Pliny, *ib.*, ii, 95; Zeller, iii^a, i, 388.
- 283, 29. destiny. *Anthol. Palat.*, ix, 49: 'Ελπίς καὶ Τύχη μέγα χαλπετε τὸν λιμέν' εὐρον; Οὐδὲν ἐμολ' ἑὐμῖν· παλτερε τοῖς μετ' ἐμέ. Benndorf-Schöne, *Lateran. Mus.*, 345 ff.: Evasi effugi: Spes et Fortuna valete: Nil mihi vobiscum: ludificate alios. Cf. Orelli, 1174 and *CIL*, ix, 4756: Hac luce si excessi, Spes et Fortuna valete: Nil amplius in me vobis per saecula licebit. Quod fuerat vestrum amisi, quod erat meum hic est. These thoughts of course are not necessarily Epicurean. Lucret., iii, 398 sqq. (Horace, *S.*, i, 1, 119). The figure occurs first in Bio, *Borysthenit.* (Stob., *Floril.*, v, 67): ὡς περ ἐκ συμποσίου ἀπαλλάρτομαι οὐδὲν δυσχεραλῶν οὕτω καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βίου, ὅταν ἡ ὥρα ᾗ. Heinze, *De Horatio Bionis imitatore* (Bonn, 1889), p. 121. Similarly Caesar declared in the senate regarding the punishment of Catiline's followers: mortem—cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere, ultra neque curae neque gaudio locum esse (Sallust, *Catil.*, 51, 20); mortem ab dis immortalibus non esse supplicii causa constitutam, sed aut necessitatem naturae aut laborum ac miseriarum quietem. Boissier, *Relig. rom.*, i, 313, 1.
- 283, 34. sleep. Orelli, 1192.
- 283, 35. character. Somno aeterno: Orelli, 4428; cf. Henzen, *Index*, p. 200.
- 283, 36. immortality. Orelli, 3743 = *CIL*, iii, 5825: Perpetuae securitati; Orelli, 4448: J. O. M. (D. M. ?) et perpetuae securitati; 4453: D. m. s. perpetuae securitati; *CIL*, viii, 3873: securitati perpetuae; 4615 (perp. sec.); 3763: secur. eterne. These formulae are hardly to be taken always literally. *Securi* was a popular expression for the dead (Wilmanns, 575; *CIL*, xiv, 4276: *secura facta est v Idus Oct.* sepulta etc.), and *Securitati* (aeternae) is not only connected with D. m. (Wilmanns, 246; *CIL*, 3654; v, i, 3322, 2896), but *Dis securitatis*, Orelli, 2201 = *CIL*, vi, 2268; *Dis securis*, Gruter, 562, 6; *Dibus securis*, Orelli, 3091, were also said for *Dis manibus*.
- 283, 40. awaking. Stephani, *Tit. Gr.*, v (*Ind. schol. Dorpat.*, 1850), s. xviii, p. 12 = Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 101.
- 283, 41. inscription. Marini, *Iscr. Alb.*, 117, 6.
- 284, 1. Greek. *CIG*, 6298.
- 284, 6. image. Stephani, *Bull. hist. phil. de l'Acad. de St. Petersb.*, xi, 238. Lebas-Waddington, *Asie min.*, *Add.* (Smyrna), 1532.
- 284, 10. distich. *Anth. Gr.*, xiii, 798 no. 44 = Welcker, *Syll. Epigr.*, n. 61, p. 93 sqq. (95) = Keil, *Syll. inscr. Boeot.*, p. 189. Stephani, *Tit. Gr.*, v, 18 = *CIG*, 6745 = Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 1117.

284, 14. Marcus. Orelli, 4811.

284, 19. woman. Orelli, 4809 = *CIL*. v, i, 1939. Cf. the appeal to the reader of the epitaph in Renier, *Inscr. de L'Alg.*, 717 = *CIL*, viii, 2885 : Non fueras : nunc es iterum nunc desines esse. *CIL*, v, i, 1813 = Henzen, 7337 : n(on) f(ui) n(on) s(um) n(on) c(uro) ; *ib.*, 2893 ; *CIL*, viii, 3463 : non fui. fui. non sum. non desidero. *Mém. des antiquaires de France*, xiii, 171, tab. 3, n. 17 (Lactora) : D. i. m. Non fui. fui. memini (?) non sum. non curo. Kaibel, 595 = *CIG*, 6265 : εὐφυχῶ Νικομήδης, ὅστις οὐκ ἤμην καὶ ἐγενόμην, οὐκ εἶμι καὶ οὐ λυποῦμαι. *CIL*, v, i, 3415, l. 6 : nec scio quit nunc sim nec scio qu(it) fuerim) ; *ib.*, ix, 4840 : Olim non fuimus nati, sumus inde quieti. Nunc sumus ut fuimus. Cura relicta vale. Auson., *Epit.*, 38, ex sepulcro Latinae Viae :—

Non nomen, non quo genitus, non unde quid egi.

Mutus in aeternum sum, cinis ossa nihil.

Non sum, nec fueram : genitus tamen e nihilo sum.

Mitte, nec exprobres singula, talis eris.

CIL, xi, i, 856, 6 ; sumus mortales, immortales non sumus.

284, 21. remedy. Murat., 1597, 3 (Marini, *Inscr. Alb.*, p. 117, 7).

284, 23. Nothus. Henzen, *Inscr. antiche latine*, *BdI*, 1878, p. 240.

A second fragment of the same inscription (which may thus have been in common use) De Rossi, *BdI*, 1880, p. 1018.

284, 29. come. *CIL*, ii, 1434 (epitaph of an eight year old child) ;

ib., 1877 : Es bibe lude veni. *Ib.*, 2262 : Tu qui stas et leges

(sic) titulum meum, lude jocare veni. Lebas-Waddington, 798 =

CIG, 3827 S. = Kaibel, 362 : παῖσον τρύφησον ζήσον· ἀποθάνειν

σε δεῖ. Lebas-Wadd., 977 : "Ἄνθος τοῖς παροδείταις χαίρει·

λοῦσαι πλε φάγε βέλυσον· τούτων γὰρ ὡδε κατὰ οὐδὲν ἔχεις.

In *CIL*, vi, 3, 19,683 the concluding words may be restored

approximately as follows : Ecce meo jaceo tumulto neque

sentio quicquam. Tu, moneo, fruire, dum tibi vita data est.

Ib., xi, i, 2547a : dum vibes homo vibe, nam post mortem

nihil est ; omnia remanent, et hoc est homo quid vides.

284, 31. kind. Marini, i, i, 3 ; *CIL*, vi, 3, 16,169 : joceris, ludas : hic summa est severitas.

285, 7. form. Marini, *Inscr. Alb.*, p. 117 = Fabretti, *Inscr. dom.*, c. v, no. 387.

285, 9. fire. *CIL*, vi, 3, 17,985a (Henzen, 7410 from an interpolated copy in *Cod. Barberin.* ; otherwise Jahn, *Ber. d. S. Ges.*, 1851, p. 178 f.).

285, 22. manner. See above, note on p. 284, 29.

285, 25. lost. Muratori, 1677, 2 ; *CIL*, vi, 18,131 ; cf. Stephani, *Der ausruhende Herakles*, p. 36 (288), although I do not share his notion of a 'belief in the continuance of the effects produced by what has been eaten and drunk in this life'.

285, 31. himself. Orelli, 4816 = *CIL*, vi, 3, 15,258. Gruter, 910, 12 in Stephani, *op. cit.*, p. 16 f. Cf. cum vives, benefac (tibi : namque) hoc tecum feres : Henzen, 6042. De Rossi, *BdI*, 1853, p. 89s. Henzen, 7407 = *CIL*, ix, 2114 (Buecheler,

Spec. anth., l. epigr., lxxxii): Dum vixi vixi quomodo ingenuum decet. (Nam) quod comedi et ebibi, tantum meum est.

- 285, 33. epitaphs. Among these one must count also some which presume a dissolution into the elements. *CIL*, iii, 3247 (Sirmium): D. m. Terra tenet corpus, nomen lapis atque animam aer. Quammerus ser(vus). *Ib.*, ix, 2042 = *IRN*, 1804 (Beneventum): Zoticus hic nomen nudum vanumque reliquit. In cineres corpus et in aethera vita soluta est. *Ib.*, xi, 1, 973a (Reg. Lepidum):—Quoius ut est lenis patrium diffusus in aer (sic) Spiritus, hic mater (i.e. tellus) corpus operta tenet. Tocilescu, *Inscr. a. d. Dobrudscha*, in *Oesterr. Mitth.*, vi, 1882, p. 30 (a good poem, which denies the survival of consciousness after death): ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ γῆς καὶ πνεύματος ἡα παροίθεν, ἀλλὰ θανάων κείμει πᾶσι τὰ πάντ' ἀποδοῦς. πᾶσιν τοῦτο μένει· τί δὲ τὸ πλεον, ὁππόθεν ἦλθον εἰς τοῦτ' (αὐτ') ἐλύθη σῶμα μαραινόμενον. Inscriptions expressing doubts: Kaibel, 700 (ἀλλ' εἰ γ' ἐν φθιμένονασι τις αἰσθησις, τέκνον, ἐστιν); 722: εἰ δὲ τίς ἐστι νόος παρὰ Τάρταρον ἢ παρὰ Λήθη.
- 285, 39. jesting. Nor obscene ideas: Luxor. (*Anthol.*, ed. Riese 319), *De sarcophago ubi turpia sculpta fuerant*. Cf. the sarcophagus in O. Müller, *Denkmäler d. alten Kunst*, ii, plate xlv, no. 548.
- 286, 3. half-educated. Cic., *Tusc.*, iv, 3, 7; *Fin.*, i, 7, 25. Zeller, iii^a, i, 348 n. 3; cf. 353 f.
- 286, 35. Greece. Lehrs, *Pop. Aufs.*^a, p. 344n.
- 287, 5. principle. *Id. ib.*, p. 336 ff.
- 287, 12. *Phaedo*. Platonic doctrines on the survival of the soul, found in the Stoics, especially Seneca: Lehrs, *op. cit.*, 339 f.
- 287, 18. opponents. Cic., *Tusc.*, i, 17, 39; 21, 49.
- 288, 18. fire. Plato, *Phaedo*, p. 113c; Virgil, *Aen.*, vi, 741; Lehrs, *op. cit.*, p. 308 ff.
- 288, 20. dogma. Gregory, *Dialogi*, iv, 39, 57; Ebert, *Gesch. der christl. lat. Litteratur*, i, 522 f.
- 288, 26. Plutarch. Plutarch, *De ser. num. vind.*, c. 22.
- 289, 40. epitaphs. For Elysium cf. Lehrs, p. 344 f. So e.g. the epitaph on Persius' friend, the physician Claudius Agathernus (Pers., ed. Jahn, p. xxvii, Lehrs, p. 346): μετ' εὐσεβέων δ' ἐσμὲν ἐν Ἑλυσίῳ. The formulae εὐσεβέων εἰς ἱερὸς θαλάμους, εἰς δόμον εὐσεβέων, ἐπ' εὐσεβέων χώρον, μετ' εὐσεβέεσσι, ἐν εὐσεβέων etc.: Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 215, 218, 222, 222^b, 253, 338, 569; Elysium, 338; Isles of the Blest, 648, 649. Tocilescu, *Inscr. a. d. Dobrudscha*, in *Öst. Mitth.*, vi, 1882, p. 32 f. (νῆσσον ἔχεις μακάρων). *CIL*, iii, 1759 (Epidaur. Dalmat.) 5—nam mens aeterna profecto Pro meritis potitur seditibus Elysiis; 1992 (Salonae): vivas, qui dixeris: vivit Elysiis. *Ib.*, vi, 2, 12,877.
- 290, 16. gods. Lehrs., p. 340 ff. Kaibel, 314: καὶ με θεῶν μακάρων κατέχει δόμος ἄσπον ἴοντα 324: ψυχὴ δ' ἀθανάτων βουλαῖς ἐπιδήμιος ἐστὶν Ἀστροῖσι καὶ ἱερὸν χώρον ἔχει μακάρων. 650 (τελερσιν ἐν αἰθερίοισιν). Lebas-Waddington, 2771 = *CIG*, 2747: ἠρπασεν ἀθανάτων με χορός etc. *Ib.*, 1024 = *CIG*, 3847: ψυχὴ δ' ἀθανάτων αἰθέρα ναιετάει. *Ib.*, 1771: ἐς δὲ θεὸς ἀνέλυσσας καὶ ἀθανάτοισι μέτεμι. *Inscr. de l'Alg.*, 2017 = *CIL*, viii, 7427 (Cirta): haec abit

- ad superos. *CIL*, vi, 2160 = Henzen, 6008: *cujus spiritus inter deos receptus est. Oesterreich. Mitth.*, viii, 1884, pp. 136, 139: sede beatorum recipit te lacteus orbis. Sometimes in accordance with the later Platonism the soul is called a god: Lehrs, p. 351 ff. Kaibel, 314 = *CIG*, 3272 (perhaps of the third century, at Smyrna): Θεοῖς ἤρωσιν. The parents of a four year old child, τέκνω γλυκυτάτῳ καὶ θεῶιδίῳ ἐπηκώρ.
- 290, 26. departed. *Stat.*, *Silv.*, v, 3, 19-27.
- 290, 29. stars. *CIL*, vi, 2, 10,764: Sed non hic Manes nec templa Acherusia visit, Ad caeli quoniam tollitur iste pius. *Ib.*, viii, 8567: Non tamen ad Manes, sed caeli ad sidera pergis. *Ib.*, xi, 1, 2839: — — corporeos nexus linquens et vincu[la carnis], aeternas sedes meruit complecti pio[rum]. Sublimes animas nullus putet ire sub [umbras]: Occubat in terris sapiens sed vixit in a[lt]o. *Ib.*, 3963: Terrenum corpus; caelestis spiritus in me Quo repetente suam sedem nunc vivimus illic, Et fruitur superis aeterna in luce Fabatus. *Ib.*, vi, 2, 13,528:—
- Hic corpus vatis Laberi. Nam spiritus ivit
illuc unde ortus; quaerite fontem animae.
Quod fueram non sum; sed rursum ero quod modo non sum.
Ortus et occasus, vitaeque morsque itidem est.
- The conception is apparently that the soul lives again in another form.
- 290, 32. glory. Pliny, *Paneg.*, c. 89. An official apotheosis had therefore not yet taken place. Hirschfeld, *Z. Gesch. d. röm. Kaisercultus*, in *Sitzungsber. d. Berliner Acad.*, 1888, p. 847, 65.
- 291, 21. immortality. Zeller, iii^a, i, 740. Tertullian, *De anima*, c. 6: Soranus—corporealem animae substantiam vindicat, etsi illam immortalitate fraudavit.
- 291, 25. decided. Quintilian, v, 14, 13.
- 291, 31. Chrysippus. Tac., *Agric.*, 46. Cf. Zeller, iii^a, i, 185, 5.
- 291, 35. body. Zeller, iii^a, i, 593.
- 292, 38. life. Cic., *Tusc.*, i, 12 sqq.; *Rep.*, vi, 9 sqq.; *Ad Atticum*, x, 8, 8: tempus est nos de illa perpetua iam, non de hac exigua vita cogitare. Lehrs, *Pop. Aufs.*, p. 349 ff.
- 295, 10. demand. Cf. vol. ii, p. 309.
- 295, 16. purpose. On what follows cf. E. Petersen, *Sepolcro scoperto sulla via Latina*, *AdI*, 1860, p. 348ss.; 1861, p. 190ss.
- 295, 35. death. Cf. for the use of the Heracles legend by the Stoics, Bernays, *Die Heraclitischen Briefe*, p. 45.
- 296, 8. mysteries. Plutarch, *Cons. ad ux.*, c. 10.
- 296, 23. fields. A ceiling painting, certainly from a tomb, probably near Rome, in the *Cod. Pighian.*, published by Jahn. *Ber. d. Sächs. Ges.*, 1869, p. 1 ff. is of an allied kind. The principal picture (a figure in a *quadriga*, probably the deceased borne to heaven), is surrounded by pictures, referring to the after life: the Danaids, Heracles and Alcestis, Apollo and Marsyas, Eros and Pan (before Dionysus and Ariadne), all of which correspond with reliefs on sarcophagi, and are surrounded again by smaller figures, including many Cupids.
- 296, 38. peoples. Peschel, *Völkerkunde*, p. 270 f.

- 296, 39. exceptions. *Id. ib.*, pp. 308 f. and 317.
- 297, 12. rebirths. *Id. ib.*, p. 284 ff. The doctrine established in Buddhist communities expressly demanded from adherents that they should renounce the knowledge of the existence or non-existence of the perfectly blessed. This did not exclude the hope of eternal bliss. Oldenburg, *Buddha* (1881), p. 283 f.
- 297, 23. husband. Vol. i, p. 265. Cf. *Inscr. de l'Alg.*, 3864 = *CIL*, viii, 9691 (Cartena): *Mi fil(i), mater rogat ut me ad te recipias.* Gruter, 376, 5 (cf. Mommsen, *Hermes*, iii, 60, 5): *mater rogat, quam primum ducatis se ad vos.*
- 297, 33. darkness. Cic., *Tusc.*, i, 21, 48.
- 297, 35. dead. Seneca, *Epp.*, 24, 18.
- 297, 39. bark. Juv., 2, 149 (*Esse aliquid Manes, with a reminiscence of Prop.*, v, 7, 1: *Sunt aliquid Manes*).
- 297, 2. performances. Plaut, *Capl.*, v, 4, 1. Cic., *Tusc.*, i, 16. Boissier, i, 310.
- 298 7. unalloyed. Lucret., iii, 37 sqq.
- 298, 13. departed. Cf. e.g. Sueton., *Tiber.*, c. 75: *morte ejus ita laetatus est populus, ut pars Terram matrem deosque Manes orarent, ne mortuo sedem ullam nisi inter impios darent.*
- 298, 27. money. Juv., 3, 265.
- 298, 33. underworld. Lucian, *De luctu*, 10; Schol., 3, 267: *et nunc apud Athenienses mortuis solent nummos inserere (the following words: 'ne apud inferos tamquam inopes errent' are a later addition). I do not know Seyffert's work, De nummis in ore defunctorum repertis, 1709.*
- 298, 34. Greece. Wachsmuth, *Griechenland im alten das neue*, p. 118. K. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, i, 46.
- 298, 41. ferryman. B. Schmidt, *Volksleben d. Neugriechen*, i, 222 ff.; Preller, *Gr. Myth.*, i⁸, 673. Deo Charoni Julius Anabus votum solvit: *CIL*, viii, 8992.
- 299, 9. countries. Beloch, *Campanien.*, p. 285. In several hundred tombs skeletons were found with bronze coins of the empire in their mouths and small clay vessels at their feet. F. Keller, *Röm. Ansiedlungen in der Ostschweiz*, ii, in *Mitth. d. Arch. Ges. zu Zürich*, xv, p. 103. In the graves at Lunnern near every skeleton was a coin (of Titus, Domitian, Hadrian or Faustina).
- 229, 10. ages. Marquardt, *Prl. d. R.*, i⁸, 349 f.
- 299, 21. Lucian. Lucian, *De luctu*, 1-10. On the survival of ancient conceptions of the under-world in the beliefs of the modern Greeks cf. B. Schmidt, *Volksleben der Neugriechen*, p. 235 ff.
- 299, 31. Plutarch. Plutarch, *Non posse suaviter vivi*, 27, 4, p. 1105.
- 300, 5. darkness. Aristid., *Or.*, xix, p. 259 Jebb; cf. *Or.*, xiii, p. 185. Baumgart, *Aristides*, p. 94.
- 300, 11. torments. Plutarch, *De superst.*, 4 sq., p. 167 A.
- 300, 37. Lucian. Lucian, *De luctu*, c. 14.
- 301, 5. playthings. Marquardt, *Prl. d. R.*, i⁸, 366 f.
- 301, 6. Regulus. Pliny, *Epp.*, iv, 2, 3. Cf. vol. ii, p. 213.
- 301, 9. Philopseudes. Lucian, *Philops.*, 27.
- 301, 20. Celtic. Caesar, *B. G.*, vi, 19; Mela, iii, 2.

- 301, 25. horns. Kiessling, *Anecdota Basileensia*, i (1863) = Wilmanns, *E. I.*, 315.
- 301, 30. nature. Serv., *on Verg.*, *A.*, v, 769; cf. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 369 f. Lebas-W., 2452. Cf. also vol. ii, p. 215.
- 301, 30. Cirta. *CIL*, viii, 7854. Cf. *ib.*, vi, 2, 13,528.
- 301, 39. graves. On the survival of this belief among the modern Greeks cf. B. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 249 f.
- 302, 18. demons. Lehrs, *op. cit.*, 167 f. Apparently also Heraclitus was of the same opinion, to judge by the very corrupt passage, Hippolyt., 9, 10, p. 446, 18 (Bernays, *Die Heraklitischen Briefe*, p. 38).
- 302, 20. others. Nissen, *Das Templum*, p. 148; Preller, *RM*, ii³, 115 f.
- 302, 26. innocent. Lobeck., *Aglaoph.*, 302 K; Preller, *op. cit.*
- 303, 3. *Lemuria*. Preller, *op. cit.*, ii³, 67 f.; 117 ff. The *Parentalia* which were not among the oldest sacrifices to the dead, Mommsen, *CIL*, i, p. 386) were for the *deus parens* or *dei parentes* (*parentum*), gods of the deceased parents. Jordan, *De genii et Eponae pict. Pomp.*, in *AdI*, 1872, p. 45. *Id.* in Preller, *RM*, ii³, 98, 2. *BdI*, 1880, pp. 188-191 (lead tablet): *dii inferi, si illam videro tabescentem, vovi sanctum illud (?) anniversarium facere* *dibus parentibus illius*.
- 303, 15. intention. Clement. Roman., *Homil.*, i, 5.
- 303, 20. truth. Henzen, 7346.
- 303, 26. ghosts. Horace, *Epp.*, ii, 2, 208; Plutarch, *Dio*, 2, 2.
- 303, 38. philosophy. Lucian, *Philops.*, 5, 6, 29. Concerning the Peripatetic Antisthenes, mentioned as his authority by Phlegon, *Mirabb.*, 3, cf. Zeller, ii³, 2, 59.
- 304, 5. world. Zeller, iii³, 2, 182 ff.
- 304, 14. evil. Maxim. Tyr., xv, 6.
- 304, 26. present. *Id.*, xv, 7.
- 305, 2. burnt. Apulei., *Apol.*, p. 504.
- 305, 5. place. *CIL*, x, 2487: *Qui hunc titulum sustulerit, habeat iratas umbras qui hic positi sunt (sic)*.
- 305, 13. committed. Plutarch, *Dio*, c. 2; *Cimon*, c. 1.
- 305, 22. fever. Lucian, *Peregr.*, 27 sq., 36.
- 305, 29. fears. Pliny, *Epp.*, vii, 27.
- 306, 8. down. Sueton., *Calig.*, c. 59. The ghost-story (mentioned in the first edition in this place) which gave Goethe the subject for his *Braut von Korinth* is not apposite. Rohde, *D. griech. Roman*, p. 391, 2, remarks that Phlegon took the story from a (pseudonymous) letter of Hipparchus, administrator of Amphipolis (which had been conquered by Philip II of Macedon), addressed to Arrhidaeus, half-brother of Alexander the Great. Cf. also Rohde, *Zu den Mirabilien des Phlegon*, in *N. Rh. Mus.*, xxxii (1877), p. 329 ff.
- 306, 8. Pausanias. Pfundtner, *Des Pausanias Lebens- und Glaubensanschauungen*, p. 16 (Paus., i, 32, 3; viii, 10, 4; vi, 6, 3 sq., vi, 20, 8).
- 306, 26. Corinth. Dio, li, 17; lxii, 17.
- 306, 32. expense. *Id.*, lxxix, 18.

- 306, 40. object. Lobeck., *Aglaoph.*, p. 221 sqq. Marquardt, *StV*, iii^a, 113, 1. Cf. in particular Tertullian, *De anima*, c. 56 sqq.
- 307, 3. death. Dio, lxxiii, 16; lxxix, 11.
- 307, 8. Severus. Dio, lxxvii, 15; Herodian, iv, 12, 3.
- 307, 10. Agrippina. Sueton., *Nero*, c. 34.
- 307, 15. magic. Pliny, *N. h.*, xxx, 14 sq.
- 307, 21. Emperor. Genthe, *De Lucani vita et scr.*, p. 22.
- 308, 28. wretch. Lucan., *Phars.*, vi, 420-434.
- 308, 32. mentioned. *Id. ib.*, 706-711; cf. 529 sqq., 560.
- 307, 37. spoken to. *Id. ib.*, 761 sqq.
- 307, 41. believers. *Id. ib.*, 630 sq. Cf. Apulei., *Metam.*, ii, 40; Heliodor., *Aethiop.*, vi, 14; Quintilian, *Decl.*, 10; *Anthol. Lat.*, ed. Riese, i, 406.
- 308, 8. answer. Lehrs, *Qu., ep.*, p. 7.
- 308, 10. abated. Philostrate., *Heroic.*, ed. K., p. 319, 3. *Responsa umbrarum*, in Augustine, *C. D.*, x, 35, 56.
- 308, 14. tongues. Lobeck., *Aglaoph.*, p. 222 sq.
- 308, 16. preserved. Collected by Marquardt, *StV*, iii^a, 112n.
- 308, 21. earth. Cf. also *CIL*, ii, 2255 (B.C. 19): dei Manes ad se receperunt Abulliam. *Ib.*, vi, 3, 19,874: Quem quoniam Manes ut alumnus di rapuerunt, Ne calcare velis nec gravis esse loco. *Ib.*, ix, 175: quem di Manes properarunt eripere immaturum.
- 308, 24. sacrifices. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 122 f., 310 ff. Before Augustus it was not customary to dedicate sepulchral monuments to the manes. Jordan, *De genii et Eponae pict. Pomp.*, *AdI*, 1872, p. 45. *Id.*, in Preller, *R. M.*, ii^a, 66, 3.
- 308, 26. death. Livy, viii, 9; Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 279 f.
- 308, 31. oil. Henzen in Gerhard's *Archäol. Anz.*, no. 112, p. 201.
- 308, 35. gone. *CIL*, vi, 2, 12,072 = Henzen - Orelli, 6206.
- 308, 37. relatives. Renier, *Inscr. de l'Alg.*, 283 = *CIL*, viii, 2803a (Serva tuos omnes).
- 308, 37. underworld. Orelli, 7400 (Pete pro parentes tuos). *CIL*, vi, 2, 12,072: Funde preces subolum ac votis utere nostris, Ut longum vitae liceat transducere tempus (orat maritus, ut uxor preces liberorum et vota ipsorum deis commendet). Boissier, *Religion rom.*, i, 305.
- 309, 20. Cicero. Cic., *Tusc.*, i, 15, 35.
- 309, 31. full. Jireček, *Archäol. Fragmente aus Bulgarien*, in *Oesterr. Mitth.*, x, 1886, p. 64 (Kiustendil): Πάντας δσας στείλουσιν ἀπ' δσρεος ἡδὲ πρὸς δστυ Λεύσσω ἡδ' εἰσορώ.
- 309, 31. Varro. Varro, *L. l.*, vi, § 45.
- 309, 38. last. *CIL*, i, 1431-v, 1, 4111 (Cremona): Heus tu viator lasse, qui me praetereit Cum diu ambulareis, tamen huc veniundumst tibi. Cf. Bücheler, *N. Rh. Mus.*, 1872, 136 (lxxxiv, lxxxvii). *CIL*, xi, 1, 4010 (Capena): (H)eus tu seni hoc (et qu)(e)iesc(e) pusi(l)um. Innuis et negitas. Tamen hoc redeu(n)-dus (instead of *redeundust*, like *molestust*, *moriundust*, *CIL*, x, 5371) tibi.
- 310, 1. Lollius. Orelli, 4737 = *CIL*, v, 2, 7464 (Odalengi Ferratensi [= Monferrati] oppido).
- 310, 5. comes. *CIL*, vi, 2, 13,075.

R.L.M.

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- 310, 8. gravestone. *E.g.* Orelli, 4743 sq., *BdI*, 1864, p. 155 : 'Have Victor Fabianae'. 'Di vos bene faciant amici, et vos viatores habeatis deos propitios, qui Victorem Publicum Fabianum a censibus P. R. non praeteritis. Salvi eatitis, salvi redeatis. Et vos qui me coronatis vel flores jactatis, multis annis faciatis'. Other examples in Wilmanns, *E. I.*, 180.
- 310, 30. trees. Goethe, *Works* (1840), 23, 43.
- 310, 33. posterity. So also Diderot : Rosenkranz, *Diderot*, p. 292.
- 310, 34. Epicurus. Zeller, *iii*^a, 1, 354, 3.
- 311, 5. blessed. Jahn, *on Pers.*, 3, 105.
- 311, 7. life. *E.g.* Orelli, 1197.
- 311, 14. evil. Plato, *Apol.*, 40 C.
- 311, 33. immortality. Lactant., *Div. Inst.*, *iii*, 12 ; cf. *vii*, 8.
- 311, 39. sorrow. Augustine, *C. D.*, *xix*, 4, 1 and 20.
- 312, 17. good. Lehrs, *op. cit.*, p. 43 f.
- 312, 23. life. Herodot., *i*, 31.
- 312, 25. divinities. Cic., *Tuscul. disp.*, *i*, 47, 113. Plutarch, *Consol. ad Apoll.*, 14.
- 312, 27. Theognis. Theogn., 425 sqq. (cf. 1069).
- 312, 30. birth. Lobeck., *Aglaoph.*, p. 802 sqq. Nägelsbach, *Nachhomer. Theol.*, p. 228 ; cf. 373 and Stobaei *Florileg.* (P K), ed. Meinecke, *iv*, 102. Cf. also Bursian, *Über den religiösen Charakter des griech. Mythos* (1875), p. 20, 16.
- 312, 37. as. Read 'than'. Plato, *Apolog.*, 32.
- 312, 39. resignation. Horkel, *Die Lebensweisheit des Komikers Menander*, pp. 23 and 29 (Menander, *Hypobol.*, 2). *CIL*, *vi*, 3, 19,716 = Orelli, 4797 : Quem di amaverunt, haec moritur.
- 312, 41. life. 'Αρ' ἐστὶ συγγενὲς τὴ λυγρὴ καὶ βίος ; Menander, *Citharistria*, 1.
- 313, 13. die. Cic., *Hortens.*, *fr.*, 55, ed. Klotz (90 Orelli^a, 88, Baiter).
- 313, 14. Pliny. Pliny, *N. h.*, *vii*, 130, 176 sq. See vol. *iii*, p. 282 f.
- 313, 41. bore it. M. Antonin., *Comm.*, *v*, 33, 23 ; *iv*, 49 ; *iv*, 3 ; *ii*, 17 ; *iii*, 5, 16 ; *iv*, 48.

INDEX TO THE APPENDICES

- Abascantus**, 43, 303 f
Abella, amphitheatre at, 202, 254
Acco, goblin, 91 f
Achaia, amphitheatres in, 242 ff
Achilleis of Statius, 304
Acta diurna, 6, 8, 160 f
Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum, 193
Actian agone, 263 f
Addax, 188
Addison, Jos., 139
Adrianus, *ab epist.*, 47
Adulescentia, meaning of, 324
Aedilium, alleged amphitheatre at, 205
Aegae, shows at, 251
Aequum, amphitheatre at, 216
Aesop, folklore in, 97
Africa, age of marriage in, 127; amphitheatres in, 238 ff; gymnastic contests in, 269 f
African beasts, 182
Agathias, 130
Agenticum, amphitheatre at, 224
Aginnum, alleged amphitheatre at, 219
Agon, Actian, 263 f; Alban, 303; Capitoline, 152, 264 ff, 267 f, 303
Agrippa, Herod, 251, 270
Ahenobarbus, L. Domitius, 183
Alba Fucentina, amphitheatre at, 206, 254
Alba Intemelium, amphitheatre at, 212, 254
Albanum, amphitheatre at, 204
Alces (elk), 188
Alcon, physicians named, 262
Alexander the Great, 59
Alexander Severus, friends of, 73
Alexandria, amphitheatre at, 199, 252; population of, 271
Allifae, amphitheatre at, 205
Alphito, goblin, 92
Alrina, *alraun*, 77, 94
Amastris, shows at, 250
Amber, 133 ff
Amici, 58 ff
Amitemum, amphitheatre at, 207
Ammianus, 17
Amoebeus, *citharoedus* named, 261
Amor and Psyche, 88, 99 ff; tale of, reconstructed, 102 ff
Amphistides, 92
Amphitheatre, Flavian: see Colosseum
Amphitheatres, age of, 198; dimensions of, 253; executions and other punishments in, 190; list of, 193 ff; *velarium* in, 190 ff
Amphitheatrum, origin of word, 199
Anaesthetics, 76
Ancona, amphitheatre at, 207
Ancyra, shows at, 250
Ancyranum, *Monumentum*, 12
Andabatae, 178 f
Andromeda, 6
Anemone, 145 f
Animals used in venationes, 181 ff
Annianus, poet, 322
Antelope, 187
Antigenes, physicians named, 262
Antigenidas, flute-players, 261
Antioch in Pisidia, shows at, 250
Antioch in Syria, amphitheatres at, 251; earthquake at, 312 f
Antipater of Hierapolis, 47
Antiphanes on table delicacies, 277
Antipolis, alleged amphitheatre at, 216
Antoninus Pius, friends of, 71; games founded by, 268; shows of, 183, 188
Aphrodisias, amphitheatre at, 248; spectacles at, 288
Aphrodite as woman's name, 88
Apio, 94
Apolaustus, pantomimes named, 258
Apollinaris, Sulpicius, 322 f
Apollonius of Tyana, 94, 243
Appellatives, Homeric, 131 f
Apta Julia, amphitheatre at, 217
Apuleius, use of *domine* in, 83 f; folklore in, 93, 96 f
Apulia, amphitheatres in, 206
Aquae Neri, amphitheatre at, 222
Aquae Segete, amphitheatre at, 223, 254
Aquae Sextiae, alleged amphitheatre at, 217
Aquae Vicius, alleged amphitheatre at, 227
Aqueducts, administration of, 51
Aquileia, alleged amphitheatre at, 194, 213
Aquincum, amphitheatre at, 234, 254
Aquinum, amphitheatre at, 203; inscription at, 317
Aquitania, amphitheatres in, 219 f
Arabia, amphitheatres in, 252; embassies from, 15 f
Arabs at Capua, 194, 200
Arausio, amphitheatre at, 218
Archestratus of Gela, 277
Archigenes, physician, 321
Archipelago, amphitheatres in, 245 f
Arelate, amphitheatre at, 217, 254; gymnastic contests at, 269

- Arena*, survival of name, 194
Argenteus, value of, 284
 Ariminum, amphitheatre at, 209, 254
 Aristides on nursery tales, 90
 Armenian war of Trajan, 313
 Arpinum, alleged amphitheatre at, 203
 Apocreas, a glutton, 8
 Arretium, amphitheatre at, 196, 210
 Artemidorus, athletes named, 261, 266
 Artemidorus on street-traffic, 30
 'Arthur's Round Table', 231 f
 Artists in Rome, 11; use of names of, 257 ff
 Arval Brethren, 79
 Asclepiades, physicians named, 262
 Asculum Picenum, amphitheatre at, 207
 Asia (province), taxation of, 273
 Asia Minor, gladiators and amphitheatres in, 246 ff
 Asiaticus, Valerius, 63 f
 Asisium, amphitheatre at, 208
 Aspasius of Ravenna, 48
 Aspendus, amphitheatre at, 248
 Asprenas, Nonius, 61
 Astor, W. B., wealth of, 273 f
 Atella, amphitheatre at, 200
Atellana fabula, 91
 Ateste, alleged amphitheatre at, 212
 Athenaeus, comic fragment in, 276 f
 Athens, gladiators at, 243
 Athletes, names assumed by, 261
 Atina, alleged amphitheatre at, 203
 Atrides as appellative, 131
 Attianus, 71
 Atticus, *Aug. lib.*, 33
 Atticus, Ti. Claudius, 318
 Aufidius, Chius, 319
 Augsburg, amphitheatre at, 194, 232
Augustalia at Naples, 302
 Augusta Praetoria Salassorum, amphitheatre at, 214, 254
 Augusta Rauricorum, alleged amphitheatre at, 227
 Augusta Suessionum, amphitheatre at, 229
 Augusta Taurinorum, amphitheatre at, 214
 Augusta Treverorum, amphitheatre at, 229, 254
 Augusta Vindelicorum, amphitheatre at, 232
 Augustine, St., 10, 130, 256
 Augustodunum (Autun), amphitheatre at, 223, 254
 Augustomagus (Senlis), amphitheatre at, 230, 254
 Augustoritum (Limoges), amphitheatre at, 221, 254
 Augustus, embassies to, 12 ff; exhibits beasts, 182 f; exhibits curiosities, 7; friends of, 61 f; his measures against luxury and childlessness, 20 f; objects to title '*dominus*', 81; regulates revenues of Palestine, 270; talked to sleep, 90
Augustus, use of title, 199
 Aulnoy, Comtesse d', 111
 Aurelian and glutton, 8; triumph of, 16; wall of, 23, 285
 Aurelia Vina, amphitheatre at, 240
 Aurochs, 187
 Ausonius on Capitoline *agon*, 267
 Autisiodurum (Auxerre), amphitheatre at, 224
 Automedon as appellative, 131
 Auximum, alleged amphitheatre at, 207
 Aveticum, amphitheatre at, 226, 254
Baaras, plant, 76, 94
 Babiroussa, 188
 Baccarae, alleged amphitheatre at, 209
 Bactria, embassies from, 16
 Baeterrae, amphitheatre at, 218, 254
 Baetica, Hispania, amphitheatres in, 236
 Baiting of beasts, modern, 189 f
 Balsa, gymnastic contests at, 269
 Baltic trade, 132 ff
 Barcino, gymnastic contests at, 269
Bârisgrub (Vienna), 195
 Bathyllus, pantomimes named, 257 f, 260
 Bears exhibited, 183; names for amphitheatre derived from, 194 f
 Beast-fights, modern, 189 f
 Beast-hunts in amphitheatres, 181 ff
 Beasts, capture of, 189; kinds of, used in shows, 181 ff
 Bekri, El., quoted, 238 f
 Belgica, Gallia, amphitheatres in, 226 ff
 Beloch, J., on population, 19, 27
 Beneventum, alleged amphitheatre at, 205; games at, 269
 Berenice, amphitheatre at, 253
 Bergomum, alleged amphitheatre at, 214
Berlich, 194 f, 230
Berolais, *Berolassi*, 194
 Berytus, amphitheatre at, 251
 Besançon, amphitheatre at, 227
 Bessarabian folk-tale, 115
 Betrothal, age of girls at, 123 ff
 Bharatpur, beast-fights at, 189
 Bignor mosaic, 168, 171 f, 174
 Birds, folk-lore of, 9, 89, 94 f, 105
 Birth-rate, 20 f
 Births, multiple, 8 f
 Bison, 187, 189
 Bithynia, gladiators in, 249 f; *Pyrhic* in, 263
 Biturges, amphitheatre at, 222
 Boars exhibited, 184
 Bocchus, King, 182
 Boldensele, Wilhelm of, 137
 Bononia (Bologna), amphitheatre at, 212
 Borghesi on elephants, 13; on Juvenal, 310-12, 314, 316, 318
 Bostra, amphitheatre at, 252
 Botrianense oppidum, amphitheatre at, 240
 Boxing in Capitoline *agon*, 266
 Boy poets, 264 f
 Bracara Augusta, alleged amphitheatre at, 226
 Brantôme on gladiators in his own day, 192
Breviarium totius imperii, 22, 271, 273, 285
 Britain, amphitheatres in, 231 f; embassies from, to Augustus, 14 f; wars in, 178
 Brixia, amphitheatre at, 214
 Bronze as material for statues, 286 f
 Brothers, mode of addressing, 83, 86
Bubalus, 187
 Bücheler on gladiatorial *tesserae*, 169

- Bucolas**, imperial free-man, 50 f
Buddhist embassy, alleged, 14
Buffalo in Italy, 187
Bull-fights, 184
Burdigala, amphitheatre at, 219, 254
Burrus, Afranius, 41, 66
Burrus, *ab epist.*, 41
Bursian, C., on Swiss amphitheatres, 226 ff

Caerleon, alleged amphitheatre at, 231 f
Caesar, Julius, on British chariot-fighters, 178; his municipal law, 28; his taxation of Gaul, 272 f
Caesarea (Mauretania), gymnastic contests at, 270
Caesarea (Palestine), amphitheatre at, 252
Caesardunum (Tours), amphitheatre at, 225, 254
Caesaromagus (Beauvais), alleged amphitheatre at, 230
Cajatia, alleged amphitheatre at, 202
Calabria, amphitheatre in, 206
Cales, amphitheatre at, 202, 254
Caligula: see Gaius
Callistus, C. Julius, 37
Calpurnius, poet, 188
Calvina (in Juvenal), 320
Calvinus (in Juvenal), 311
Camelopardalis, 186
Campania, amphitheatres in, 280 ff
Canatha, amphitheatre at, 252
Canon frumentarius, 25 f
Caper, Flavius, 161, 164
Capitalism, Rodbertus on, 275
Capito, Cosutianus, 320
Capitoline agon, 152, 264 ff, 303; continuance of, 267 f
Cap of invisibility, 96
Capreae, alleged amphitheatre in, 202
Capture of animals, 189
Capua, amphitheatre at, 194 f, 198, 200, 254
Caracalla, friend of, 73
Caralis, amphitheatre at, 215, 254
Caria, gladiators in, 247 f
Carmo, amphitheatre at, 236
Carnuntum, amphitheatre at, 233, 254; trade route through, 134
Carrara quarries, 286
Carriages in Rome, 28 ff
Carthage, amphitheatre at, 238, 254; gymnastic contests at, 269; shows at, 241
Carus, Mettius, informer, 319
Caryanda, shows at, 247
Casinum, amphitheatre at, 203, 254
Castiglioni, P., on population of Rome, 17 n., 18 n., 19 n.
Castra Vetera (Xanten), amphitheatre at, 231
Castrensis, procurator, 51 f
Castricius, T., 322
Catana, amphitheatre at, 215, 254
Celer, *ab epist.*, 45
Celer, Maecius, 302, 308
Celer, Ser. Asinius, 64
Cellini, Benvenuto, 194
Celsinus, Julius, 322

Celsus, L. Publius, 69
Celtis (tree), 5
Cemenelum, amphitheatre at, 216, 254
Cenabum, amphitheatre at, 225
Cena recta, 77 ff
Censennia, 319
Censibus, a, 38
Cepus (monkey), 186
Cerealia, 184
Ceylon, 15, 17
Chairs (flower), 144
Chama (lynx), 185 f
Changelings, 96
Charibael, Sabaeen king, 15
Chariot-fighters, 178
Chariot-races, 148-166; in **Capitoline agon**, 267; inscriptions on charioteers, 148 ff; prizes, 157 f
Cheiranthus Cheiri, 143 ff
Chilperic, 224
China, astronomical records in, 313; relations with Rome, 14 and n., 17
Chorocitharistae, 264
Christians, age of marriage among, 129 f; use of *domine*, *domina* among, 83, 87
Christina of Sweden, 189
Cibalis, alleged amphitheatre at, 234
Cilicia, shows in, 251
Cimitino, alleged amphitheatre at, 214
Cinderella, 105
Circaeon, plant, 76
Circeii, amphitheatre at, 205
Cirta, amphitheatre at, 237
Cissaris, 30 n.
Cissamis, 92 f
Citharoedi, 261; contests of, 265
Cities, number of, 285
Civitates mundi, 285
Clarissimus (title), 74 f
Clarus, Erucius, 322
Claudius exhibits leopards, 182; friends of, 64 f; honours decreed to, 287; humours public, 85
Clemens, T. Varius, 46
Clement of Alexandria, comic fragment in, 276 f
Clement, St., life of, 228
Cleopatra's pearl, 275 f
Clients, 77 ff, 84
Cloacae, 29, 285
Coactio in circus, 163
Cock's feather as talisman, 89
Codicillis, a, 49
Cognomen, 57
Cohn, Prof. Ferdinand, on plants, 3 ff, 76 f, 141 ff
Coins, 31; Greek and Roman, in N. Europe, 134 f
Colchester, figured vase from, 167
Collinus, poet, 264
Colonia Agrippinensis (Cologne), amphitheatre ('*Berlich*') at, 194, 230, 254
Colosseum, 204, 255; name used in Italy, 194; origin of name, 194
Comedies performed under later Empire, 255 f
Comets, dates of, 312 f
Comiles, 58 ff
Commentarii, 56

- Commodus, 182; appears in arena, 174, 183; friends of, 73
Communia, 246
Conclavia, 284
Congiarium, 21
 Constantine, embassies to, 17; prohibits bloody spectacles, 251 f
 Constantinople, amphitheatre in, 190, 245; chariot-races at, 164 ff
 Contorniates, 184
Contrade, 174
 Copper, price of, 287 n.
 Corbulo, Armenian expedition of, 305
 Corduba, alleged amphitheatre at, 236
 Corinth, amphitheatre at, 242, 254
 Corn, doles of, 21, 25 f; supply of, 21 f, 25 f, 271
 Cornelianus, *ab epist.*, 47
 Coroebus, 92
 Cos, gladiators in, 247
 Cosmus, *Aug. lib.*, 34
 Cotta, M. Aurelius, 62
 Court, children brought up at, 60
 Cranes exhibited, 183
 Cremona, amphitheatre at, 213
 Crescens, charioteer, 164
 Crete, amphitheatres in, 245
 Crétins, 7
 Crispinus, friend of Domitian, 69, 316, 319
 Crispinus, Vettius, 309
 Crispus, Vibius, 67 f
 Crociatonum, amphitheatre at, 225
 Crocodile, 185, 189
Crocota, 188
 Crotus, 260
Crupellarii, 177
 Cuicul, theatre at, 236
 Cumae, amphitheatre at, 201
 Curiosities exhibited, 6 ff
 Cyrenaica, amphitheatres in, 253
 Cyrene, amphitheatre at, 199, 253
 Cyzicus, amphitheatre at, 248, 254
- Dacia, amphitheatres in, 234 f
 Dalmatia, amphitheatres in, 215 f
Damma, 187
 Dasumius, L., 70
 Dau on Martial, 209 f
 Daughter addressed as *domina*, 86 f
 Dea Vocontiorum, alleged amphitheatre at, 219
 Deer, white, 188
 Delphobus as appellative, 131
 Delicacies, catalogues of, 276 f
Delphinium Ajacis, 147
 Demonax, 243 f
 Demosthenes, 288
Denarius of Diocletian, 283
 Dentatus, Curius, triumph of, 181
 Desjardins, E., on Rutilius Gallicus, 305 f
 Diadumenus, *Aug. lib.*, 33
 Diaries, 56
 Diceto, Radulphus de, 326
Digests, 9, etc.
Dimachaeri, 177
 Dimas (Zeugitana), amphitheatre at, 239
 Dio, Cassius, on chariot-races, 161; on comedies, 256; on Indian embassies, 12 f
- Dio Chrysostom of Prusa on gladiators at Athens, 243; on statues, 288; on tragic recitals, 256
 Diocles, charioteer, inscriptions of, 154
 Diocletian, *denarius* of, 283
 Diodorus, poet, 264
 Diodorus Siculus on Egypt, 271 f
 Diogenes on prices, 288
Dionysia at Athens, 263
 Dionysius, *ab epist.*, 42
 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 152
 Dionysius, M. Aurelius, Papirius, 38 f
 Dioscorides on plants, 5, 76, 143, 146 f
Diospyros, 5
Diversium, 164 ff
 Divining rod, 96
 Divodurum Mediomatricum (Metz), amphitheatre at, 228
 Divona (Cabors), amphitheatre at, 221
 Djemm, El, amphitheatre at, 238, 253, 255
 Dogs, folk-lore of, 94
Domina, use of word, 83 f, 86
Domine as form of address, 81 ff
 Domitian, 29, 301 f, 303; council of, on the Albanum, 316; exhibits a rhinoceros, 185; friends of, 68 f; wars of, 299
Domitiana, Via, 303
 Domitilla, Flavia, 301
 Dondi, Johannes, of Padua, 208
 Doryphorus, 37
 Doué, alleged amphitheatre at, 196
Drachma, Syrian, 283
 Dramatic performances in Capitoline agon, 265
Dudaism (mandrake), 76 f
 Dumnobellaunus, British king, 15
 Durocortorum (Reims), amphitheatre at, 229
 Dürr, J., on Juvenal, 311
 Dwarfs, 6, 17
 Dyrrhachium, gladiators at, 244
- Earinus, poems on, 300, 303
 Earthquake of 17 A.D., 10; of 115, 312 f
 Ebony tree, 6
 Egypt, amphitheatre in, 252 f; animals from, exhibited, 185; corn supply from, 22 f; cultivable land in, 272; population of, 271 f; taxation of, 271 f; tourists in, 137 f
 Einsiedlensis, Anonymus, 148
 Elagabalus acts Bacchus, 187; *Indian* embassy to, 16
 Electioneering at Pompeii, 269
 Elephant, 13, 181; *biga*, 13 f
 Elk, 188
 Eloquence, contests in, 264
 Elter, A., on gladiatorial *lessiones*, 169
 Embassies to Rome, 12 ff
 Ementia, amphitheatre at, 236, 254
 Emperor addressed as *domine*, 81; friends and companions of, 58 ff
 Endymion as appellative, 132
 England, early marriages in, 131
 Entellus, *a libell.*, 38
 Epaphroditus, *ab epist.*, 42
 Epaphroditus, *a libell.*, 37 f
 Epaphroditus, charioteer, 163
Ephemerides, 56

- Epictetus, use of *crúpe* in, 82
 Epidaurum in Dalmatia (*Ragusa vecchia*),
 amphitheatre at, 216; gymnastic con-
 tests at, 269
 Epigenes, 277
Epistulis, *ab*, 40 ff
Equites (gladiators), 178; (knights), num-
 ber of, 18; titles of, 75
 Ercavica, amphitheatre at, 235, 254
 Erchempert, 194
 Erechtheum, cost of frieze of, 288
Eripere in chariot-race, 159 f
 Ernödurum, alleged amphitheatre at, 222
 Eros, Platonic, 99 f
Essedarii, 178
 Ethiopian embassies to Augustus, 14
 Etruria, amphitheatres in, 198, 209 ff
 Etruscus, 300, 302 f
 Euphrates, *proc. a rat.*, 35
 Eusebi, Girolamo, 210
 Eusebius on Lyons, 222
 Eutyclus, artistes named, 260
- Fabri, Felix, 137
Fabulatores, 90
 Factions of the circus, 150
 Fairies, 93
 Faleria (*Picenum*), amphitheatre at, 207,
 254
 Falerii, amphitheatre at, 209, 254
 Favor, mime, 260
 Favorinus, 323
 Fecundity of women, 8 f
 Felix as name, 260
 Felix, Pollius, 310
 Felix, Ti. Claudius, 32 f
 Ferrara, Cardinal of, 192 f
 Festus, 69, 176 f
Fibulae, 55
 Finance, imperial, 32, 270 ff
 Fines (Beauclair), amphitheatre at, 220
 Fire borne before emperor, 6
 Firmum, alleged amphitheatre at, 207
 Flaccus, Avilius, 63
 Flavian amphitheatre: see Colosseum;
gens, temple of, 304
Floralia, 184
 Florence, amphitheatre at, 194 f, 210, 254
 Florentinus, 186
 Florus on Indian embassy, 13
 Flower names, 141 ff
 Flute-players, contests of, 265; names
 assumed by, 261
 Folk-tales in antiquity, 88 ff
 Fonteius Capito, 310 f
 Fools in folk-tales, 92
Formices, 24 and n.
 Forster, Georg, traveller, 140
 Fortuna, temple of, in Golden House, 8
 Fortunatus as name, 260
 Forum Julii, amphitheatre at, 216, 254
Forum Julium (Rome), 299
Forum Paladium (Rome), 299
 Fraenkel, M., on statues, 286
 Freedmen assume Roman names, 56 f;
 imperial, order of their offices, 50 ff
 Frentani, amphitheatre in territory of, 206
 'Freya formula', 102
 Freytag, Gustav, on chariot-races, 152, 154
- Friedlaender, Julius, on Greek coins, 134
 Friends of the emperor, 38 ff
 Fronto, 322 f, 326
 Frusino, amphitheatre at, 203
 Fulgineum, amphitheatre at, 208
 Fundi, alleged amphitheatre at, 205
- Gabba, buffoon, 319
 Gaius exhibits leopards, 182; friends of,
 63 f
 Galatia, shows in, 250
 Galba, 64; friends of, 66
 Galen employed at Pergamus, 246; on
 gladiators, 172
Galerus, 171 f
Galli (gladiators), 173 f, 176 f
 Gallia: see Gaul
 Gallicus, C. Rutillius, 302, 304 f
 Gallienus, alleged palace of, at Poitiers, 220
 Gallus, C. Asinius, 61
 Gallus, Cornelius, 61
 Ganna, prophetess, 306
 Garamantes, embassies from, 14 f
 Gaul, age of marriage in, 129; amphitheatres in, 216 ff; in Cispadane, 211 f;
 in Transpadane, 213 f; gymnastic con-
 tests in, 269; lynx in, 185 f; population
 of, 273; taxation of, 272 f
 Gellius, chronology of, 322 ff; forms of
 address in, 84
 Gello (Gillo), 92
 Gens with figures of gladiators, 167
 Gentianus, D. Terentius, 70, 138
 Gerasa, amphitheatre at, 252
 Germany, amphitheatres in, 230 f; em-
 bassies to Augustus from, 14; Roman
 influence in N. of, 132 ff
Gesta Romanorum, 297 f
 Ghosts, 91, 96
 Giants, 7, 10
 Gibbon on Oriental embassies to Julian, 17
 Gifford on Neapolitan custom, 80
 Giraffe, 186
 Girls, age at betrothal and marriage, 123
 ff; endearing names for, 87 f
 Glabrio, M'. Acilius, 68
 Gladiators, 166-181; in Asia, 246 f; cos-
 tume and arms of, 171 ff; folk-lore of,
 96; in Middle Ages, 192; names as-
 sumed by, 261 f; schools of, 192, 246 f;
 shows of, abolished, 192; *testerae* of,
 168 ff; in works of art, 166 ff
 Glaphyrus, musicians, 261, 319
 Glass, Roman, in North, 132 f; vessels
 with figures of gladiators, 167
 Glaucias, poems on, 300, 302
 Gluttons exhibited, 8
 Goethe, 140
 Golden House of Nero, 8
 Golden statues, 287
 Gordian I, games of, 188
 Gortyn, amphitheatre at, 245
 Gräbe, C., on action of vinegar on pearls,
 276
 Grain, Egyptian contribution of, 271
 Gran (Champagne), amphitheatre at, 227
 Granaries, state, 23
 Grasse on *Gesta Romanorum*, 297

- Greece, age of marriage in, 128 f; amphitheatres in, 242 ff
 Greek folk-tales, modern, 90 f, 99, 103, 112; poetry, contest in, 264; trade with N. Europe, 134
 Greeks in Rome, 11
 Gregory of Tours, 224
 Grimm, J., 89; fairy-tales of, 91 ff; on *Periach*, 195
 Grumentum, amphitheatre at, 206, 254
 Grypus, Plotius, 309
 Gutta, Calpurnianus, monument of, 149 ff
 Gyges, ring of, 89
Gymnasiarcha, 268
 Gymnastic contests in *agones*, 263, 266; in W. Provinces, 268 ff
 Hadramaut, 15
 Hadria, amphitheatre at, 212
 Hadrian, 70; encourages letters, 314; friends of, 70 f; regulates traffic, 29; wall of, 232
 Hadrumetum, amphitheatre at, 239
 Halcyon sinks a ship, 89
 Halicarnassus, gladiators at, 247
 Hamillus, 321
 Hare, white, 188
 Hartung, J. A., 100 f
 Haug, F., on gladiatorial *tesserae*, 170
 Helena as appellative, 131
 Heliodorus, C. Avidius, 44
 Heralds' contests in *agones*, 264, 266
 Heras, physicians named, 262
Herbanas, herbarias, herbatica, 184
 Herculanus, St., 193
 Hercules of Novius Vindex, 300, 303
 Hermaphrodites, 7, 10
 Herod the Great founds an amphitheatre and *agon*, 252; sons of, 270
 Herod Agrippa: see Agrippa
 Herodes Atticus, 324
 Herodotus on *lotus*, 3
 'Hets', 190
 Hierapolis (Phrygia), amphitheatre at, 249
 Hierapytna, amphitheatre at, 245
 Hippocentaur sent to Rome, 9
 Hippocrates, physicians named, 262
 Hippopotamus, 185, 189
Hippotigris (zebra), 188
 Hirschfeld, Otto, on corn-supply, 18 ff; on imperial officials, 32 ff; on Rutilius Gallicus, 307 f
 Hirth, F., on China, 14 n.
 Hirzel, L. and S., 140
 Hispellum, amphitheatre at, 208
 Hispo (in Juvenal), 320
 Hispulla (in Juvenal), 321
 Histria (in Juvenal), 321
 Histria, amphitheatres in, 213
 Homer on *lotus*, 3
 Homeric names as appellatives, 131 f
 Homullus, M. Valerius, 70 f
 Honoratus, M. Petronius, 35 f
 Horace on clients, 77; on Oriental embassies, 12; secretary to Augustus, 40; on Seres, 14
 Horse of brass, 89 f
 Houses in Rome and Pompeii, 24
 Hultsch on money values, 284
 Hyacinth, 147
 Hyaena, 182, 188
 Hylas as name, 260
 Iber, 188
 Iconium, amphitheatre at, 250
 India, beast-fights in, 189; 'embassies' from, 12 f, 15 f; presents to Augustus from, 7; relations of, with Constantine, 17
 Indian folk-tales, 112 ff, 116 f
 Infants, exposure of, 17
Insulae (meaning and number), 26 f
 Interamnina (Umbria), amphitheatre at, 208
 Interamnina Praetorium (Picenum), amphitheatre at, 207
 Interpromium, amphitheatre at, 208
 Irus as appellative, 132
 Isidorus Hispalensis, 174, 177 f
 Isolympic games, 268
 Italica, amphitheatre at, 236, 255
 Italy, amphitheatres in, 200 ff; modern, age of marriage in, 127
 -*illa*, pet names in, 88
 Jagatai, 188
 Januarius, imperial freedman, 30
 Janus, 299
 Jason and Medea, 98
 Jatinum (Meaux), alleged amphitheatre at, 225
 Java, beast-fights in, 189
 Jericho, amphitheatre at, 252
 Jerusalem, amphitheatres at, 252
 Jews, age of marriage among, 127
 Josephus on *baaras* or *battaritis*, 76, 94; on corn-supply, 22 f; on gladiators, 251 f; on taxation of Palestine, 270 f
 Julia, sister of Domitian, 301
 Julia Caesarea, amphitheatre at, 236, 255
 Julian, embassies to, 17
 Julianus, L. Julius, 36
 Julianus, M. Aurelius, 36
 Julianus, P. Salvius, 71
 Juliobona, alleged amphitheatre at, 230
 Juliomagus (Angers), amphitheatre at, 225
 Juncus, Aemilius, 315
 Jungle fowl, 7
 Jurors, legal age for, 323
 Justinian burns books, 190
 Juvenal, chronology of, 310 ff; folk-lore in, 92; on *galerus*, 172; personal names in, 318 ff; on slaves, 19; on *sportula*, 80
Juvenius, meaning of, 324
 Kanishka, 14
 Kant, use of *romanisch* by, 139
 Khremissa, theatre at, 237
 Kissing, ceremonial, 58 ff
 Knights, number of, 18; titles of, 75
 Kock on a comic fragment, 276 f
 Königsberg, beast-baiting at, 190
 Kuhn, Adalbert, on folk-tales, 115 ff
 Kuhn, E. W. A., on folk-tales, 121
 Ladas, runners, 261, 321

- Lambaesis, amphitheatre at, 237, 255;
 tombstones at, 279 ff
 Lamia, 91
 Lamiassa, 91
 Lamps with figures of gladiators, 167
 Lang, Andrew, on folk-tales, 121 ff
 Lanuvium, amphitheatre at, 204
 Laodicea ad Lycum, amphitheatre at, 249
Laquearii, 174
 Larch, gigantic, 8
 Larinum, amphitheatre at, 206
 Larissa (Thessaly), gladiators at, 244
 Laspeyres, P., on *velarium*, 191
 Lassen on Indian embassies, 14 ff
 Latinus, mimes, 260, 319
 Latium, amphitheatres in, 203 ff
 Latrines in Rome, 284 f
 Law studied by provincials in Rome, 11
 Leda, dance of, 260
 Le Mans, amphitheatre at, 225
Leonidea (games), 289
 Leopards, 182
 Lepos, dancer, 260
 Leptis parva, amphitheatre at, 239
 Lesbos, gladiators in, 245
 Letrone on embassies from the East,
 12-16
 Leuci, amphitheatre of, 227, 255
Leucojum vernum, 142
 Libanius, 257 f; on chariot-races, 166;
 on gladiators and beast-fights, 251
 Libarna, amphitheatre at, 212
Libellus, a, 37 ff
 Liberalis, P. Aelius, 52
 Liguria, amphitheatres in, 212
 Limonum (Poitiers), amphitheatre at, 220
 Limovices, amphitheatre at, 221, 253
 Lincoln, inscribed statuette from, 289
 Lions exhibited, 182 f
 Lipsius on amphitheatres, 197
 London, gladiators in, 231
 Longevity, 9
 Lottery at *Saturnalia*, 279
 Lotus tree, 3 ff
 Luca, amphitheatre at, 211, 255
 Lucan, 66
 Lucania, amphitheatres in, 205 f
 Lucian, 256 f; folk-tales in, 89; on gla-
 diators at Athens, 243
 Lucina, temple and grove of, 4
 Lucus Feroniae, amphitheatre at, 209
 Lugdunensis, Gallia, amphitheatres in,
 222 ff
 Lugdunum (Lyons), amphitheatres at,
 222, 255
 Lugdunum Convenarum, alleged amphi-
 theatre at, 219
 Luna, amphitheatre at, 211, 255
 Lupiae, amphitheatre at, 206
 Lusitania, amphitheatres in, 236
 Lutetia, amphitheatre at, 224, 255
 Luther, Eduard, on comets, 312 f
 Lycia, gladiators in, 250
 Lydia, amphitheatres and gladiators in,
 248
 Lynceus as appellative, 132
 Lyx, 185 f
 Lyons, amphitheatres and martyrs of,
 222 f, 255
- Macedonia, gladiators in, 244
 Macer, Pompeius, 63
 Machaon as appellative, 131 e at,
 Mactaritanum oppidum, amphitheat-
 240
 Maecenas, C. Cilnius, 61
 Maffei on amphitheatres, 193 f, 197
 Magyar folk-tale, 111
 Malabar, 16
 Males preponderate in Rome, 18
Mandatis, a, 55 f
 Mandragora, 76 f, 94
Manducus (ogre), 91
Mania (bogey), 91
Manica, 180
Manicarii, 179
 Manilius on monsters, 9
 Mannhardt, 95, 98
 Manni, Dom Maria, 195 f, 210
 Marble as material for statues, 286 f
 Marcellus, theatre of, 182, 187
 Marcellus, Vitorius, 303, 309
 Marcus Agrippa, 47 f
 Marcomanni, wars with, 136, 303
 Marcus Aurelius, friends of, 71 ff
 Mariccus, a Boian, 222
 Marius, Sex., 63
 Marquardt on population of Rome, 18 ff
 Marriage, age at, 123 ff; age at, in later
 times, 130 f
 Marrubium, alleged amphitheatre at, 206
 Mars Ultor, temple of, 185
 Martial, chronology of his epigrams, 298
 ff; on *dominus*, 81; on games and shows,
 151, 173, 180, 185, 264 ff; personal
 names in, 318 f; on presents of gold
 and silver, 278 f; on *sportula*, 78 f
 Martialis, Julius, 299
 Martyrs, Acts of, 193; of Lyons and
 Vienne, 222
 Massa, Baebius, informer, 319
 Massel (Silesia), urn found at, 134
 Massilia, gymnastic contests at, 269
 Masts in amphitheatres, 191 f
 Maternianus, 73
 Matho (in Juvenal and Martial), 318
Matthiola, 142 f
 Matthiolus (Mattioli), 5, 143
 Maura (in Juvenal), 320
 Mauretania, amphitheatres in, 236
 Maxima Sequanorum, amphitheatre at,
 227
 Maximus, Q. Sulpicius, boy poet, 264
 Maximus, Vibius, 310
 Medicine, popular, 96
 Mediolanum Santonum, amphitheatre at,
 220, 255
 Megara, gladiators at, 244
 Meier, P. J., on gladiators, 169 ff
 Meletides, 92
 Melos, alleged amphitheatre in, 245
 Memor, tragic poet, 265
Memoria, a, 48 ff
 Memphis, Memphius, pantomimes named,
 258 f
 Menelaus as appellative, 131
 Meraissa, amphitheatre at, 240
 Mercuri, Ad, amphitheatre at, 236
 Merope as woman's name, 88

- Metellus, Lucius Caecilius, 181
 Metrodorus, physicians named, 262
 Metz, amphitheatre at, 228
 Mevania, amphitheatre at, 208
 Mice and rats deserting houses, 96
 Miletus, gladiators at, 247
 Milvian Bridge, 13
 Minnodunum, gymnastic contests at, 269
 Minturnae, amphitheatre at, 195, 203
Miracula, 6
 Mommsen on chariot-races, 148-164; on court ceremonial, 58; on gladiators and their *teserae*, 169 ff; on population and corn-supply of Rome, 21
 Mongez on animals exhibited, 181 f, 185 ff
 Monkeys exhibited, 186
 Monsters, 6 f, 9 f
 Montagu, Lady Mary Wortley, 139
 Montanus, Julius, 63
 Monuments, prices of, 279 ff
 Monza, diptych from, 268
 Moon, folk-lore of, 89, 97
 Mortality in Rome, 21 and n.
 Morychus, a fool, 92
 Mosaics of gladiators, 168
Munera, 51
 Munro, H. A. J., 138
Murmillo, 173, 176 f
 Musculosus, charioteer, 161 f
 Music during gladiatorial shows, 173 f, 178; contests in, at *agones*, 264 f
 Mylasa, gladiators at, 247
Myrmillones: see *Murmillo*
 Mysia, amphitheatres in, 249
 Myths in relation to folk-tales, 98 f
- Nabataeans, 185
Nabun, *nabun* (giraffe), 186
 Nacolea, show at, 249
 Naevolus (in Juvenal and Martial), 318
 Names adopted by artists, athletes, etc., 257 ff; complimentary, given to women and girls, 87 f; Homeric, as appellatives, 131 f; in Juvenal and Martial 318 ff; Roman, assumed by *peregrini* and freedmen, 56 ff
Nanguer, 187
 Naples, *agon* (*Augustalia*) at, 268, 302; alleged amphitheatre at, 194, 200; modern, dense population of, 24
 Narbo, amphitheatre at, 218
 Narbonensis, Gallia, amphitheatres in, 216 ff
 Narcissus, *Aug. lib.*, 41; wealth of, 273
 Narcissus (flower), 146 f
 Navy, Roman, in Euxine, 22
 Neckam on amphitheatre of Paris, 224
 Nemausus, amphitheatre at, 217, 255; gymnastic contests at, 269
 Nennig, mosaic at, 168, 179
 Nepos, T. Haterius, 38
 Nereld seen at Olisipo, 10
 Nero, colossus of, 181, 194; exhibits lions, 183; friends of, 65 f; and glutton, 8; Golden House of, 8; humours public, 85
 Nerva, emperor, friends of, 69
 Nerva, L. Cocceius, 61
 Nerva, M. Cocceius, friend of Tiberius, 62
 Nestor as appellative, 132
- Nicaea (Bithynia), gladiators at, 249
 Nicolaus of Damascus, 12
 Nicomedes, imperial freedman, 54 f
 Nicomedia, shows at, 250
 Nicopolis, Actian *agora* at, 263 f
 Niger, C. Caesius, 63
 Nohl, H., on Rutilius Gallicus, 306 f
 Nola, amphitheatre at, 208
 Northern Europe, Roman finds in, 132 ff
 Numidia, amphitheatres in, 237 f; *beas* in, 183; gymnastic contests in, 270
 Numitor (in Juvenal), 320
Nuper, use of, in Gellius, 325
 Nursery tales, 90 ff
Nymphæas, 3
 Nysa (Caria), amphitheatre at, 199, 248
- Occipare* in chariot-racing, 159
 Ocriculum, amphitheatre at, 208, 255
 Octodurum, amphitheatre at, 226, 255
 Oea, amphitheatre at, 241
 Officials, imperial, 31 ff
 Ogres, 91
Olympia, 268
 Omullus, T. Junius, 69
Onager, 187
Opломachi, 176
 Organ-playing contest, 265
Oryx, 187
Osiris, 94
 Ostriches, 183
 Otho, 66; friends of, 67
 Ovid on chariot-races, 151; use of *dominus*, *domina* in, 81
Ovis fera, 186, 188
- Pacideianus, gladiators, 262
Pacuriarii, 179
 Paestum, amphitheatre at, 205, 255
 Palestine, amphitheatres in, 252; taxation of, 270 f
 Pallas, M. Antonius, 33
 Palma, A. Cornelius, 69
Palus, *primus* and *secundus*, 171
 Pamphylia, amphitheatres in, 251
 Pançava nation, 14
Pancration in Capitoline *agora*, 266 f
 Pandion, Indian king, 12, 14
 Pandya tribe, 14
 Panniculus, name, 260
 Pannonia, amphitheatres in, 233
 Panthers, 182, 189
 Pantomimes assume famous names, 257 f
 Papal States, bull-baiting in, 190
 Paphlagonia, shows in, 250
Papyrus amphitheatre, 253
 Parchment and scroll editions, 300
 Paris as appellative, 131; dancers named, 258, 316, 319
 Paris, amphitheatre in, 224, 255
Parlagio, 195
 Parma, amphitheatre at, 211
Parma (shield), 175
 Parrots exhibited, 6, 183
 Parthenius (in Juvenal), 319 f
 Parthia, 180, 313
 Pases, enchanter, 92
 Patavium, amphitheatre at, 212, 255
 Paternus, Tarrutenus, 46

- Paullus (in Juvenal and Martial), 318
 Paullus, Julius, 322
 Paulus, Q. Fabius Maximus, 61
 Paulus Silentiarius, 130
 Pausanias, 10, 187, 254
 Pausilyppum, alleged amphitheatre at, 201
 Pearls dissolved in vinegar, 275 f
 Pedestals, cost of, 289
 Pegasus, friend of Domitian, 68
 Peleus and Thetis, 98
Pentamerone, 110, 116
 Pepys, S., 138
Peregrini assume Roman names, 57
 Perga, amphitheatre at, 248
 Pergamus, amphitheatre at, 249, 255;
 high priest of, 246
Periach, *Perlaich*, *Perleich*, etc., 194 f, 232 f
 Persian court imitated, 56, 58 ff
 Persicus, Paulus Fabius, 64
 Pegasus on gladiators, 180; nursery tale
 in, 90
 Pertinax, emperor, 324
 Perugia, alleged amphitheatre at, 193
Petauristae, 177
 Peters, F., on comets, 313
 Pet names, 87 f
 Petraits, gladiator, 167
 Petrarch on gladiators in his day, 192
 Petronius, 167, 178; folk-lore in, 93-97;
 on gladiators, 174
 Petronius, M., Honoratus, 35 f
 Phidias as artists' name, 263
 Philadelphia, shows at, 248
 Philippopolis, gladiators at, 244
 Philips, *New World of Words*, 139
 Philodemos on monstrosities, 6
Philogelos, 82 n., 174
 Philostratus, 256, 273
 Phlegon of Tralles, 9
Phlox (flower in Pliny), 144
 Phoenicia, amphitheatre in, 251
 Phoenix exhibited by Claudius, 7
 Phrygia, amphitheatres in, 249
 Phrynichus, 256
 Physicians, names assumed by, 262
 Picenum, amphitheatres in, 207 f
 Pictavi (Limonium), amphitheatre at, 220,
 235
 Pictures of gladiators exhibited, 168
 Pisa, *Parlascio* at, 196
 Pisidia, shows and amphitheatres in, 250
 Piso, L. Calpurnius, 62
 Placentia, amphitheatre at, 212
 Plataeae, gladiators at, 244
 Plate, silver, 278 f
 Plato, myth of Gyges in, 89
 Plautus, 181, 183; folk-lore in, 93
Plaga (Old English), 232
 Pliny the elder on chariot-races, 165 n.;
 on dwarfs, 7; on plants, 4, 76 f, 142 ff,
 146 f; on Taprobane, 15; on Tritons,
 etc., 10
 Pliny the younger on chariot-races, 166;
 on imperial patronage, 314; will of, 79
 Plutarch on monsters, 7
 Podalirius as appellative, 131
 Poetry, contests in, 264 f
 Poets, Greek, at Rome, 11
 Poggio on Triton, 10
- Pola, amphitheatre at, 213, 255
 Political economists, Rodbertus on, 275
 Pollio, *citharoedus*, 265, 319, 321
 Pollio, Crepereius, 321
 Pollio, Vedius, 62
 Pollux, comic fragment in, 276 f
 Polybius, a *libell.*, 37
 Polynices, inscription of, 150 f
Pompa, 151 f
 Pompeii, amphitheatre at, 198, 201 f, 255;
 graffito at, 167; gymnastic contests at,
 268; plants figured at, 145; represen-
 tations of gladiators from, 167 f, 176;
 structure of houses at, 24
 Pompeius, Cn., Magnus (*temp.* Claudius),
 64
 Pompey exhibits animals, 181 f; theatre
 of, 8; triumph of, 6, 181
 Pontia, poisoner, 320
 Pontus, shows in, 250
 Population, density of, 24; of Egypt, 271
 f; of Gaul, 273; growth of, in modern
 cities, 20; of Rome, 17 ff
 Porolissum, amphitheatre at, 234
 Porphyrius, charioteer, 165 f
 Porphyry, folk-lore in, 94 f
 Portus, inscription at, 192
 Portus magnus (Mauretania), amphitheatre
 at, 236
 Porus, Indian king (*temp.* Augustus), 12,
 14
 Postal service, 52 f, 55
Pracmillere in chariot-racing, 159 f
 Praeneste, amphitheatre at, 204
 Praxilla, 92
 Praxiteles as artist's name, 262 f
 Pressel, F., 101
 Priaulx, O. de Beauvoir, 12 ff, 15
 Primus, M. Antonius, 67
 Primus, Marius, 320
 Primus, Petronius, 320
 Probus exhibits lions, 183
 Probus, Valerius, 322
 Proculus, L. Valerius, 34
Procuratores a rationibus, 32 ff
 Prometheus as appellative, 132
 Promis on amphitheatres, 197
 Propertius on shows, 198
 Prosenes, imperial freedman, 53 f
 Proteus, Peregrinus, 324
 Proverbial expressions in classical literature,
 92 f
 Provincials in Rome, 11
Provocatores, 177 f
 Prussia, East, Roman finds in, 132-137
Psilotharistae, 264
 Psyche, tale of, 88 ff
 Ptolemais, amphitheatre at, 253, 255
 Ptolemies, rank at courts of, 59
 Ptolemy, *Geography* of, 285
 Ptolemy Philadelphus, taxation under, 278
 Pudens, L. Valerius, boy poet, 265
Pugillatio, 52 f
 Punishments in amphitheatre, 190
 Purple factories, 56
 Puteoli, amphitheatre at, 198, 201, 253 f,
 255; gymnastic contests at, 268; in-
 scription at, 259
 Putput, amphitheatre at, 240

- Pygargus*, 188
Pylades, pantomimes named, 257 ff
 Pyramids, inscriptions on, 137 f
 Pyrrhic, 263
 Pyrrhus, war with, 181
- Race, long distance, 266
Rastiatum, amphitheatre at, 255
Rationibus, a, 32 ff
 Ravenna, alleged amphitheatre at, 211
 Reate, amphitheatre at, 207
Recitationibus, a, 39 n.
Regiones, 25
 Regulus, friend of Martial, 300
 Reinaud on Oriental embassies, 14, 16 f
Remissus of charioteer, 151
Retiarii, 167, 171 f
Rex, applied to patron, 84
 Rhinoceros, 7, 185
 Ricina, amphitheatre at, 207
 Rings, magic, 89
 Rodbertus on population of Rome, 21 f;
 on wealth, 273 ff
 Rohde, 98 f
Roma aurea, aeterna, sacra, 31
Romanesque, romanisch, romantisch, 139 f
 'Romantic' applied to scenery, 138 ff
 Rome, amphitheatres in, 204, 255; area
 of, 23 f; as educational centre, 11;
 epithets of, 31; exhibitions of curiosi-
 ties in, 6 f; population of, 17 ff; pro-
 vincials in, 11 f; sanitation of, 284 f;
 vehicles in, 28 ff; walls of, 23
Rosationis, dies, 145
Rosenlacher, Rosentreter, etc., 90
 Rossi, de, on gladiatorial shows, 192
 Rotomagus, alleged amphitheatre at, 230
Rudis (summa and secunda), of gladiator
 169 ff
Rufus (lynx), 185
 Rufus, Bassaeus, 34
 Rufus, P. Suilius, 64
 Rusellae, alleged amphitheatre at, 210
 Ruscade, amphitheatre at, 237
- Sabaeans, 15
 Sabine country, amphitheatres in, 206 f
 Sabinus, Poppaeus, 61
Sacerdotes provinciae, 241; *urbis*, 31
 Sackrau, grave at, 136
 Sadowski, v., on trade-routes, 133 f, 136 n.
 Saepinum, amphitheatre at, 205; dispute
 about drovers at, 34 f
 Sagalassus, shows at, 250
 Sagitta, Otacilius, 67
Sagittarius, 179
 Saguntum, alleged amphitheatre at, 235
 Salomae, amphitheatre at, 215
 Samland, trade with, 133 f
Sammiles (gladiators), 174 f
 Samnium, amphitheatres in, 205
 Sandani (Malabar), 16
 Sanitation of cities, 284 and n.
 Sardinia, amphitheatres in, 215
 Sarmatian triumph, 301; war, 299, 302
 Sarmizegetusa, amphitheatre at, 234, 255
Saturnalia, presents at, 278 f
 Satyr sent to Constantine, 9
- Saxons, relations with, 149
 Scaevola, Q., 182
 Scandinavia, folk-tales from, 115 ff;
 Roman coins in, 135 f
 Scaurus, monument of, 167, 171, 176, 178
 Scaurus, M. Aemilius, aedileship and shows
 of, 6, 182, 185
 Scaurus, Terentius, 322
 Scenery, feeling for, 138 ff
Schlauffenland, 89, 93
 Schubin, Greek coins at, 134
Scissores, 179
 Scorpis, charioteer, 161 f
 Scotland, bears from, 183; dogs from,
 188 f
Scutum, 175
 Scythian embassies to Augustus, 14
 Secular games, 7, 183, 185 f, 301 f
 Secundinus, Ti. Claudius, 34
 Secundus, Julius, 42
Secutores, 174
 Segodunum Rutenorum, amphitheatre at,
 221
 Sejanus, L. Aelius, 63
 Seleucus I, 186
 Semele, myth of, 122 f
 Senate, modes of addressing, 85
 Senators, titles of, 74 f
 Seneca the elder, 151; *Controversiae* of,
 297 f
 Seneca the younger, 65
 Senecio, Claudius, 66
 Septentrio, dancers named, 261
 Septician silver, 279
 Sepulchral monuments, prices of, 279 ff
 Serapias bears four at a birth, 9
 Serendib (Ceylon), 17
 Seressita, amphitheatre at, 241
 Setia, amphitheatre at, 205
 Severus, Alexander: see Alexander
 Severus, Septimius, emperor, corn supply
 under, 25 f; early life of, 11; friends of,
 73
 Severus, Septimius, friend of Statius, 310
 Sévigné, Mme. de, 139
 Sewage, disposal of, 284 f
 Sex, change of, 6 f
 Sheep, wild, 188
Sica, 176
 Sicily, amphitheatres in, 214 f
 Siemering, R., 287
 Silanus, L. Junius, 64
 Silius Italicus, 301, 306 f
Silphion, 8
 Silver specified according to weight, 278
 f; statues, 287
 Singing contest, 265
 Sinope, shows at, 250
 Sinuessa, alleged amphitheatre at, 203
 Sistiis, amphitheatre at, 236
Skiaepodes, 10
 Slaves addressed as *domini*, 85; in Rome,
 number of, 19
 Slings, 180
 Smyrna, amphitheatre and gladiators at,
 248; tragedies performed at, 256
 Snakes exhibited, 7, 189
 Snowflake (flower), 142, 144
 Sophists in Rome, 11

- Spain, amphitheatres in, 235 ff; gymnastic contests in, 269
 Sparta, alleged amphitheatre at, 242
Spectavit on *tesseræ*, 168 ff
Spira, 172
Splendidus as title, 74
 Spoletium, amphitheatre at, 208
Sportula, 77 ff
Springwursel, 94
 Statistics, imperial, 22 f
 Statius on Actian *agon*, 263; chronology of his epigrams, 298 ff, competes in Capitoline *agon*, 264 f, 303; patrons and friends of, 304 ff; *Thebais* of, 302
 Statues, materials of, 286 f; prices of, 287 ff
 Stella and Violentilla, 300 f
 Stobbe, H. C., on Rutilius Gallicus, 304 f
 Stock (flower), 142 ff
 Stone, transparent, 8
 Stratonicea, gladiators at, 247
Strepsiceras (antelope), 188
 Stukeley on British amphitheatres, 232
Studia, Juvenal's use of word, 314 f
 Suasa, alleged amphitheatre at, 209
 Suburbs of Rome, 25 f
Successores, 180
Succursores, 180
 Suessa Auruncorum, amphitheatre at, 203
 Suetonius, 44, 190
 Suffetula, Colonia, amphitheatre at, 240
 Sulla, 182, 198
 Superaequum, alleged amphitheatre at, 206
 Suppers carried home, 80
 Sura, Licinius, 319
 Surgical operations, 76
 Surrentum, alleged amphitheatre at, 202
 Survey of Rome (74 A.D.), 23
 Sutrium, amphitheatre at, 209, 255
 Switzerland, amphitheatres in, 226 ff
 Symmachus, games of, 188
 Sympathetic cures, 96
 Syracuse, amphitheatre at, 214, 255
 Syria, amphitheatres in, 251 f
- Table delicacies, 276 f
 Talent, Hebrew, 270
 Talismans, 89
 Talthybius as appellative, 131
 Tamils, 15
 Taprobane, embassy from, 15
 Tarentum, alleged amphitheatre at, 206
 Tarraco, amphitheatre at, 235, 255
 Tarraconensis, Hispania, amphitheatres in, 235
 Tarsus, shows at, 251
Taurocentae, *taurarii*, 180
 Taurus, Calvisius, 324
 Taxes of three provinces, 270 ff
 Teanum, alleged amphitheatre at, 208
 Teeth, gigantic, exhumed, 10
 Telesia, amphitheatre at, 205
 Telmessos, gladiators at, 250
 Temples as museums, 6
 Teres, charioteer, 160 f
 Tergeste, amphitheatre at, 213
Terme, extended use of word, 196
- Tertullian on games at Carthage, 269
Tesseræ, gladiatorial, 168 ff; *numerariæ*, and *frumentariæ*, 21
 Thallelaeus, St., 251
 Thallus, charioteer, 160 f
 Thamugadi, amphitheatre at, 237
 Thapsus, amphitheatre at, 240
 Thasos, gladiators in, 246
 Themiso(n), physicians, 262, 321
 Theocritus, pantomimes named, 257, 259 f
 Theodoric, 27, 193
 Theodosius forbids full-fights, 184
 Theophrastus on plants, 3 f, 76, 141 ff
 Theoprepes, imperial freedman, 55
 Thermae Iliisalpenses, amphitheatre at, 215
Thesauri, 53
 Thessalonica, gladiators at, 244
 Thessalus, physicians named, 262
 Thessaly, gladiators in, 244
 Theveste, amphitheatre at, 238, 255; gymnastic contests at, 270
 Thomson, Jas., 139 f
 Thrace, amphitheatre in, 245
Thraeces (gladiators), 175 f
 Thuburbo majus, amphitheatre at, 241; minus, amphitheatre at, 240
 Thumbling, 93
 Thymele, mimes, 238, 319
 Thyndrus, amphitheatre at, 238, 253, 255
 Tiberias, amphitheatre at, 252
 Tiberius, 10; friends of, 62 f
 Tibur, amphitheatre at, 204
 Ticinum, amphitheatre at, 213
 Tigellinus, Sotomius, 66
 Tigers, 7, 13, 186 f, 189
 Tin, price of, 287 n.
 Tipusa, amphitheatre at, 237
 Tischler, Otto, on Roman finds in North, 132 ff
 Titianus, T. Atilius Rufus, 70
 Titinius, Cn. Octavius, Capito, 43
 Titus slaughters Jews at a show, 251
 Tocco, E. L., on *velarium*, 190 ff
 Tolosa (Toulouse), amphitheatre at, 218, 255
 Tombstones, prices of, 279 ff
 'Torch-right', 60
 Torlonia relief, 168
 Trade with N. Europe, 132 ff
 Traffic in streets, 28 ff
 Tragedies, performance of, under later Empire, 256 f
 Trajan, charity of, 9; designs on India, 16; exhibits *delatores*, 190; friends of, 69 f; receives embassies, 15 f; his wars in East, 313
 Tralles, gladiators at, 248
 Trapping of beasts, 189
 Treasure, buried, 89
 Trebula Mutuesca, amphitheatre at, 207
 Trees, gigantic, 8; in processions, 6
Tricliniarca, 50 f, 55
 Trident, 173
 Tritons seen, 10
 Tuburbo: see Thuburbo
 Tulisa, tale of, 112 ff
 Tulle, amphitheatre near, 221
 Tusculum, amphitheatre at, 204, 255

- Ucalegon as appellation, 132
 Ulpian on nubile age, 124
 Umbria, amphitheatres in, 208 f
 Urbicus, name, 260 f
 Urbs Salvia, amphitheatre at, 207, 255
 Ursus, Flavius, 309
 Urus, 187
 Uthina, amphitheatre at, 240
 Utica, amphitheatre at, 240, 255

 Valeria (Vara), alleged amphitheatre at, 204
 Valesianus, Anonymus, 193 f
 Valgus, C. Quinctius, 198
 Varro on table delicacies, 277; on *venationes*, 184
 Vases with figures of gladiators, 167
 Vasio Vocontiorum, amphitheatre at, 219
 Vehicles in Rome, 28 ff
 Velarii, 179
 Velarium, 190 ff
 Veleda, capture of, 305 ff
 Velites, 177
 Vellitrae, amphitheatre at, 204
 Velleia, amphitheatre at, 212
 Velleius on taxation of Gaul, 272 f
 Venafrum, amphitheatre at, 195, 205
 Venationes, 181 ff
 Venatores, 166 ff, 180
 Venetia, amphitheatres in, 212 f
 Venus, designation for women, 87 f
 Venusia, amphitheatre at, 206, 255
 Verlasci, 195
 Verona, amphitheatre at, 194, 213, 255
 Verus, Lucius, 258; friends of, 71 f
 Vesontio, amphitheatre at, 227
 Vespasian, 65, 284; friends of, 67
 Vestibula, 25
 Vestinus, L. Julius, 44 f, 65
 Vesunna (Périgueux), amphitheatre at, 221
 Vetulonia, alleged amphitheatre at, 210
 Via Domitiana, 303
 Vici, 25
 Victor, St., martyrdom of, 231
 Vienna (Austria), beast-baiting at, 190
 Vienna (Vienne), amphitheatre at, 219; gymnastic contests at, 269
 Villani, 195
 Vindelicia, amphitheatre in, 232 f
 Vindex, Novius, 300, 303, 310
 Vindinum (Le Mans), amphitheatre at, 225
 Vindonissa, amphitheatre at, 226, 255
 Viola, meaning of, 141 f
 Violaris, dies, 145

 Vir clarissimus as title, 74 f
 Virilasci, 195
 Visits, complimentary, 80
 Vitellius, emperor, 63 ff; friends of, 67
 Vitellius, L., 63 f, 67
 Vitruvius on amphitheatres, 198
 Voconius, 71
 Volaterrae, amphitheatre at, 210
 Volcanal, lotus tree in, 4
 Volsinii, amphitheatre at, 211
 Vopiscus, Manilius, 309
 Vulci, amphitheatre at, 210
 Vulgate, 91

 Wall of Aurelian, 23, 285
 Wall-flower, 143 f
 Warsaw, beast-fights at, 190
 Wealth, Rodbertus on, 273 ff
 Weasel-bride, 97
 Welcker on Greek folk-tales, 88
 Whale, skeleton of, 8
 Wheat, price of, 271; remarkable, 8; -standard, 274
 Wife addressed as *domina*, 86
 Wild men of Africa, 9
 Wine supply, 54
 Witches, 96
 Women, complimentary names for, 87 f
 Wood, amphitheatres built of, 193
 Wrestling in Capitoline *agon*, 266
 Wright, Thos., on amphitheatres, 231

 Xanthus, alleged amphitheatre at, 250

 Zacharias, *Breviarium* of, 286
 Zafra (giraffe), 186
 Zebra, 187 f
 Zebu, 188
 Ziryphus, 5
 Zulu folk-tale, 122

 ἀγάλμα, 286
 ἀγνεύων παγκράτιον, 266 f
 ἀνδριάς, 286
 Ἀσιάρχης, 246 and n.
 εἰκών, 286
 ἐνοπλος (εἰκών), 286
 Εὐσφεία (games), 268
 θαύματα, 6
 κοροσέπτας, 188
 κράτιστοι, 75
 κύρις, κύρια, 82
 λαμπρότατος, 75
 λείριον, 146
 Σωτήρια (Delphi), 257